

R. Hoorn

Biographia Evangelica:
OR, AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIVES AND DEATHS

Of the most eminent and evangelical
AUTHORS OR PREACHERS,
BOTH BRITISH AND FOREIGN,
IN THE SEVERAL
DENOMINATIONS OF PROTESTANTS,

From the Beginning of the Reformation, to the present Time :

WHEREIN

Are collected, from authentic Historians, their most remarkable ACTIONS,
SUFFERINGS, and WRITINGS; exhibiting the Unity of their FAITH
and EXPERIENCE in their several *Ages, Countries, and Professions*; and
illustrating the Power of DIVINE GRACE in their *holy Living and Dying*.

By the Rev. ERASMUS MIDDLETON,
Lecturer of *St. Bennet's*, Grace-church Street; and of *St. Helen's*, Bishopsgate Street.

The FAITHFUL are—*chosen in Christ*; Eph. i. 4.—*called by Grace*; Gal. i. 15.—*justified freely by Grace*; Rom. iii. 24.—*holy and beloved*; Col. iii. 12.—*They live by Faith*; Gal. iii. 11.—*obtain a good Report through Faith*; Heb. xi. 39.—*die blessed in the Lord*; Rev. xiv. 13.—*shall appear with him in Glory*. Col. iii. 4.

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W. Musgrave.



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Biogr.





From an original Painting.

Biographia Evangelica.

JOHN CALVIN,

THE EVANGELIC REFORMER.

THIS eminent Reformer was born, on the tenth of *July*, 1509, at *Noyon*, a city of *France*, in the territory of *Soissons*, fifty-eight miles N. E. of *Paris*. His parents were *Gerhard Calvin* and *Jane Francke*, who enjoyed a decent fortune, and bestowed on him a liberal education. They intended him for the service of the church, and sent him from the grammar-school to the college of *La Marche* in *Paris*, where he was instructed in the grounds of literature by *Maturinus Corderius*, who was one of the best grammarians and schoolmasters that could be desired; for he understood the Latin tongue very well, was a man of worth, and diligently applied himself to his function; being as careful to form his scholars to wisdom, as to good Latin. *Calvin* afterwards dedicated to him his commentary upon the first epistle to the *Thessalonians*. He was removed from his tuition, and placed under the care of *Hispanus*, a *Spanish* master, in *Montague* college, where he studied logic and divinity.

As *Calvin* was designed for the church, his father early obtained for him a benefice in the cathedral of *Noyon*. Those who report that *Calvin* was a canon there, are mistaken: The benefice was not a canonicate, but a chapel called *de la Geseine*, to which he was preferred on the twenty-first of *May*, 1521. He was presented to the cure of *Marteville* on the twenty-seventh of *September*, 1527; which, on the fifth of *July*, 1529, he exchanged for the cure of *Pont l'Eveque*, a village near *Noyon*, where his father was born. But we must observe, that *Calvin* was

never in priest's orders; nor any farther an ecclesiastic than by simple tonsure.

Calvin was engaged by *Robert Olivetan* to study religion in its source, which made him resolve to renounce all superstitions; especially as his father had altered his mind, and rather chose to make him an advocate than a divine. *Olivetan* was his kinsman, and intended to bring him over to the doctrine of the Reformers: So that after *Calvin* had finished his humanity studies at *Paris*, he was sent to *Orleans*, where he studied the civil law under the direction of *Peter d' l'Etoile*, who was president in the parliament of *Paris*, and called in Latin *Petrus Stella*. From thence he was sent to *Bourges*, to perfect himself in that study under *Andrew Alciat*, a *Milanese*, and a great Civilian, who was invited from *Milan* by *Francis I.* to promote the knowledge of the civil law in the university of *Bourges*, where the fame of his abilities drew from all parts a great number of students. He mixed a great deal of literature with the explication of the laws, and happily banished that barbarous language, which had till then prevailed in the lectures and writings of the Civilians. For this he is highly extolled by *Thuanus*; and he afterwards wrote a lively description of the abuses of a monastic life.

Calvin made great progress in the civil law; and pursued his private studies in the holy Scriptures with equal success. He was incited to the latter by *Melchior Wolmar*, who was professor of Greek at *Bourges*, and secretly a Lutheran. *Wolmar* made *Calvin* a master of the Greek language; and *Calvin* afterwards dedicated to him his comment upon the second epistle to the *Corinthians*; as he had done that upon the *Thessalonians* to his Latin master *Corderius*.

While *Calvin* was studying the civil law at *Bourges*, he preached several sermons in a neighbouring town called *Liveria*: But his father died in 1532; on which account he returned to *Paris*, in the twenty-third year of his age, with a resolution to make divinity his principal study. Soon after he came back to *Paris*, he wrote a commentary upon *Seneca's* treatise *De Clementia*. After residing a few months at *Paris*, *Calvin* became acquainted with all those who professed the reformed religion; and particularly with *Stephen Forgeus*, an eminent merchant, who afterwards sealed the truth with his blood. *Francis I.* was equally desirous with the pope to abolish the pragmatic sanction made by *Charles VII.* composed of the degrees and canons of the council of *Bale*, which restored the antient freedom

dom of elections, and suppressed the abuses introduced by the court of *Rome*. Accordingly, the king abolished that ordinance; and the pope consented that his majesty should nominate to the bishoprics and abbeys of his own dominions. The pope failed in his observance of these promises; and it was about this time, that *Calvin* embraced the doctrine of *Oecolampadius*, and began publicly to teach it.

Calvin was esteemed in the *French* congregations, as one of the most able and best qualified men to teach and defend the doctrine of the Reformation, which had been introduced into that kingdom. *Nicholas Copus* was then rector of the university of *Paris*, who had a speech to make on the first of *November*, 1532; in which he was assisted by *Calvin*, who inserted into it such assertions concerning religion, as the divines of *Paris* thought contrary to the faith and Christian piety. It so much displeased the parliament, as well as the Sorbonne, that it occasioned the beginning of a persecution against the Protestants. The parliament summoned the rector, who fled out of the kingdom to *Basil*. They also sent to apprehend *Calvin* in the college of *Forteret*; but he escaped out at the window by the help of the sheets, and they seized his papers, among which there were letters found that discovered several of his correspondents.

The queen of *Navarre* appeased this first storm; and *Calvin* had the honor of a conference with her majesty, who delivered the learned *Faber Stapulensis* out of the hands of the inquisitors, and sent him to *Nerac*. This queen of *Navarre* was *Margaret de Valois*, sister to *Francis I.* a princess of extraordinary worth; and much admired for her piety, wit, and the productions of her pen. She married, in 1527, *Henry d' Albret II.* king of *Navarre*; and she gladly would have introduced the reformed religion into his dominions. The Reformers were protected under her patronage; and she wrote a book in *French* rhyme, called 'the Mirror of the skilful Soul;' which was censured by the Sorbonne. It was composed in a strain very unusual in the church of *Rome*: No mention was made in it either of male or female saints, merits, or any other purgatory than the blood of *Jesus Christ*; and even the prayer, commonly called *Salve Regina*, is there applied in *French* to the person of *Jesus Christ*. She was a princess of excellent understanding, raised up by God to break up the cruel designs of *Anthony Duprat*, chancellor of *France*, and others, who incensed the king against those

they called heretics. Many of the reformed clergy were maintained in schools at her own expence, not only in *France*, but also in *Germany*. She took a wonderful care to preserve and secure those that were in danger for the Protestant religion, and to succour the refugees at *Strasbourg* and *Geneva*. It is recorded in the registers of the parliament of *Bordeaux*, that this queen, coming into court as governess, in the absence of the king her husband, made it her earnest request, that the court would release one *Andrew Melancthon*, accused of heresy, which *Philip Melancthon* had strongly solicited of her by letters. *Andrew* propagated the doctrine of his kinsman so successfully in the *Agenois*, that it could not be extirpated. In short, this good-natured princess had nothing more at heart than to procure the escape of the Reformers; and she, by little touches, endeavored to impress on the soul of the king her brother some pity for the Lutherans. But she a little eclipsed her glory by her credulity in her later years: Yet *Mezerai* says, that towards the end of her days, in 1549, she seemed to repent of her repentance, and desired *Calvin*, by letters, to come and instruct and comfort her. *Joan d'Albret*, daughter of *Margaret*, and likewise queen of *Navarre*, had also much indulgence for the reformed religion, and declared herself its protectress, when her husband, *Anthony de Bourbon*, duke of *Vendome*, renounced Calvinism, and became its persecutor. He was killed at the siege of *Rouen*, in 1562; but she established the reformed religion in her dominions, verifying in effect the saying of the prophet, that queens should be the nursing-mothers of the church of God; though, at that time, she was menaced and terrified, as much a queen as she was, all manner of ways; so far as to let her understand that she should be divorced by the pope, deprived of her kingdom and estates, and condemned at least to perpetual imprisonment. If it be strange that the queen of *Navarre* was so undaunted as not to fear such dangers, which she was perfectly acquainted with; it is still more surprizing that she maintained herself, surrounded as she was by two powerful princes, the king of *Spain* on one side, and the king of *France* on the other, both possessed with such a cruelty against the Protestants, as has but few examples; both incited and animated by the strong solicitations of the court of *Rome*. She was poisoned at *Paris* in 1572; and that death could not but be very seasonable to this princess, who would have been inconsolable, had she seen the *Paris* massacre on saint *Bartholomew's* day,

day. *Henry IV.* of *France*, was the son of this queen. He was the first prince of the blood, and chief of the house of *Bourbon*, when he succeeded *Henry III.* in whom the line of *Valois* became extinct. This prince was born a Calvinist, which religion he really loved, without being a bigot: But he found it impossible, notwithstanding all his victories and virtues, to get possession of his kingdom without abandoning Calvinism. After his conversion to the Romanists, gratitude would not permit him to seek the destruction of the *Huguenots*, to whom he was indebted for his crown: But if he had been inclined to make the attempt, it is more than probable that he would have miscarried. He therefore cherished, and protected, the Protestants.

So far it has been thought necessary to give a concise account of the family of *Navarre*, which protected *Calvin*, and promoted the work of the Reformation.

When *Calvin* retired to *Xaintonge*, he got the friendship of *Lewis du Tillet*, canon of *Angoulesme*, at whose request he composed some short Christian exhortations, which were read as homilies in some parishes, to accustom the people gradually to search after the truth. He went from *Angoulesme* to *Poitiers*, where he got new disciples, to whom he administered the sacrament in caves and grotoes. He paid *Stapulensis* a visit at *Nerat* in *Gascony*, and returned to *Paris* in 1534, at the time that *Roussel* and *Coralus* were banished that city, and orders were issued for apprehending the Reformers. *Servetus* was then at *Paris*, where he dispersed his books against the Trinity; in which he was opposed by *Calvin*, who agreed to engage in a dispute with him; but *Servetus* would not appear at the appointed conference.

Francis I. was accused of having shewn too much indulgence to the Reformers: But *Mezerai* has refuted this accusation. *Davila* laid the charge in these words: 'The belief of *Calvin* began to spread in the reign of this king, whether he allowed it, or took no notice of it.' The French historian convicts this Italian of forgetfulness or partiality: 'What! says he, to make six or seven severe edicts to stifle it, to convoke the clergy several times, to assemble a provincial council, to be continually sending ambassadors to all the princes in *Christendom* to have a general one called; to burn heretics by dozens, to send them to the gallies by hundreds, and to banish them by thousands: Can this be said to allow, or take no notice of it? Are these bare resolutions, or
' real

‘real performances?’ Another *French* writer says, that ‘this king burnt a great many Lutherans; and spared none that he could discover: Yet he took *Geneva* under his protection;’ which was the metropolis of the reformed, and their mother church. This is one of the most common scenes of the craft or cunning of the world. Sovereign princes, in all ages, have played thus with religion; and they play this game still; for they persecute at home, a religion which they support abroad. You must not infer from hence, that they have no religion: For the inference would be false; they are often religious even to bigotry. What then can be the reason of this? They have a greater regard for the temporal interest of their dominions, than for the kingdom of *Jesus Christ*. ‘I do not, (says *Bayle*,) except the pope himself.’ Nor indeed, need he.

This persecution made *Calvin* resolve to quit *France* as soon as he had published a treatise at *Orleans* concerning the *Psychopannychia*, against those who believe the soul sleeps, after leaving the body, to the day of judgement. He chose *Basil* for the place of his retreat, where he was accompanied by his brother *Anthony Calvin*, and *Lewis du Tillet*. He soon contracted a particular friendship with *Grynæus* and *Capito*, with whom he studied Hebrew. He was not greedy of praise; yet was obliged to publish his “Christian Institution,” which he dedicated to *Francis I.* This work contributed greatly to his reputation; and his dedicatory epistle is one of those prefatory pieces so much admired like *Casaubon*’s preface to *Polybius*, and the dedication of *Thuanus*. It was dated from *Basil*, the first of *August*, 1536; and the whole was intended as the specimen of a very large work. For *Francis I.* by his cruel executions, had greatly disgusted the *German* princes, who had espoused the gospel, and whose friendship he courted; therefore, he contrived this only cunning expedient to declare to them, that he had only proceeded against Anabaptists, who set up their enthusiasm against the word of *GOD*, and contemned all magistracy. ‘*Calvin* was not able to bear this reflection cast upon the true religion, and took occasion to print that book; in my opinion, (says *Beza*,) an incomparable one.’ The author afterwards retouched his “Christian Institution,” and rendered it so excellent in Latin, that it was admired even by *Scaliger*. The work was divided into four books, and contained eighty chapters. It was first printed at *Basil* in 1535; but the preface was dated from thence the first

first of *August*, 1536, and it was afterwards translated into almost all the *European* languages.

When *Calvin* had published this book, he made a journey into *Italy*, to wait on the duchess of *Ferrara*, the daughter of *Lewis XII.* She was a princess of exemplary piety, and a favourer of the Reformation. *Calvin* met with a very gracious reception from her: But the duke of *Ferrara* would not suffer him to continue long with his duchess; and he returned into *France*, to settle his affairs in that kingdom, from whence he prepared to set out for *Strasburgh*, or *Basil*, accompanied by *Anthony Calvin*, the only brother he had living.

The war had left no other passage, but through the duke of *Savoy's* dominions, which obliged them to take that course. This seemed a particular direction of Providence, that designed him for *Geneva*, where he was kindly entertained by *William Farel*, who detained him there, as it were, by an order from above. *Farel* was a Frenchman, and a Reformer, who, like *Calvin*, fled from his native country to avoid the persecution of the Papists. He received the hand of fellowship from *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, and *Capito*, among whom he greatly distinguished himself by his zeal for the Reformation. He disputed against popery in *Geneva*, from whence he was obliged to retire by the violence of the great vicar and other ecclesiastics: But he was recalled there, in 1534, by the inhabitants, who had renounced the *Romish* church; and he was the principal instrument of the entire suppression of popery, which happened in that city the next year.

Farel was a man of a truly heroic spirit, and used a great many arguments to prevail with *Calvin* to stay and assist him at *Geneva*, rather than proceed any farther. *Calvin* was unwilling to continue there, till *Farel* said to him, ‘Behold, I declare to you, in the name of Almighty God, that unless you will here become fellow-labourer in the work of the Lord, his curse will be upon you, for seeking yourself rather than Christ.’ *Peter Viret* seconded *Farel*, and *Calvin* then submitted to the judgment of the presbytery and magistrates; by whose suffrages, together with the consent of the people, he was chosen preacher, and divinity professor. He complied with the latter, and would have declined the former; but he was obliged to undertake both functions. *Calvin* afterwards called *Farel* his “fellow-labourer, to whom the *Genevese* owed even themselves; that he was the father
“ of

“ of their liberty, and the founder of their church.” This year was remarkable for a stricter league between *Bern* and *Geneva*; as also for the establishment of the gospel at *Lausanne*, where a free disputation was held between the Papists and Protestants, at which *Calvin* was present.

In 1537, *Calvin* successfully opposed the Anabaptists in a public conference, and confuted *Peter Caroli*, who had accused him and his brethren, of holding particular opinions concerning the Trinity. He also wrote two letters into *France*, to confirm the Protestants in their faith: One of them, directed to *Nicholas Cheminus*, was an exhortation to avoid idolatry; and the other was to *Gerard Roussel*, lately made bishop of *Oleron*, against the popish priesthood. He made all the people solemnly swear to a form of faith, and abjure popery. He also drew up a catechism, which he caused to be taught in *Geneva*; and he endeavored to reconcile the principal families which had been divided into several factions.

Hooker has given the full character of *Calvin*, as head of the *Genevan* discipline. ‘ A founder it had, whom for
 ‘ mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man
 ‘ that ever the *French* church did enjoy, since it enjoyed
 ‘ him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law.
 ‘ Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or read-
 ‘ ing so much, as by teaching others: For though thou-
 ‘ sands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in
 ‘ that kind; yet he to none, but only to God, the au-
 ‘ thor of that blessed fountain, the book of life; and of
 ‘ the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps
 ‘ of other learning, which were his guides; till being
 ‘ occasioned to leave *France*, he fell at the length upon
 ‘ *Geneva*, which city the bishop and clergy thereof had
 ‘ a little before forsaken, as some do affirm; being of
 ‘ likelihood frightened with the people’s sudden attempt,
 ‘ for the abolishment of the Popish religion. At the
 ‘ coming of *Calvin* thither, the form of their civil regi-
 ‘ ment was popular, as it continueth to this day; neither
 ‘ king, nor duke, nor nobleman, of any authority or
 ‘ power over them; but officers chosen by the people,
 ‘ yearly out of themselves, to order all things with public
 ‘ consent. For spiritual government they had no laws at
 ‘ all agreed upon; but did what the pastors of their souls
 ‘ by persuasion could win them unto. *Calvin* considered
 ‘ how dangerous it was, that the whole estate of that
 ‘ church should hang still on so slender a thread, as the
 ‘ liking of an ignorant multitude, if it have power to
 ‘ change

change whatsoever itself liketh. Wherefore taking unto him two of the other ministers for more countenance of the action, albeit the rest were all against it, they moved and persuaded the people to bind themselves by solemn oath, *first*, never to admit the papacy amongst them again; and, *secondly*, to live in obedience unto such orders, concerning the exercise of their religion, and the form of their ecclesiastical government, as those their true and faithful ministers of God's word, had, agreeably to Scripture, set down to that end and purpose.' Hence it appears, how extremely false and unjust the exclamations of the Papists against *Calvin* are, that he subverted the government, and turned the state of *Geneva* into confusion; whereas the truth is, the bishop of *Geneva*, who, like some other prince-bishops in *Germany*, claimed the office of ruler, was expelled long before *Calvin's* arrival; and as the government was modelled into its democratic form, previous to his residence, he did not believe that he had any divine authority to alter the civil constitution, if it had ever been in his power.

This reformation of doctrines had not removed that corruption of manners which had prevailed in *Geneva*; nor that factious spirit which had so much divided the principal families. Therefore *Calvin*, assisted by his colleagues *Farel* and *Caroldus*, declared, that as all their remonstrances had proved ineffectual, they could not celebrate the holy sacrament while those disorders continued. They also agreed, that they would no longer submit to the constitutions that the synod of *Bern* had made; and they desired to be heard in the synod which was held at *Zurick*.

The church of *Geneva* made use of leavened bread in the communion: They had removed the baptismal fonts out of the churches; and abolished all festivals except *Sundays*. But the churches of the canton of *Bern* disapproved of these three things; and, by an act made in the synod of *Lausanne*, required that the use of unleavened bread, the baptismal fonts, and the festivals should be re-established in *Geneva*. These were the regulations with which *Calvin* refused to comply. It was the manner of those times, says *Hooker*, that every particular church did that within itself, which some few of their own thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. 'Such number of churches then being, though free within themselves, yet small, common conference before-hand might have eased them of much after-trouble. But it bred a

' greater inconvenience ; because every later endeavored
 ' to be certain degrees more removed from conformity
 ' with the church of *Rome*, than the rest had been :
 ' Whereupon grew marvellous great dissimilitudes ; and,
 ' by reason thereof jealousies, heart-burnings, jars, and
 ' discords among them ; which notwithstanding might
 ' have been easily prevented, if the orders that each church
 ' did think fit and convenient for itself, had not been so
 ' peremptorily established under that high commanding
 ' form which tendered them to the people, as things ever-
 ' lastingly required by the law of that Lord of Lords,
 ' against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken.
 ' For by this mean it came to pass, that one church could
 ' not but accuse and condemn another of disobedience to
 ' the will of *Christ*, in those things where manifest dis-
 ' ference was between them : Whereas the same orders
 ' allowed, but established in a more wary and suspense
 ' manner, as being to stand in force till *GOD* should
 ' give the opportunity of some general conference, what
 ' might be best for them afterwards to do ; this had both
 ' prevented all occasion of just dislike which others might
 ' take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the authors
 ' themselves of entering into a farther consultation after-
 ' wards ; which, though never so necessary, they could
 ' not easily now admit, without some fear of derogation
 ' from their credit ; and therefore that which once they
 ' had done, they became for ever after resolute to main-
 ' tain. *Calvin*, therefore, and the other two his associates,
 ' stiffly refusing to administer the holy communion to such
 ' who would not quietly, without contradiction and mur-
 ' mur, submit themselves unto the orders which their so-
 ' lemn oath had bound them to obey, were, in that quarrel,
 ' banished the town.'

The Syndics of *Geneva* summoned the people in 1538 ;
 and *Calvin*, *Farel*, and *Courant*, presented themselves be-
 fore the council, offering to make good their confession of
 faith. The Syndics favored the discontented party, and
 were catholics in their hearts. The council, under pre-
 tence of preserving the liberties and privileges of the city ;
 and because *Calvin* and his friends would not conform to
 the custom of *Bern* in celebrating the communion, made
 an order to enjoin those three members to leave the city in
 three days. When this decree was brought to *Calvin*, he
 said, " Truly, if I had served men, I should have had an
 " ill reward : But it is well that I have served him, who
 " doth

“ doth always perform to his servants what he hath once
“ promised.”

Calvin had no maintenance from the city, and lived at his own expence. He went to *Basil*, and from thence to *Strasburgh*, where *Bucer* and *Capito* gave him every mark of their esteem. He was also caressed by *Hedio*, and other learned men, who procured him permission from the magistrates to set up a *French* church, of which he became the pastor, and had a competent maintenance allowed him there. He was also made professor of divinity, which frustrated the expectation of the see of *Rome*; as *Calvin* settled in a new place; and a new church was erected, for the former subverted.

While *Calvin* was absent from *Geneva*, cardinal *Sadolet* wrote an eloquent letter to the inhabitants of that city, to exhort them to return into the bosom of the *Romish* church. *Calvin* answered that letter in 1539; in which he manifested his affection for the church of *Geneva*, and disappointed the views which the bishop of *Carpentras* had entertained in his fine artful letter to that state.

So far would the popes and the ecclesiastics have been from abandoning their beloved interests, founded upon ignorance and superstition, that a bloody inquisition would have been established, not only in *Italy* and *Spain*, but in all Christian countries, which would have smothered and extinguished for ever those lights which then began to sparkle. Lutheranism gained such strength and stability, that it prevented the tyranny of an inquisition in *Germany*, and the Reformation of *Calvin* secured the liberty of other countries.

Peter Castellon, great almoner of *France* under *Francis I.* was so scandalized at the corruptions which he observed in the court of *Rome*, that he could not think, or speak, of them without indignation. He pushed the matter so far, that he believed religion was but a mere farce at *Rome*, which they made use of to deceive the world, to preserve dominion. *Calvin* has not said much more of it; *Calvin*, says *Bayle*, who has been so much insulted, and so often called an egregious calumniator, for having made use of these words regarding the popes and cardinals: “ The
“ first article of their sacred theology is, that there is no
“ God: The second, that all that is written, and preached,
“ of *Jesus Christ*, is but falsehood and idle talk: The
“ third, that all that is contained in scripture concerning
“ eternal life, and the resurrection of the body, are fables.” *Castellon* said much the same; for when he was

describing the wanton lusts, avarice, and rapaciousness, of the *Roman* pontiffs; their contempt of religion; the pride, luxury, and laziness of the cardinals, their riotous feasting, and other vices, which he had observed in the court of *Rome*, while he was there with the bishop of *Auxerre* the *French* ambassador, he would be moved with so much indignation, that not only the color in his face, but the very motions and gestures of his body would be changed: Insomuch, that he would often say, he was fully persuaded that the popes themselves, the supreme heads of religion, contaminated with so many vices of their own and those about them, did not sincerely, and from their hearts, worship *Christ*.

Luther, *Bucer*, *Calvin*, and other bright stars which shone in the reformed church, were to enlighten this gloom. The divines of *Strasburgh* desired *Calvin* to assist at the diet the emperor had called at *Worms* and *Ratisbon* in 1541, to see if it was possible to reconcile the differences in religion. He appeared there with *Bucer*, and conferred with *Melancthon*, who called him his divine. The time was now come for establishing the church at *Geneva*, by recalling *Calvin*. The Syndics who had promoted the decree of banishment were dead or banished; and the people were not before so willing to be rid of their learned pastor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and were unwilling to part with him, if irresistible solicitations had not been used.

One of the town ministers, who saw in what manner the people were inclined for the recalling of *Calvin*, gave him notice of their affection in this sort. 'The senate of two hundred being assembled, they all desire *Calvin*. The next day a general convocation; they all cry, we will have *Calvin*, that good and learned man, the minister of *Christ*.' When *Calvin* understood this, he praised *GOD*, and judged it was the call of heaven. He said, *It is marvellous in our eyes; for the stone which the builders refused, was made the head of the corner*. In his absence, he had persuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that though he more approved of common bread to be used in the eucharist; yet they should rather accept the other, than cause any trouble in the church about it.

The people saw that the name of *Calvin* increased every day greater abroad; and that, with his fame, their infamy was spread, who had ejected him with such rashness and folly,

folly. ' Besides, it was not unlikely, (says *Hooker*) but
 ' that his credit in the world might many ways stand the
 ' poor town in great stead: As the truth is, their minister's
 ' foreign estimation hath been the best stake in their hedge.
 ' But whatever secret respects were likely to move them,
 ' for contenting of their minds, *Calvin* returned, as it
 ' had been another *Tully*, to his own home.'

He re-entered *Geneva*, (leaving *Brulius* to succeed him
 in the *French* court at *Strasburgh*) on the thirteenth of *September*, 1541, to the infinite satisfaction of the people and
 magistracy; and the first thing he did was to establish a
 form of discipline, and a consistorial jurisdiction, with
 power to exercise canonical censures and punishments,
 even to excommunication exclusive. This displeased
 many, who urged, that it was restoring the *Roman* tyranny:
 However, the thing was executed; and this new canon
 passed into a law, in a general assembly of the people, on
 the twentieth of *November*, 1541.

He rightly considered how gross a thing it was for men of
 his quality, wise and grave men, to live with such a multi-
 tude, and to be tenants at will under them, as their mi-
 nisters, both himself and others, had been. For the
 remedy of this inconvenience, he gave them plainly to
 understand, that if he became their teacher again, they
 must be content to admit a complete form of discipline,
 which both they, and also their pastors, should be so-
 lemnly sworn to observe for ever after. Of which dis-
 cipline the principal parts were these: A standing eccle-
 siastical court to be established; perpetual judges in that
 court to be their ministers, others of the people annually
 chosen, twice so many in number as they, to be judges
 together with them in the same court: These two sorts
 to have the care of all men's manners, power of deter-
 mining all kind of ecclesiastical causes, and authority to
 convent, control, and punish, as far as with excommuni-
 cation, whoever they should think worthy, none, either
 small or great, excepted. ' This device, (says *Hooker*) I
 ' see not how the wisest, at that time living, could have
 ' bettered, if we duly consider what the state of *Geneva*
 ' did then require. For their bishop and his clergy being
 ' departed from them, to choose in his room any other
 ' bishop had been a thing altogether impossible. And for
 ' their ministers to seek that themselves alone might have
 ' coercive power over the whole church, would perhaps
 ' have been hardly construed at that time. But when so
 ' frank an offer was made, that for every one minister,
 ' there

‘there should be two of the people to sit and give voice in the ecclesiastical consistory, what inconvenience could they easily find, which themselves might not be able always to remedy? They were brought to so streight an issue, that of two things, they must choose one; namely, whether they would, to their endless disgrace, with ridiculous lightness, dismiss him, whose restitution they had in so impotent manner desired; or else condescend unto that demand, wherein he was resolute either to have it, or to leave them? They thought it better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, than discredited for ever abroad: Wherefore those orders were on all sides assented to; with no less alacrity of mind, than cities unable to hold out longer, are wont to shew when they take conditions, such as it liketh him to offer them, which hath them in the narrow streights of advantage.’

The city of *Geneva* is situated on the river *Rhone*, at the west end of the lake *Lemain*, seventy miles south-west of *Bern*, and sixty miles north-east of *Lyons* in *France*. It is about two miles in circumference, and contains about thirty thousand inhabitants. The Republic of *Geneva*, exclusive of the city, is but of small extent, not containing above eleven parishes. The city of *Geneva* is considerable for its situation, as well as its commerce; it being the key, and the most flourishing city of *Switzerland*. Doctor *Burnet* says, ‘It is surprizing to see the learning that is here, not only among the professors of it, but the very magistrates and trading citizens are well versed in the *Latin*-tongue, mighty well acquainted with history, and generally men of good sense.’ They have an university; but the language of the common people is the *Savoyard*, or a very bad dialect of the *French*-tongue: Though people of condition speak *French* in greater purity. Their bishop was formerly their sovereign: But when they became a Republic, the legislative authority was placed in a council of two hundred, and a senate of twenty-five, who have the executive power, or administration of the government. The territories of *France* and *Savoy* come up to the very walls of *Geneva*; and they must have been reduced under the dominion of one or the other, if they had not been protected by their allies, the cantons of *Friburg*, *Bern*, and *Zurick*, against the attacks of both.

Both the clergy and laity of *Geneva* engaged themselves to a perpetual observance of the new institution made by

Calvin,

Calvin, whose inflexible severity, in maintaining the rights of his consistory, raised him a great many enemies, and occasioned some disorders in the city. However, he surmounted all opposition, and also governed the Protestants in *France*, who almost all held the doctrine of *Calvin*, and received ministers from *Geneva*, who presided in their congregations.

An eminent Calvinist was against popular government; because the universal kingdom hath one king, and the government of the world is monarchical. There is nothing more clear and certain, than that the ultimate end puts the due estimate on all the means of government: But, 'that is the best form of government, which most powerfully conduces to the spiritual and everlasting welfare of the people, their holiness, obedience, and pleasing of God. If government be no means to this end, it is not good, desirable, nor of God: For if it be not to and for God, it is not from him. The nearest end of government is order; the next is the maintenance and promotion of the prosperity and security of the people, together with the honour of the governor. The more principal end is our present pleasing and honouring of God: The ultimate end is our more perfect everlasting pleasing him in our fruition of him in glory. The good of the world, and the whole body of the faithful subjects of God, require more attention than the welfare of a particular common-wealth. The same principles that prove it sordid and impious to value our private personal prosperity before that of the common-wealth, prove it as bad to value the benefit of one common-wealth before the universal kingdom of God on earth. If a people could live most prosperously to themselves in the state of some petty republics and free cities; but are hereby incapable of doing much for the safety or welfare of their brethren abroad, it is not the most desirable government. Civil order is the nearest end of civil polity: But church order, for holy communion in God's worship, is the nearest end of church polity.' Yet he says, 'That though variety of outward states, and the neglects of either magistrates or pastors, may be an exception, as to inward qualifications, the same persons are generally fit to be members of church and common-wealth.'

Dupin says, 'The doctrine of *Calvin* concerning the sacrament, is not fundamentally different from that of the Zuinglians; though he uses very positive words to express

' expresse the presence of the body and blood of *Jesus*
 ' *Christ*. He affirms, *that* we are not only partakers of
 ' the Spirit of *Jesus Christ* in the eucharist, but also of
 ' his flesh which is distributed to us: *That* he nourishes
 ' us there with the proper substance of his body and
 ' blood: *That* it is not to be doubted but we receive his
 ' very body: And that this communion of the body and
 ' blood of *Christ* is given under the symbols of bread and
 ' wine to all that celebrate his supper, according to its
 ' lawful institution; so that we truly receive what is sig-
 ' nified by the symbols, that the body which is received is
 ' not a symbolical body, as it was not a symbolical spirit,
 ' which appeared in the baptism of our Lord; but the Holy
 ' Spirit itself was really and substantially under the symbol
 ' or outward form of a dove: *That Jesus Christ* is united to
 ' us in this sacrament, not by fancy and imagination, nor
 ' by thought, or a bare apprehension of the mind, but
 ' really and verily by a true and substantial union: *That*
 ' the manner of our receiving the body of *Christ*, is very
 ' different from the other manner of receiving him by
 ' faith: *That* this mystery is incomprehensible, and con-
 ' tains a miracle, which exceeds the limits and capacity
 ' of the mind of man, and is the work of God, much
 ' above the course of nature: *That* there is a divine and
 ' supernatural change in it, which surpasses our sensible
 ' knowledge: *That* the flesh and blood of *Jesus Christ* are
 ' truly given to the unworthy, as well as to the faithful
 ' and elect; though they are not received with benefit,
 ' unless by the faithful only.' These sort of expressions,
 and several others, which are in *Calvin's* institutions, and
 his other writings, might make us believe, that he did
 not deny the real and substantial presence of the body and
 blood of *Christ* in the eucharist: Yet, in other places, he
 clearly rejects not only transubstantiation, but also his
 real presence; by asserting, that the body of *Jesus Christ*
 is really and substantially present only in heaven; and
 that it is united to us only by faith, after a spiritual man-
 ner, by the incomprehensible working of the Holy Spirit,
 which joins things together that are separated by distance
 of place. These words, *this is my body*, ought to be un-
 derstood after a figurative manner, according to his notion;
 and the sign is there put for the thing signified, as when
 it is said, 'The rock is *Christ*; the lamb is the passover;
 ' and circumcision is the covenant.' The body and blood
 of *Jesus Christ* are united to us only by virtue and efficacy;
 and his flesh, remaining in heaven, infuses life into us
 from

from his substance; Lastly, though the substance of the body and blood of *Jesus Christ* are communicated to us by the sacrament of the eucharist, they are not really and substantially present there: And though the body and blood of *Christ* are there presented, and offered to all Christians, they are not really received, except by the truly faithful, and not by the unworthy.

Calvin differed not much from *Luther* in other points of doctrine. He held the same principles as to imputed righteousness, and the certainty of our justification, which he extended to an assurance of eternal salvation. He also added an impossibility of falling finally from grace; and he asserted the salvation of the children of believers, who die before they have been baptized. He likewise condemned, with more severity than the Lutherans, the invocation of saints; the worship and use of images; vows; celibacy of priests; fasting; holy-days; sacrifice of the mass; adoration of the eucharist; indulgences; the sacraments, except the eucharist and baptism; and, in general, all the rites and ceremonies of the church, which the Lutherans had not entirely abolished.

The manner in which *Emanuel Maignan*, one of the greatest philosophers of the seventeenth century, explained the retaining of accidents, without a subject, in the mystery of the eucharist, is more ingenious than that of *Des Cartes*. He was a divine of the order of the Minims, and says, 'there is nothing so easy, as to explain the manner how the accidents of bread and wine subsist without the bread and wine; for we need only say, that the bread and wine being taken away, GOD continues still to make the same impressions upon our senses, as they did, before they were changed.' *Robault*, who was a *Cartesian*, blames this hypothesis; because it admits two miracles, where only one is wanting. 'Though it be true, (says he,) that GOD can produce in our senses the impressions of bread and wine, after they have been changed by transubstantiation; yet there is no necessity, after this, to have recourse to a new miracle: Because it follows, from the very essence of the mystery, which is that the bread is really changed into the body of *Jesus Christ*, that we must continue to perceive all the same appearances as we perceived before; that is, the accidents of bread and wine must subsist.' This *Cartesian* pretends, that the body of *Jesus Christ* takes up the place of the bread in such a manner, that the same spaces exactly, which served for a place for the bread, are those

wherein the body of *Jesus Christ* is disposed, leaving to the matter, which filled the pores of the bread, the same spaces it filled before. From whence it follows, that the parts of the body of *Jesus Christ* assume the figure, situation, and in general all the other modes of bread, and consequently they are bread: For, according to him, the essence of bread, or the form, which distinguishes it from all other bodies, is nothing but a particular concurrence of modifications; therefore, wherever this concurrence is, there must be bread; and so, it being found in the body of *Jesus Christ*, at the sacrament of the eucharist, this body is nothing else but bread: From whence it follows, that this great mystery consists in destroying a bit of bread, and replacing another bit of bread in the room of that which was annihilated. But this hypothesis includes such absurdities, as are inconsistent even with Popery, and the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Calvin introduced the Lutheran expressions regarding the eucharist, as mentioned in *Bucer's* life, which seem to admit of a corporal presence. *Jodocus Harthius*, a physician of *Mons*, wanted to find a middle way in the doctrine of the eucharist between the *Roman* catholics and the Protestants, to compose their differences; but he was laughed at by both. *John Ponet*, bishop of *Winchester*, who retired to *Strasburg* in the reign of *Q. Mary*, composed a book with this title, '*Dialecticon viri boni et literati de veritate, natura, atque substantia corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia*;' wherein he endeavored to reconcile the controversies about the eucharist, and particularly those of the Lutherans and Zuinglians. He was zealously attached to the Reformation; but he rightly judged what would be the fate of his book; 'that neither of the contending parties would approve of it; and that, while he endeavoured to reconcile persons who were at war with one another, he should expose himself to the indignation of both sides.' And he compared himself to a man who receives a wound with a sword in striving to part people that are fighting. This book concerned the reality, nature, and substance of the body and blood of *Christ* in the eucharist; which this famous bishop published with no other design but to set the faith and doctrine of the church of *England* in a clear light. He first shews, that the eucharist is not barely the figure of our Lord's body; but that it also comprehends the reality, nature, and substance of it: For which reason these words, *nature* and *substance*, are not to be rejected, since

the fathers, in discoursing of this sacrament, made use of them. Secondly, he enquires, whether these words, *reality*, *nature*, and *substance*, were understood by the fathers in this mystery, according to their general signification, or in a sense that was peculiar and better adapted to the sacraments? For that we should not only observe what words the fathers made use of, but likewise what meaning they put upon them. And that though he was ready with the fathers, to acknowledge a difference between the body of *Christ*, which had the natural form of a human body, and his mystical body in the sacrament; yet he inclined to think that this difference should be applied to the manner in which it is present and exhibited, rather than to the thing itself, the true body of *Christ*: It being most certain, that the body which believers receive in the sacrament, is the same which *Christ* offered up by his death for their salvation. Lastly, he maintains, that it must be understood in a spiritual sense, according to the general and unanimous exposition of the antient fathers; and that every carnal thought or imagination should be excluded. *Ponet* laid great stress upon the authority of the fathers, who speak in strong terms of the presence of our Lord's body in the symbols of the eucharist; and he entirely rejected the opinion that was ascribed to the Lutherans. However, he condemned those who admit of the oral manducation of the body of *Jesus Christ*: And was willing to allow of the word *transubstantiation*, provided it was understood in a certain sense, and not to include oral manducation. He had no reason to think that the Romanists would be satisfied with his allowing of a term which he modified in that manner. But as for those who desired to have a miracle granted in the eucharist, he might fancy his hypothesis would satisfy them, if they only asked a great miracle in general; for what he teaches on this head is one of the most incomprehensible things that can be imagined. He admits a real and substantial presence of the body of *Jesus Christ*; but which is no more than sacramental at the same time: And he affirms, that, by virtue of this presence, the bread in the eucharist may purify our souls, and unite us into one body with our Redeemer.

The catechism of the reformed churches, composed by *Calvin*, does not differ much from the opinion of this bishop of *Winchester*; as may be seen in these words: "Thus I doubt not but *Jesus Christ*, as he was signified and promised, will make us partakers of his own sub-

stance, that we may be united to him in one life:
 "Min. But how can that be, since the body of *Jefus Chrift*
 "is in heaven, and we are in this earthly pilgrimage?
 "Sch. It is by the incomprehensible power of his Spirit,
 "which unites things that are distant in place from one
 "another."

Ponet's dialleſticon was afterwards joined to the treatiſe
 ' *De corpore et ſanguine Domini*,' wrote by *Bertram*, who
 alſo endeavored to reconcile the controverſies about the
 eucharift, and whoſe notions are very particular concern-
 ing this important article.

Calvin was intimidated at nothing, and ſettled the peace
 of *Geneva*. It would be difficult to believe, that in the
 miſt of violent agitations at home, he could ſhew ſo
 much care, as he did, of the churches abroad, in *France*,
England, *Germany*, and *Poland*; and write ſo many books
 and letters. But there are incontestible proofs of it; for
 he lived in continual action, and almoſt conſtantly with
 his pen in his hand; even when ſickneſs confined him to
 his bed; ariſing from his zeal for the general good of the
 churches. He was a man on whom God had conferred
 extraordinary talents, a great deal of wit, an exquisite
 judgement, a faithful memory, an able, indefatigable, and
 elegant pen; an extenſive knowledge, and a great zeal for
 the truth. But he could not eſcape ſlander abroad, nor
 oppoſition at home.

He was full thirty years old when he married *Idolette de*
Burs, the widow of *John Stordeur*, a native of *Liege*, and
 an Anabaptiſt, whom he had converted. He married her
 at *Straſburg*, in 1540, by the advice of his friend *Martin*
Bucer. She had children by her former huſband, and alſo
 brought *Calvin* a ſon, who died before his father. She
 died in the beginning of 1549, to the great grief of *Calvin*,
 who continued a widower all the reſt of his life.

As the Reformers married to prove their converſion
 from the Papiſts, the latter reproached them, as if they
 warred againſt *Rome* for the ſame reaſons the *Grecians*
 warred againſt *Troy*. "Our adverſaries, (ſays *Calvin*,) pre-
 "tend we wage a ſort of *Trojan* war for a woman. To
 "ſay nothing of others at preſent; they muſt allow my-
 "ſelf at leaſt to be free from this charge: Since I am
 "more particularly able, in my own caſe, to refute this
 "ſcurrilous reflection. For notwithstanding I was at
 "liberty to have married under the tyranny of the pope,
 "I voluntarily led a ſingle life for many years."

The

The Romanists cast many reflections on *Calvin* for changing his name from *Cauvin*, which was the name of his family: But a Protestant divine, who was minister of the church of *Paris*, in 1620, has vindicated him against them all; not only by some examples, but also from solid reasons. In reality, says he, the change of a letter in the name of *Calvin*, is very inconsiderable, or none at all. In turning *Cauvin* into Latin, it cannot be translated otherwise than by *Calvinus*, to give it an air and termination suitable to the genius of that language: For as the *Picard* word *Cauve*, and the *French* *Chauve*, is by all good authors expressed in Latin by *Calvus*; so *Cauvin* in *Picard*, and *Chauvin* in *French*, must in Latin be *Calvinus*. 'Now,' (says *Drelincourt*,) the works of this godly man being wrote in Latin, and having made him universally known by the name *Calvinus*; if afterwards, when he wrote in *French*, he had used any other name than that of *Calvin*, the work might have been ascribed to some different author, to the great damage both of the public and printers.'

Florimond de Remond tells us, that *Bucer* presented *Calvin* to *Erasmus* at *Basil*, who having conversed with *Calvin*, told *Bucer*, that this young man would prove a pernicious creature to the church. Others have adopted this idle story from *Florimond*; particularly *Moreri*, who is censured for it by *Bayle*. The whole is 'a romance; and its author is a writer of no credit, veracity, and consistency. *Florimond* was a man who judged without conscience, wrote without learning, and built houses without money. Of these three accomplishments the first and second are far more common than the third.' The authority of such a man is of no weight, as he confounds and misplaces circumstances; and cannot see in his work the blunders, absurdities, and impossibilities which stare full in his eyes. We should therefore be very weak to give any credit to *Florimond de Remond*, when he brings neither witnesses, nor any other sort of proof: We should be very imprudent to trust him, and highly deserve to be deceived, if we made such a bad use of our sincerity. 'I should not, (says *Bayle*,) have been so busy in exposing the falsities of *Remond*, if I had not observed they spread from book to book, and that the most celebrated authors procure them a sort of perpetuity by adopting them. I have met with them in the last volume of father *Alexander's* Ecclesiastical History.' However, all things rightly considered, this judgement of the great

Erasmus

Erasmus must be very much to the glory of *Calvin*, according to the Protestant hypothesis: For it proves, that he acknowledged the eminent qualities of this young man, if he said, *Video magnam pestem oriri in ecclesia contra ecclesiam*; which are the words in *Florimond*. One cannot help admiring the decent manner in which the illustrious *Thuanus* hath spoken of *Calvin*, who says, 'he was called the great divine.'

Calvin established the Presbyterian government in the church of *Geneva*; and elders were accordingly appointed. The catechism, which he wrote in *French* and *Latin*, was an admirable piece, and found such approbation and entertainment in foreign places, that it was translated into *High Dutch*, *Low Dutch*, *English*, and *Scotch*: *Immanuel Tremellius* translated it into *Hebrew*, as *Henry Stephens* did into *Greek*. *Calvin* modestly shewed that his doctrine had the approbation of the most learned men of that age; as *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, *Capito*, *Myconius*, and *Zuichius*; which he proved out of their writings.

He made much use of *Farel* and *Viret*; yet he contributed much more to them. It was pleasing to good men, to behold three such persons, so famous in the church, co-operating in the work of the Lord, and excelling in several gifts of the Spirit. *Farel* excelled in a certain greatness of mind, whose thundering sermons could not be heard without trembling; and whose ardent prayers would elevate the soul. *Viret* so much excelled in sweet eloquence, that he chained his hearers to his lips. *Calvin* fitted the mind with grave and sententious discourses. So that *Beza* says, 'I often thought, that the gifts of these three men, meeting in one, would make a complete pastor.'

The ordinary labors of *Calvin* were these. Every other Sabbath he preached twice. *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday*, he read his divinity lectures. *Thursday* he assisted in the consistory for the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. On *Friday* he read a lecture in exposition of some difficult places in scripture: Besides his public writings, and private negotiations. GOD so blessed his ministry that he was applied and resorted to from all parts of the Christian world; some to consult his advice in matters of religion, and others to hear him preach. This filled the city of *Geneva* with a great concourse of people; and, besides the established church, there were also churches for the *English*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*.

In 1542, *Calvin* confuted the Sorbonnists in those articles of religion which they would have imposed upon mankind. The next year he was attacked by *Albert Pyghius*, whom he refuted in his answer about *free-will*, which he dedicated to *Philip Melancthon*, who testified his regard for that work in his epistles. *Pyghius* was a *Dutch* divine: He was remarkable for his extreme ugliness and dissonant voice: But he was reputed the greatest sophister of the time. The pope rewarded him with the provostship of *St. John* at *Utrecht*, for defending his bull to the general council in 1538; and he expected to be promoted to the dignity of a cardinal, if he opposed and refuted the doctrine of *Calvin*. The cardinals *Sadolet* and *Cervinus* were his patrons. The former assured him, that he would recommend him to the pope and cardinals. The latter wrote to him, on the twenty-seventh of *October*, 1542, in these words: 'As to your debts, were it in my power to pay them, you should be in no distress: And though his holiness, at present, is put to vast charges on many accounts, I will not fail to represent your services and wants, and to assist you as much as I can.'

Some say, that the reading of *Calvin's* works made *Pyghius* heterodox with respect to the merit of good works, and the justification of sinners. Others affirm, that *Pyghius* examined the works of *Calvin* with so great a desire of refuting them, that he run into another extreme, and followed the steps of the Pelagians. Cardinal *Bona* advised, that the works of *Pyghius* should be read with caution. And *Possevinus* said, that his doctrine, concerning original sin and grace, was contrary to the writings of *St. Augustin*. 'Pyghius, (says *Beza*,) chose *Calvin* for his antagonist, that, by gaining a notable victory over him, he might get a cardinal's hat from the pope: But he was disappointed in his expectation, and only obtained the reward which the enemies of truth deserve; that is, to be despised by learned and wise men, and deceived by Satan and himself.'

Dr. George Carleton, bishop of *Chichester*, in 1619, published a book entitled, '*Consensus eccles. catholicæ contra tridentinos de scripturis, ecclesia, fide et gratia, &c.*' in which he says, 'The Papists assert that *Pyghius*, otherwise a catholic doctor, was led away by reading the works of *Calvin*: But *Pyghius* himself affirms, he had his doctrine only from the scriptures. O *Calvin*, happy even by the testimony of thy adversaries, since thy writings are so conformable to the holy scriptures, that
' what

‘ what a very famous popish doctor confesses he took from
 ‘ the scriptures, other Papists imputed to the reading of
 ‘ thy books ! Certainly had not the opinion of scholastic
 ‘ divines evidently clashed with the scriptures, *Pyghius*
 ‘ would never have forsaken it.’

But a *Romish* writer, who impudently reckons *Calvin* among the first class of heretics, and *Luther* among those of the second, says, that ‘ *Luther* required less learning in his reader than *Calvin*, whose subtle way of writing may impose even upon them who are tolerably learned, as we find by *Pyghius*, who frequently split upon rocks, by reading his works, though he was a learned man.’ A *French* minister also says, that *Pyghius* maintained the doctrine of grace ; and affirmed, that we are not justified by an inherent righteousness within us : But he was sharply censured by the dean of the university of *Louvain*, who reproached him with having been corrupted by reading *Calvin’s* Institution.

Calvin never acknowledged that his works had made *Pyghius* orthodox in the least : On the contrary, he said, “ All this not only favours of the school of *Pelagius*, but is almost an open profession of the Pelagian impiety. He maintains many things as those Pelagians did whom *Augustin* describes ; and is much worse than some of them were. And therefore *Pyghius* in vain either attempts to disjoin himself from *Pelagius*, with whom I have evidently proved he agrees, or to join us to the Manichees, or other heretics, from whom we differ no less, than he does from the orthodox sense of the church.”

Pyghius has also been stigmatized for a Pelagian by a Janenist, who calls him, ‘ A man that could not apprehend the doctrine of St. *Augustin*, nor that of the church ; having but an imperfect knowledge of the corruption of nature, and original sin, which is the key of that doctrine. A man full of Pelagian errors about that matter, who spoke against divine predestination, and the doctrine of efficacious and free grace, with great indiscretion and ignorance.’ This Janenist concludes, that ‘ it is no wonder, if the whole faculty of *Louvain*, in the famous censure of 1587, called *Pyghius* a favourer and a colleague of the semi-pelagians ; if the faculty of *Douay*, in their censure, reckoned him among the disciples of *Faustus Rejensis* ; if the learned *Estius* spoke of him much in the same manner ; and if Dr. *John Molanus* says, that the most learned divines blame him

‘ for

* for having departed from the doctrine of *St. Augustin*,
 * concerning original sin, predestination, and grace.

Pelagius, a *Briton*, was the author of that heresy which bore his name, and began in the fifth century. He maintained, *That* man may be well inclined without the assistance of the grace of *GOD*; and that grace is given in proportion to our merit: *That* man may arrive at such a state of perfection, as to be no longer subject to passions or sin. *That* there is no original sin; and that children who die without baptism are not damned. *Manichæus*, or *Manes*, was the author of that sect, which was called after him, in the fourth century; the foundation of whose doctrine was, that there are two principles of all things, the one good, and the other evil; both of them eternal, sovereign, immortal, and independent. Those who are desirous of knowing the nature and propagation of these heresies, may consult *Dupin's History of the Church*, vol. 2. p. 111 to 118, for the Manichees; and cent. 5. chap. 2. for the Pelagians, from p. 176 to 181. As also *Fuller's Church History*, cent. 5. And in *Bayle's Dictionary*, vol. 4. p. 90, under the article Manichees; and in vol. 5. p. 815, where he explains, 'how what he has said concerning the 'objections of the Manichees ought to be considered.' I shall only make this farther observation, that the treatises which *Pyghius* wrote concerning free-will against *Calvin*, and about original sin, have been placed among the books prohibited by the *Spanish* inquisition. *Pyghius* was so provoked at a book which *Bucer* wrote against him, that it hastened his death, in drawing up an answer, which he left unfinished.

In 1544, *Calvin* declared his opinion about the power of the church of *Neufchatel* in ecclesiastical censures. The same year he displeased *Sebastian Castalio*, because he disapproved of the translation which *Castalio* had made of the New Testament into *French* and Latin. *Castalio* was skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He published a Greek poem on the life of *St. John* the baptist; and a Latin poem, which is a paraphrase on the prophet *Jonas*. He acquired the esteem and friendship of *Calvin*, during his abode at *Straßburg*, in 1540. *Calvin* procured for him the place of teacher in the college of *Geneva*, which *Castalio* exercised till he was compelled to leave the city, for having maintained some particular opinions. *Castalio* began his Latin translation at *Geneva* in 1542, which he finished at *Basil* in 1550, and dedicated to *Edward VI.* king of *England*. The *French* translation was printed at

Basil in 1555, and was dedicated to *Henry II.* His translation of the scripture is variously spoken of; some blame it much, others speak very well of it. The fault which was most generally condemned in his Latin translation, is the affectation of using classic Latin only, which made him say *Genius* instead of *Angelus*, *Lotio* instead of *Baptismus*, and *Respublica* instead of *Ecclesia*. *Vossius*, and other learned persons, censured him for it with reason. He is accused of running into another extreme in his French translation, where he made use of low and mean terms. *Bayle*, indeed, wonders at the impudence of *Garrasse*, and says, if another than *Castalio* had made that translation of the scripture, they would not have complained so much against his language: For he died of poverty, if we believe *Scaliger*; and his misfortune has given him no author to pity him but *Montaigne*, who is remarkable for the solidity of his reflection on this curious and melancholy fact, which is worthy to be consulted, and may be found in his elegant essays, book 1. chap. 34, p. 353. But we have it from a great authority, that many persons judged, that *Castalio* applied his impure hands to the translation of the scriptures with an insolent temerity. And *Beza* says, that the jargon of *Poitou*, the grossest of all the jargons of *France*, may appear less barbarous than the epistle of *Castalio*. We are told that *Castalio* aspired to the ministry, and had sometimes preached: But he was no minister at *Geneva*. He was so vexed, that he could not make *Calvin* approve of the impertinences of his French translations of the New Testament, that he begun to spread some errors; and to maintain, that the *Song of Songs* was an obscene piece, which ought to be left out of the canon of the scriptures. He inveighed against the ministers who opposed his intention; for which he was cited before the senate, where he was heard on the first of *June*, when he was declared convicted of calumny, and was ordered to leave the town. *Beza* farther says, to the *Genevese*, that ‘Satan endeavoured to shake them and their faith, by the means of *Sebastian Castalio*, a man of pretended piety. The blow, though seemingly light, was a dangerous one: However, your city was purged from the latent poison in the year forty-five, by expelling the man himself.’ This recital seems overstrained, when compared with an attestation, that *Calvin* gave to *Castalio*; which imports, that he laid down his office voluntarily. Doctor *Spon* does not say that he was expelled the city; but only that he was deposed.

Castalio

Castallo told *Calvin* as follows: In your testimonial, you testify, that the only reason of my leaving you was, my different notion of the *Song of Songs*; and your interpretation of the article of faith, concerning the descent of *Christ* into hell. Your words are these: "We briefly attest this, that such was our opinion of him, that, by common consent, he was designed for the pastoral office: And that no one may suspect there was any other cause of *Sebastian Castallo's* leaving us, we certify this wherever he comes: He voluntarily resigned his place of teacher in the school: He behaved himself so in it, that we judged him worthy of this sacred charge. Nor was it any blemish in his life, or any impious tenet, but the reason above mentioned alone, which prevented his admission."

Castallo retired to *Basil*, where he obtained the professorship of the Greek tongue, and died there in 1563: This man was a great instance of learning and poverty: But if he had kept within the bounds of his profession, he would have done greater services than he did to the common-wealth of learning; and would have secured himself from many vexations; instead of which, he set up for a mystic, and a devotee, and concerned himself with the nice and obscure questions of divinity.

A diet was held at *Spires* in 1544. Upon this occasion, *Calvin* published his book "Of the necessity of reforming the church;" which was more solid and nervous than any other book, that had appeared on that subject among his cotemporaries. He answered the insolent letters which the pope wrote to the emperor, on his promising the Protestants to hold a general council; which the pope said was thrusting his sickle into another man's harvest. And he also wrote two books, wherein he confuted the Anabaptists and Libertines, who had revived the monstrous heresies of former ages. The Libertines were a sect of heretics who sprung up in *Holland* in 1525, whose heads were *Quintin* and *Copin*. They maintained, that whatever was done by men, was done by the Spirit of GOD; and thence concluded there was no sin, but to those who thought it so. They also asserted, that to live without any doubt or scruple, was to return to the state of innocency. They allowed their followers to call themselves Catholics, or Protestants, according to the company they fell in. They pretended, that the soul died with the body; that heaven was a dream, hell a phantom, and religion

ligion a mere trick of state; with many other monstrous opinions.

The queen of *Navarre* was offended with *Calvin's* book against the Libertines, because he had censured *Quintin* and *Pocques*, whom she admitted into her house. They were two desperate Libertines, whose errors and blasphemies were confuted by *Calvin*. *Quintin* had embraced the reformed religion: But he fell off, and was made professor of the canon law at *Paris* in 1536. He afterwards demanded, that the Protestants should be proceeded against with the utmost severity: But though that bloody spirit had so long prevailed, it was thought strange that a clergyman should take upon himself to solicit such a thing. His speech, upon delivering the memorial of the clergy, to the king, proved, that the most humble and devout orators of the clergy were for shedding blood, if it was necessary; since they reminded his majesty of the order and threatenings of *Moses*. Besides, *Quintin* said, that the king being armed with the sword, ought to oppose the heretics: That GOD had put the sword into his hands to protect the good, and punish the wicked: And that none can deny that a heretic is capitally wicked, and consequently ought to be punished capitally, and be subject to the sword of the magistrate.

‘ Most of the *grande*es of *France* began, (says *Beza*,) ‘ at this time, to suit themselves to the humour of the ‘ king; and, by degrees, grew such strangers to the study ‘ of the scriptures, that at last they became worse than all ‘ others. Nay, even the queen of *Navarre* began to ‘ behave herself in a quite different manner, falling into ‘ idolatry like the rest; not that she approved such superstitious in her heart; but because *Ruffi*, and others ‘ like him, persuaded her they were indifferent things.’ But *Beza* also says, ‘ that the queen of *Navarre* was displeased at *Calvin's* book against the Libertines, because ‘ she was so incredibly fascinated with *Quintin* and *Pocques*, that, though she did not profess their opinions, ‘ yet she took them to be good men; and therefore, in ‘ some measure, thought herself wounded through their ‘ sides.’ Her charity induced her to protect them; and it is not much to be wondered at, if she was provoked against *Calvin*, who with that cutting stile, peculiar to him, had severely handled the persons whom she had protected and maintained. She complained to him of it; which made an impression on him, as she was still acknowledged the protectress of the reformed. For a prince,

cess, or any other woman, to do good to those whom she takes to be the household of faith, is no extraordinary thing, as it is the common effect of a moderate piety. But for a queen to grant her protection to people persecuted for opinions which she believes to be false; to open a sanctuary to them, to furnish them with a subsistence, liberally to relieve the troubles and inconveniences of their exile, is an heroic magnanimity which has hardly any precedent.

Calvin, on the twentieth of *April*, 1545, wrote a respectful letter to this queen, to justify his conduct; wherein he says, "immediately on the receipt of your letters, I dispatched this answer, that I might give you full satisfaction on this account, lest you should abate any thing of that zeal, of which hitherto you have made profession, and expressed in reality." *Beza* speaks favorably of this queen in his *Icones*: And *Brantome* says, she was suspected of Lutheranism, which was then the name in *France* of what has been since called Calvinism.

Calvin so far prevailed, that the Libertines were checked in *France*, and confined themselves to *Holland*.

The year 1545 was rendered infamous by that cruel and abominable edict which the parliament of *Aquitain* issued against the poor Waldenses, whereby the most unparalleled barbarities were exercised upon those unhappy people, without any distinction of age or sex, even to the very burning of their towns. The Waldenses, or Vaudois, were a sect established by *Peter Vaud*, or *Valdo*, a rich merchant of *Lyons* in *France*, in 1160, who found out several errors in the church of *Rome*, and began a reformation. The clergy excommunicated him, and persecuted some of his disciples, which occasioned them to quit *Lyons*, and fly into the vallies of *Piedmont*, which have been ever since inhabited by their descendants, who have adhered to their doctrine.

Calvin was greatly afflicted for the sufferings of the Waldenses, to whom he had wrote consolatory letters a short time before, and sent them faithful pastors for instructing them in the gospel precepts. He wrote to the reformed in *France*, to convince them they acted in a pernicious manner, who pretended it was no sin to be present at the popish services, if they kept the true religion in their hearts. He told them, it was an error condemned by the antient fathers: And, because some of them might think him too rigid, he adjoined to his own the opinions of

of *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, and *Martyr*; whereby the name of these Nicodemites became obnoxious; for so they were called, who cloaked their errors with his example.

When the emperor held the diet at *Ratisbon*, in 1541, the necessity of his affairs compelled him to grant the Protestants the *INTERIM*; that is, a set form of faith, which might be agreeable to both parties, till a general council should regulate the points wherein the Protestants had abandoned the sentiments of the *Roman* church. The emperor wanted to invade the *Turkish* dominions in *Africa*: But he lost half of his army in that fatal expedition, and returned to *Germany*, where he renewed his severities against the Protestants. *Calvin* assisted *Melancthon* in writing against the *interim*; while the emperor and the king of *England* were engaged in a war against *France*, which ended in 1546, and was soon followed by the deaths of *Henry VIII.* and *Francis I.*

The city of *Geneva* had been infested with the plague, and very unhappy divisions began there in 1546. *Calvin*, from the pulpit, exclaimed against the wickedness of the people, who revived the controversy about their privileges, and would not suffer their pastors to dispose of the ecclesiastical goods taken from the Pontificians, as they ought to be. The young people would not suffer themselves to be deprived of their sports, taverns, and other places of debauchery. The ministers insisted earnestly upon it, both in the council and church, threatening the contumacious with excommunication. One of the council accused *Calvin*, that he had taught false doctrine for the space of seven years: But the council committed him to prison, without the solicitation of *Calvin*, and enjoined him to perform penance by carrying a torch in his hand through the city.

Viret's servant received a letter from *Calvin*: But, instead of carrying it to his master, as he was directed, he delivered it to the Syndics, who broke it open, and were not a little displeased at some passages in it, especially where he told *Viret*, "that the people of *Geneva* would govern without GOD; and that he had to do with hypocrites." *Calvin* was sent for to answer this before them; when he justified his complaint by the instance of several debauched persons, who were suffered to scoff at the word of GOD, and to slight their instructions. *Calvin* left the city, at the same time that *Farel* departed from *Neufchatel* to go to *Zurick*, to be professor at a synod composed of divines from *Switzerland* and the *Grissons*.
At

At his return, he set forth his commentaries on the epistle of St. Paul to *Titus*, which he dedicated to *Farel* and *Viret*, in consideration of the strict friendship and unity between them.

Calvin remarked of *Luther*, that he often prayed he might not see the vials of wrath poured upon *Germany*; which immediately after his death came upon those places in a storm, and with the swiftneſs and execution of a whirlwind. *Luther* died in 1546; and all *Germany* was in arms, in 1547, on account of religion; which gave great trouble to *Calvin*, who was glad that *Bucer*, *Martyr*, and ſome other of his friends, were ſheltered from the ſtorm in *England*, where they were invited by archbiſhop *Cranmer*. The Calviniſts ſaid, that *Bucer* favored epiſcopacy: But *Calvin* entertained a good opinion of him, and wrote to him in a very friendly manner, while he was aſſiſting the Reformers in *England*. *Calvin* adviſed *Bucer* how to conduct himſelf before king *Edward VI.* He correſponded with the duke of *Somerſet*; and gave him his opinion how the Reformation ſhould be carried on. In one of his letters to the lord protector, he expreſſed his diſlike of praying for the dead; ‘ which was one of thoſe ‘ things he termed *tolerabiles ineptias*, engliſhed by ſome, ‘ *tolerable fooleries*; more mildly by others, *tolerable un- ‘ fitneſſes*.’ The protector ſeemed to threaten to abolifh epiſcopal authority itſelf, both out of church and ſtate: But this was an impracticable ſcheme, and archbiſhop *Cranmer* ſoon convinced him of his errors. The foreign profeſſors, who had taken refuge, and were ſettled in *England*, were put upon combating the popiſh doctrine of the preſence of *Chriſt* in the ſacrament; and many diſputes upon that head were held in the univerſities, as mentioned in the life of *Peter Martyr*. *Calvin*, in his epiſtolary correſpondence with the protector, endeavored to unite the Proteſtant churches; nay, (ſays Mr. *Strype*,) there was ſo much joy abroad at the Reformation in *England* under *Edward VI.* that *Calvin*, *Bullinger*, and others, ‘ in a letter to the king, offered to make him their de- ‘ fender, and to have biſhops in their churches, as there ‘ were in *England*; with a tender of their ſervice to aſſiſt ‘ and unite together.’ This good work was obſtructed by the machinations of the council of *Trent*, and by the artifice of ſome popiſh biſhops here at home. *Calvin*, however, renewed his endeavors upon the acceſſion of queen *Elizabeth*, and, in a letter to archbiſhop *Parker*, deſired him “ to prevail with her majeſty to ſummon a
“ general

“ general assembly of all the Protestant clergy, where-
 “ soever dispersed; and that a set form and method might
 “ be established, not only in her dominions, but also
 “ among all the reformed and evangelical churches abroad.”
 While this important business was meditating, the design
 was frustrated by the death of *Calvin*; but how probably
 all parties might have been reconciled appears from *Cal-*
vin’s own opinion of a moderate episcopacy. “ Let them
 “ give us, (says he,) such an hierarchy, in which bishops
 “ may be so above the rest, as they refuse not to be under
 “ *Christ*, and depend upon him as their only head; that
 “ they maintain a brotherly society, &c. If there be any
 “ that do not behave themselves with all reverence and
 “ obedience towards them, there is no anathema, but I
 “ confess them worthy of it.” The truth is, *Calvin* and
Parker were but of one mind; and so are all good men,
 in essentials: They both labored and wished to promote
 the establishment of pure religion, and not their own gain
 or glory. And so, in later times, if such men as arch-
 bishops *Usher* and *Leighton*, Mr. *Burrough*, Mr. *Philip*
Henry, and some other excellent men, moderate in their
 tempers and in their attachment to indifferent things,
 could have been assembled to determine the outward mode
 and form of the church, we should have had no dissenters
 among us but very bad men; and the hearts and hands
 of all true Christians would have been much more strength-
 ened and united. This is the true purpose of all out-
 ward forms amongst Christians; who, if they have in-
 deed the grace of GOD in their souls, have no real dif-
 ferences between themselves, worth a moment’s conten-
 tion. But to proceed.

Francis Baudouin, who lodged with *Calvin*, gave out,
 that, in *Bucer*’s judgement, *Calvin* kept no measure either
 in his love or hatred; or that he either raised people above
 the heavens, or sunk them down to hell. But *Calvin*
 solemnly protested, that *Bucer* had never censured him
 in that manner. “ I call GOD and his angels to wit-
 “ ness, (says *Calvin*,) that what *Baudouin* recites of that
 “ matter is a wicked fiction of his own. May GOD
 “ so prosper me, as I never heard any such thing from
 “ *Bucer*: On the contrary, *Bucer*, whom I revere as a
 “ father, cultivated a mutual brotherly friendship with
 “ me, with so much affection, that it grieved him very
 “ much when I left *Straßburg*. It is certain, he strove
 “ to the utmost to retain me by any means whatsoever.
 “ There is also a letter of his to our senate, wherein he
 “ complains

“ complains that I was recalled hither to the great loss of
 “ the whole church ; and in short goes so far, that he
 “ says, I am inferior to none of the ministers of sound
 “ doctrine, and have but few equals.” *Baudouin* con-
 fesses, in his answer, that he had not seen what *Bucer* had
 wrote to *Calvin* ; but he brags he had *Calvin*’s answer to
Bucer. *Theodore Beza* wrote to *Baudouin*, and made the
 following apology for *Calvin* : ‘ You say *Calvin* cursed
 ‘ himself if ever he heard any such thing from *Bucer* :
 ‘ But why do you omit what is most to the purpose ?
 ‘ For these are *Calvin*’s words : “ *Baudouin* says, that
 “ *Bucer* once told me that I kept no measure in my hatred
 “ or love ; but was a man of that vehemence, that I
 “ either extolled a man above the skies, or debased him to
 “ hell.” You see manifestly, though you are so blind
 ‘ with rage or hatred that you can see nothing, that what
 ‘ you wrote obscurely of *Bucer*’s rebuke, *Calvin* under-
 ‘ stood as of some conversation ; and, therefore, remem-
 ‘ bering the sweet and uninterrupted friendship that had
 ‘ been between him and *Bucer*, did not rashly break out
 ‘ into that expression ; so that this is nothing at all to
 ‘ the letter, which you have corrupted too ; for *Bucer*,
 ‘ whose letter I have in his own hand writing, did not
 ‘ write, *you judge as you love* ; but *we judge as we love*,
 ‘ whereby he comprehended himself in the number, and
 ‘ deplored a common fault of mankind.’ *Beza* also re-
 marks, that those two great men soon altered their style
 in writing to each other ; and that there are letters of
Bucer to *Calvin* of a later date, and full of mildness.

‘ *Calvin*, (says a late excellent writer) has been taxed
 ‘ with fierceness and bigotry : But his meekness and be-
 ‘ nevolence were as eminent, as the malice of his tra-
 ‘ ducers is shameless. I shall give one single instance of
 ‘ his modesty and gentleness. While he was a very young
 ‘ man, disputes ran high between *Luther* and some other
 ‘ Reformers, concerning the manner of *Christ*’s presence
 ‘ in the holy sacrament. *Luther*, whose temper was na-
 ‘ turally warm and rough, heaped many hard names on
 ‘ the divines who differed from him on the article of con-
 ‘ substantiation ; and, among the rest, *Calvin* came in
 ‘ for his dividend of abuse. Being informed of the harsh
 ‘ appellations he received, he meekly replied, in a letter
 ‘ to *Bullinger* ; “ ’Tis a frequent saying with me, that,
 “ if *Luther* should even call me a devil, I hold him not-
 “ withstanding in such veneration, that I shall always
 “ own him to be an illustrious servant of GOD ; who,
 VOL. II. F “ though

“ though he abounds in extraordinary virtues, is not without considerable imperfections.” — *Turretin's* opinion of him also deserves attention. ‘ *John Calvin*, (says he,) was a man, whose memory will be blessed in every succeeding age. He instructed and enlightened, not only the church of *Geneva*, but also the whole Reformed world, by his immense labours. Insomuch, that all the Reformed churches are, in the gross, frequently called by his name.’ Thus wrote this candid Arminian, and therefore an unsuspected evidence of all undue partiality, so late as the year 1734.’ See *Toplady's* ‘ *Historic Proof*.’

In 1548, *Calvin* wrote his “ Antidote against the seven sessions of the council of *Trent*.” He also wrote commentaries upon six of *St. Paul's* Epistles: And he more fully confuted the *Interim*, which was published for the destruction of the *German* churches. He drew up a treatise against judicial astrology: And he sent letters to the Protestants at *Roan*, to detect the fraud of a Franciscan friar, who had spread among them the poisonous doctrines of the Libertines and Carpocratians. The latter were condemned in 208, for placing the image of *Aristotle* next to that of *Jesus Christ*; and for adoring him, through an extravagant zeal for his doctrine.

The next year, *Calvin* lost his wife, who was a valuable woman; and he bore his loss with such constancy, that it gave an excellent example to the whole church.

A great contention happened in the *Saxon* churches about things indifferent: Upon which they sent to *Calvin* for his judgement, who freely declared his opinion to them. He also admonished *Melancthon* of his duty, who was accused for too much softness in this point: But *Calvin* afterwards found it to be a false charge. He wrote consolatory letters to *Brentius* in his exile. He accompanied *Farel* to *Zurick*, where, in a synod of all the *Helvetian* churches, he shewed his agreement with them; and indeed there was no great difficulty to bring good and wise men into an harmonious concord. This agreement made a stronger union between the churches of *Zurick* and *Geneva*; and increased the friendship between *Calvin* and *Bullinger*.

When *Calvin* returned to *Geneva*, the senate published a decree, empowering the ministers to require of every family an account of their faith: And they ordered, that no holy-day should be observed but the sabbath. This made the enemies of *Calvin* say, he had even abolished

the sabbath; to which he gave his answer in his book "Of Scandals," dedicated to *Laurence Normendius*, who was his intimate friend.

Calvin, in his writings, every where declares, when he treats of the cause of sin, that the name of GOD ought not to be mentioned: Because the nature of GOD is perfectly righteous and just. 'How rank a calumny is it, then, to charge a man who hath so well deserved of the church of GOD, with making GOD the author of sin: He teaches, on all occasions, that nothing can be without the will of GOD. He says, the wicked actions of men are so ruled by the secret judgement of GOD, as that he is no ways accessory to them. The sum of what he teaches is, that GOD, in a wonderful manner, and by ways unknown to us, directs all things to whatever end he pleases. But why GOD wills what seems to us not suitable to his nature, he acknowledges to be incomprehensible: And therefore denies that it should be over curiously and boldly searched into; because the judgements of GOD are a vast abyss, and mysteries beyond our reach, which ought to be adored with awful reverence. But still he keeps to this principle; that, though the reason of his counsel be unknown to us, the praise of righteousness is ever to be given to GOD; because his will is the supreme rule of equity.' Let *Calvin* himself be heard against the abuse, which wicked men may make (for none but wicked men will attempt such an execrable business) of the doctrine of predestination. "In all our inquiries, (says he in his *Institutes*,) into predestination; let us never fail to begin with effectual calling." Again; "There are some who go on, securely, in sin, alledging, that if they are of the number of the elect, their vices will not hinder them from going to heaven. Such abominable language as this is not the holy bleating of *Christ's* sheep, but, *fædus porcorum grunnitus*, the impure grunting of swine. For we learn from *St. Paul*, that we are elected to this very end, even to holiness and blamelessness of life. Now, if sanctity of life is the very end, scope, and drift of election itself; it will follow, that the doctrine of election should awaken and spur us on to sanctification, instead of furnishing us with a false plea for idleness."

In 1550, *Galearius Caracciola*, marquis of *Vico*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, left his estate and family, and withdrew to *Geneva*, on account of religion. Before his ar-

rival, some persons spread a report, that he came as a spy: But his conversation gave sufficient proof of the contrary. *Bolsec*, a *Carmelite*, who had left the order, and, under pretence of embracing the Protestant religion, had applied himself to the profession of physic and divinity, took occasion to preach up free-will, and that predestination was out of works foreseen. He charged *Calvin* with making GOD the author of sin, and by that means contributing to the condemnation of the wicked: As if GOD had been a Jupiter, or a tyrant; alledging farther, that *St. Augustine* was forcibly drawn in to be a patron of this doctrine, though he was not of that opinion, of which he warned them to take heed, as it was a new and dangerous doctrine, and of which he charged *Laurentius Valla* to be the author. *Calvin* was present at this meeting, where he heard *Bolsec* discourse, with admirable patience; and, after he had said as much as he could, *Calvin* presented himself, and answered most ingeniously to every article for the space of an hour. Besides many places which he cited out of the holy scripture, he quoted so many passages out of *St. Augustine*, as would make a man believe he had studied no other author: So that every one admired it, and shut up all with this saying, "Would to GOD that he [meaning *Bolsec*] who hath so much cited *St. Augustine*, had seen more of him than his covering." *Farel*, who was then at *Geneva*, made a distinct oration to confirm what *Calvin* had said before him; and, to shew that they were to blame who charged them with error, *Bolsec* was thereupon committed to prison, where *Calvin* endeavored to convince him of his error, as well by personal conference, as by letters. Soon after, by the consent of the churches of *Switzerland*, he was banished the city, for sedition and pelagianism. It is reported, that ten years after he recanted, in a full synod at *Orleans*; yet wrote a book of *Calvin's* life, wherein he very much injured his reputation. All this was the mere effect of malice, and fell by its own impotence. The great *Du Moulin* observes upon this occasion, that not one of *Calvin's* innumerable enemies ever carped at the purity of his life, but this profligate physician, whom *Calvin* had procured to be banished from *Geneva* for his wickedness and impieties. The reproach of such a man was an honor to *Calvin*, and especially upon such an account: For, as *Milton* truly says,

Of him to be disprais'd is no small praise.

The

The great *Thuanus*, in his admirable history, though a Papist, mentions him with decency and candor; '*Calvin*, (says he,) was endued with great acuteness and force of genius, and with a wonderful faculty of eloquence; a very celebrated divine among the Protestants.'

Philibert Bertelier, register of the inferior court of justice at *Geneva*, had been suspended from the sacrament by the presbytery, on account of his vicious life: But he applied to the senate to be absolved. This was opposed, in the name of the presbytery, by *Calvin*, who shewed, that the Christian magistrate ought to preserve, not to destroy, the ecclesiastical constitution. *Bertelier* was always *Calvin*'s enemy, because he had often reprimanded and censured him for his vicious and scandalous life; and had strenuously opposed his wicked and pernicious designs. This appears by *Calvin*'s letters to *Viret*, and to *Bullinger*, in the months of *September* and *November*, 1553; in which he cries him down as a bad and audacious man. *Beza* also represents the wicked qualities of *Bertelier*, in *Calvin*'s life. The clamor which was raised against the ministers, as if, in some respects, they had invaded the rights of the sovereignty, was the reason why the council of two hundred ordered that the final judgement of causes of excommunication should belong to the senate, and that the senate might absolve the excommunicated, as they should think fit. By virtue of this decree, the senate granted letters of absolution to *Bertelier*, which were sealed with the seal of the republic. The sacrament was to be administered within two days. When *Calvin* came to hear of what had passed, he soon resolved what to do, and preached against the contempt of the sacrament. He raised his voice, lifted up his hands, and said, that he would imitate *St. Chrysostom*; that he would not oppose force to force, but that he would rather suffer himself to be massacred, than that his hands should present the holy mysteries to those who had been judged unworthy of them. This was a thunderbolt, which confounded the faction of *Bertelier*; so that it was not thought fit that he should present himself to the communion. The next day after the sacrament, *Calvin*, accompanied by his consistory, desired leave of the senate, and of the council of two hundred, to speak to the people about this matter, as it concerned the abrogation of a law made by the people. This made so great an impression on their minds, that it was resolved the *Swiss Cantons* should be consulted about it; and that the decree of the two hundred should be suspended; but that none should say the
antient

antient regulations had been infringed. By this means the consistory obtained a complete victory over the senate, and the council of two hundred.

Calvin dispatched letters to some principal pastors in the *Helvetic* cities; craving earnestly at their hands to respect this affair, as a thing whereon the whole state of religion and piety in that church so much depended, that the cause of GOD, and all good men, were inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unless those cities, by their good means, might be brought to give sentence with the ministers of *Geneva*, when the cause should be brought before them; and so to give it, that it might effectually contain two things; the one, an absolute approbation of the discipline of *Geneva*, as consonant to the word of God, without any cautions or qualifications; the other, an earnest admonition not to innovate or change the same. His vehement request herein, as touching both points, was satisfied. For though the *Helvetian* churches never observed that discipline; yet they returned proper answers to the three questions stated by the senate of *Geneva*: *First*, after what manner, by God's commandment, according to the scripture, and unspotted religion, excommunication should be exercised? *Secondly*, whether it may not be exercised some other way, than by the consistory? *Thirdly*, what the use of their churches was to do in this case? The *Swiss* pastors answered, that they had heard of those consistorial laws, and acknowledged them to be godly ordinances, drawing towards the prescript of the word of God; for which cause, they did not think it good for the church of *Geneva*, by innovation, to change the same, but rather to keep them as they were. 'Which answer, (says the judicious *Hooker*,) although not answering to the former demands, but respecting what *Calvin* judged requisite for them to answer, was accepted without any farther reply; inasmuch as they plainly saw, that where stomach doth strive with wit, the match is not equal; and so the heat of their former contentions began to slake.'

One of the greatest uses which may be drawn from reading, is to learn the weaknesses of the heart of man, and the ill effects of prejudices in points of religion. No less a person than the great cardinal *Richelieu*, has produced an accusation against *Calvin*, on the credit of *Bertelier*, than which none was ever worse contrived, and worse proved; though it has been adopted, and conveyed from book to book. *Bertelier* pretended, that the republic of *Geneva* had sent him to *Noyon*, with orders to make

an exact enquiry there into *Calvin's* life and character; and that he found *Calvin* had been convicted of sodomy; but that, at the bishop's request, the punishment of fire was commuted into that of being branded with the *Flower-de-luce*. He boasted to have an act, signed by a notary, which certified the truth of the process and condemnation. *Bolfec* affirms, that he had seen this act; and this is the ground of that horrid accusation. Neither *Bertelier*, nor *Bolfec*, are to be credited. If *Bertelier's* act had not been supposititious, there would have been, at *Noyon*, authentic and public testimonies of the trial and punishment in question; and they would have been published as soon as the *Romish* religion began to suffer by *Calvin's* means. *Bertelier* had no party against him in *Geneva* more inexorable than *Calvin*, who held him in abhorrence, on account of his vices. *Bertelier* was accused of sedition and conspiracy against the state and church: But he ran away, and, not appearing to answer for himself, was condemned, as being attainted and convicted of those crimes, to lose his head, by a sentence pronounced against him, the sixth of *August*, 1555. No envoy or deputy was ever sent from *Geneva* upon public business, who was not in a higher station than that of *Bertelier*; besides, there were some considerable persons at *Noyon*, who retired to *Geneva*, as well as *Calvin*: By whose means it was very easy to receive all the information which could have been desired, without going farther. If what *Bertelier* said was true, he would have had his paper when he fled from *Geneva*: But it is plain he had not the commission he boasted of, after that time. But can any one believe, that, before the year 1555, when those who were called heretics durst not shew themselves for fear of being burnt, a deputy from *Geneva* should go boldly to *Noyon*, to inform himself of *Calvin's* life? Who will believe, that if *Bertelier* had an authentic act of *Calvin's* infamy in 1554, he would have kept it so close, that the public should have no knowledge of it before 1557? Was it not a piece which the clergy of *France* would have bought for its weight in gold? But why, (says *Bayle*,) do I lose time in confuting such a ridiculous romance? Nothing surprises me more, than to see so great a person, as cardinal de *Richelieu*, depend on this piece of *Bertelier*; and alledge, as his principal reason, that the republic of *Geneva* did not undertake to shew the falsehood of this piece.' The truth is, this cardinal made all imaginable enquiry into the pretended proceedings against *Calvin* at *Noyon*, and that he discovered nothing;

nothing; yet he maintained the affirmative on the credit of *Jerom Bolfec*, whose testimony is of no weight in things which are laid to *Calvin's* charge. *Bolfec* would have been altogether buried in oblivion, if he had not been taken notice of by the monks and missionaries for writing some satyrical books against the Reformation. He was convicted of sedition and pelagianism, at *Geneva*, in 1551, and banished the territory of the republic. He was also banished from *Bern*; after which he went to *France*, where he assisted in persecuting the Protestants, and even prostituted his wife to the canons of *Autun*. He was an infamous man, who forsook his order, had been banished thrice, and changed his religion four times; and who, after having aspersed the dead and the living, died in despair. *Varillas* thought *Bolfec* a discredited author: *Maimburg* rejected the infamy that was thrown upon *Calvin*: And *Florimond de Remond* owns, they have defamed him horribly. *Papyrius Masso* spoke very ill of *Calvin*, but would not venture to mention the story of the Flower-deluce: And he called those mean wretched scribblers, who reproached that minister with lewdness. Is it not strange, that cardinal de *Richelieu*, in one of the best books of controversy that has been published on the part of the church of *Rome*, should be less scrupulous and nice than *Remond*, *Masso*, and *Romuald*; and that he should give out, as a true matter of fact, the story of *Bolfec*, which began then to be laid aside by the missionaries? *Richelieu* intended to have reconciled both religions in *France*, but was prevented by death; and there was not one story which people did not believe, when it defamed him or cardinal *Mazarin*.

In 1553 the malice of the factious *Genevese* broke out so impetuously, as to endanger both the church and commonwealth. About this time, *Michael Servetus* came to *Geneva*, where he began to dogmatize. He had composed a book, intitled, *Christianismi Restitutio*, full of execrable heresies. He annulled the distinction of the three persons in the Godhead. He affirmed, ' That the Son and Holy Ghost were created in the beginning of the world: That the essence of God was common to all creatures, which produced a free will in man; yet the knowledge of good and evil was stifled in him, till he was twenty years of age, before which time a man could not commit any mortal sin: That it was sufficient to believe, that Jesus Christ was the Son of GOD; but it was not absolutely necessary to lay hold on his promises, as all men, both
' Jews

‘ Jews and Heathens, were justified by their good moral works: and that the baptism of infants was a mere ‘ foppery.’ He was countenanced, at first, by some of the magistrates, who hated *Calvin*: so that, besides his natural maliciousness, he was rude enough, in maintaining his blasphemies, to give *Calvin* the lie above fifty times in one discourse: He also as often called him a wicked wretch, and *Simon Magus*. The council could no longer endure his impudence, but committed him to prison, and articles were drawn up against him, which were sent to the four Protestant cantons for their concurrence; after which, he was burnt alive, without shewing the least sign of repentance, but only a great fear of death.

The enemies of *Calvin* on this account, said, that he copied after *Saul* the persecutor, and not after *St. Paul* the apostle of the beneficent *Jesus*. They assert, ‘ that ‘ though *Calvin* caused the papacy of *Rome* to be banished ‘ out of *Geneva*, yet he established a papacy of his own: ‘ That as there was a pope at *Rome*, so he was no other ‘ than a pope at *Geneva*; not only by establishing an infallibility in the very constitution of that church, but ‘ by his maintaining and carrying on of that constitution, ‘ together with his own authority, by persecution and ‘ blood, of which the fate of *Servetus* affords sufficient ‘ demonstrations, and undeniable proofs.’ Even *Erasmus*, in the beginning of his epistle to *Conradus Pelicanus*, says, that *Calvin* exposed *Servetus* to the resentment of his greatest enemies; and that, ‘ Upon his information, *Servetus* ‘ was imprisoned at *Vienne*, and would have been burnt ‘ alive in that city, had he not made his escape. He was ‘ burnt in effigy, with five bales of his books. That unhappy physician, having resolved to retire to *Naples*, ‘ where he hoped to practise physic among his countrymen, was so imprudent as to take his way through *Geneva*, though he knew that *Calvin* was his mortal enemy. *Calvin* was informed of his arrival, and acquainted the magistrates of it. *Servetus* was arrested, tried, and ‘ burnt alive, on the twenty-seventh of *October*, 1553, ‘ for the heresies contained in the book printed at *Vienne*. ‘ Thus the unfortunate *Servetus* fell a sacrifice to the resentment of that illustrious Reformer.’

The author of the memoirs of literature says, ‘ If the religion of Protestants depended on the doctrine and conduct of the Reformers, he should take care how he published his account of *Servetus*: But as the Protestant religion is entirely founded on holy scripture; so the

‘ defaults of the Reformer ought not to have any ill influence on the Reformation. The doctrine of non-toleration, which obtained in the sixteenth century, among some Protestants, was that pernicious error which they had imbibed in the church of *Rome*: And, I believe, I can say, without doing any injury to that church, that she is, in a great measure, answerable for the execution of *Servetus*. If the *Roman* catholics had never put any person to death for the sake of religion; I dare say, that *Servetus* had never been condemned to die in any Protestant city. Let us remember, that *Calvin*, and all the magistrates of *Geneva*, in the year 1553, were born and bred up in the church of *Rome*: This is the best apology that can be made for them.’

In the lives of *Oecolampadius* and *Melancthon*, it has been mentioned, how the Protestant divines were disgusted at the two first books which *Servetus* published against the Trinity; and that he continued an anti-trinitarian. But it is necessary, in this place, to set the whole matter in a plainer light.

Servetus was born, in 1509, at *Villanueva*, in the kingdom of *Aragon*, in *Spain*. He studied the civil law at the university of *Toulouse* in *France*, in which kingdom it does not appear, that there were any anti-trinitarians at that time: Therefore, it is probable, that *Servetus* himself began the new doctrine, for which he was afterwards put to death. He was convinced, by studying the scripture, that the church wanted to be reformed; which made him resolve to retire into *Germany*, and set up for a Reformer. In 1531, he published his first work, entitled, *De Trinitatis erroribus libri septem*; wherein he undertook to prove, that the words, *Jesus* and *Christ*, and *Son of God*, denote only a man; which he endeavored to shew by several passages of scripture. Concerning the person of our Saviour, he said, ‘ *Christ* was præformed in the divine mind: He was a certain mode of being himself there, which mode GOD disposed of in himself, that he might make himself known to us; that is, by describing the effigies of *Jesus Christ* in himself.’ He called this ‘ the face of GOD, and the word that was made flesh.’ He denied the Trinity, like the modern Unitarians: But he had a very different opinion from theirs, concerning *Jesus Christ*. It is strange, that a man who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, as being incomprehensible, should substitute a notion so obscure and unintelligible in the room of it. He used several expressions in this book, at which the orthodox

dox were very much offended; for he called the three divine persons a chimæra, and metaphysical gods. In 1532, he put out another book with this title, *Dialogorum de Trinitate libri duo*. Thus *Servetus* published two books against the Trinity, in less than two years, without scrupling to put his name to them. He was young, zealous for his new opinion, and perhaps unacquainted with the principles of the Reformers: Nor is it unlikely, that he thought he might as freely write against the doctrine of the Trinity, as the Reformers had done against transubstantiation. And, in 1553, he published a third book against the Trinity, which consisted of seven hundred and thirty-four pages in octavo, printed at *Vienne*, a very antient city of the *Lower Dauphine* in *France*, sixty-eight miles S. W. of *Geneva*. This book was entitled, 'The Restitution of Christianity: Wherein the knowledge of GOD, of the Christian faith, of justification, regeneration, baptism, and of eating the Lord's Supper, are perfectly restored.'

Servetus was in the forty-fifth year of his age when he published this book, to which he would not venture to put his name, as he had done to the former books. Many believe, that he was burnt for the first book; but this is a mistake, for *Servetus* was committed to the flames for the last book. It contained the following pieces. 1. Of the divine Trinity, that there is not an illusion of three invisible beings in it; but the real manifestation of the substance of GOD, and communication of his Spirit. 2. Of the faith of *Christ*, and the righteousness of his kingdom, excelling that of the law; and of charity. 3. Of regeneration from above, and the reign of antichrist. 4. Thirty epistles to *John Calvin*, preacher at *Geneva*. 5. Sixty signs of the reign of antichrist, and his discovery just now at hand. 6. Of the mystery of the Trinity.

When *Servetus* had published his second book, he left *Germany*, and went to *Paris*, where he was admitted doctor of physic in that university. *Calvin* knew *Servetus* in *Paris*, and opposed his doctrine. In 1542, *Servetus* was at *Lyons*, where he corrected the proofs of *Pagninus's* Latin Bible, and added a preface to it, with some notes, under the name of *Villanovanus*. *Calvin* called those notes impious and impertinent; and says, that *Servetus* fraudulently got five hundred livres from the bookseller for his trouble. What is most considerable in the notes was concerning *Christ*, figuratively represented in the scripture.

Calvin kept a long correspondence with *Servetus*, whom he endeavored to reclaim from his errors. *Servetus* sent *Calvin* the three following questions, and desired him to answer them. 1. 'Whether the man *Jesus*, who was crucified, is the Son of GOD? And what is the foundation of that sonship? 2. Whether the kingdom of Christ is in men? When may a man be said to enter into it; and when to be regenerated? 3. Whether the baptism that *Christ* instituted ought to be received in faith, even as his supper is? And to what purpose these were instituted under the new covenant?' *Calvin* answered those queries, in a manner that offended *Servetus*; and *Calvin* says, this dispute occasioned the hatred which *Servetus* conceived for him from that time.

Servetus, upon all occasions, expressed a great indignation against the church of *Rome*, which he took to be the beast mentioned in the Apocalypse: But he delivered himself so confusedly about the nature of *Christ*, that it is difficult to have a notion of his doctrine. It appears, from the whole tenor of the fourth book of the Trinity, that he was a subtil metaphysician; had read the schoolmen, and many of the fathers: That he understood Hebrew: That he believed the soul to be material: and that he was a great enemy to the doctrine of predestination.

Though the *Christianismi Restitutio*, was printed very privately at *Vienne*, *Calvin* had a copy sent to him, and was informed that *Servetus* was the author. It is said, he sent to *Lyons*, to have him arrested, and prosecuted as a heretic: That *Servetus* was apprehended on the fifteenth of *June*; but made his escape on the seventeenth: That he was condemned to be burnt alive, if he could be seized; and, in the mean time, to be burnt in effigy, with his books. The sentence was pronounced against him upon the scandalous crime of heresy, dogmatifation, composition of new doctrines, and heretical books, schism, perturbation of union and public peace, rebellion and disobedience to the orders made against heresies. His effigies, and five bales of his books, were burnt by the common hangman at *Vienne*, pursuant to the sentence of the delphinal court, which mentions the epistles and manuscripts of *Servetus* sent to *Calvin*, who, on that account, was charged with having informed against *Servetus*.

But *Calvin* wonders how it should come to pass, that, all of a sudden, there should start up such a great familiarity and friendship between him and the guardians of the

the papacy. " Will it ever be credited, (says he,) that there is such a free correspondence kept up by way of letters between me and them, who are not less at variance one with another than *Christ* is with *Belial*? Whereas, there is nothing more wanting to refute such a foolish calumny, than the bare denial of it." He adds, that *Servetus* had spread this report among the Papists, four years before; and that, if he had informed against him then, the Papists would not have spared him so long.

When *Servetus* escaped from *Vienna*, he resolved to retire to *Naples*, and took *Geneva* in his way, where *Calvin* caused him to be imprisoned, and prosecuted. His accuser was *Nicolas de la Fontaine*, and *Servetus* was brought to the bar, for the first time, on the fourteenth of *August*, when thirty-eight interrogatories were exhibited against him. The trial was procrastinated, and the magistrates of *Geneva* ordered *Calvin* to extract several propositions out of *Servetus's* book, entitled *Christianismi Restitutio*; and he reduced those propositions to thirty-eight articles, which, according to the title, 'the ministers of the church of *Geneva* declared to be full of impious blasphemies against G O D, and of other mad and prophane errors, altogether repugnant to the word of G O D, and the orthodox agreement of that church.' *Servetus* answered the whole; and the state of the case was transmitted to the *Helvetic* churches for their opinions.

On the twenty-sixth of *October*, *Calvin* wrote to *Farel*, at *Neufchatel*, how the matters stood, as follows: " The messenger is returned from *Switzerland*. The cantons unanimously declare, that *Servetus* has revived the impious errors with which Satan formerly disturbed the church, and that he is an intolerable monster. Those of *Basil* are right. Those of *Zurick* are the most vehement; for they express the heinousness of his impiety in very emphatical words, and exhort our magistrates to use him severely. Those of *Schaffhausen* subscribe to their judgement. The letter of the divines of *Bern*, which is also to the purpose, is attended with that of the senate, whereby our magistrates have been very much animated. *Cæsar*, a comical man, pretended to be sick three days, but came to court at last to acquit that profligate fellow; for he was not ashamed to propose, that the cause should be removed to the council of two hundred. Nevertheless, he has been condemned, without any dispute. He will be executed to-morrow.

“ to-morrow. We have endeavoured to commute that
 “ sort of death ; but it was in vain. I will tell you,
 “ when I see you, why the judges have not granted our
 “ request.”

The *Syndics* were the judges, who were incensed against *Servetus* for writing with asperity against *Calvin*, whom he considered as his accuser. *Calvin* had enemies, who encouraged *Servetus* to write against him, in a very calumniating manner, all the time he was in confinement. This proved fatal to *Servetus*, who, on the twenty-seventh of *October*, was condemned to be burnt alive. The process drawn up before the *Syndics* contained the whole charge against him ; and the sentence was pronounced by the *Syndics* as follows : ‘ That by the process, and also
 ‘ by his voluntary confessions, and by his books, it plainly
 ‘ appeared to them, that *Servetus* had long ago put forth
 ‘ a false and heretical doctrine, which he obstinately continued to spread and publish, so far as to print books
 ‘ against GOD the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ;
 ‘ in short, against the true foundation of the Christian
 ‘ religion : That he had not been ashamed of rising up
 ‘ against the divine Majesty, and the holy Trinity ; endeavouring to infect the world with his heresies.
 ‘ Therefore, they condemned him to be carried to the
 ‘ *Chapel* *, and there to be burnt alive with his books.’

After this terrible sentence was passed, *Servetus* sent for *Calvin*, who, with two magistrates, gave him a visit in the prison. *Servetus* begged his pardon. *Calvin* said, he never thought of revenging himself for any private injuries, which the prisoner had done him : But observed, that he had labored, even to the hazard of his life, for the space of sixteen years, to reclaim him from his errors. *Calvin* also told *Servetus*, that he had conversed with him by private letters with great mildness, and continued to use him like a friend, till he found that *Servetus* bitterly inveighed against him, even to madness, because he had been so free in his friendly reproofs to him. He exhorted the prisoner to ask forgiveness of GOD, for having attempted to blot the three hypostases out of his essence. But when *Calvin* perceived his admonitions made no impression upon *Servetus*, he told him, he would not presume to be wiser than his Master ; ‘ and, according to St. *Paul*’s command, went away from that heretic, who
 ‘ was condemned by his own conscience.’

* A small eminence, about a musket-shot from the city.

Thus

Thus *Servetus* expired in the flames, without speaking or shewing any signs of repentance. *Servetus* was the first who mentioned the circulation of the blood. 'The first that I could ever find who had a distinct idea of this matter, (says Dr. Walton,) was *Michael Servetus*, a Spanish physician, who was burnt for Arianism at Geneva. Well had it been for the church of Christ, if he wholly confined himself to his own profession! His sagacity in this particular, before so much in the dark, gives us great reason to believe, that the world might then have had just cause to have blessed his memory.' Doctor *Douglas* also observes, that *Servetus*, in the fifth book of his 'Restitution of Christianity,' shews that he was apprized of the circulation of the blood. However, it must be owned, that his knowledge therein was very imperfect, and greatly short of the clear and full discovery made by the learned *Harvey*. *Servetus* might have great merit as a physician: But he was more extravagant than *Arius* in his opinion; and a great prelate thought him 'fitter to have been chained up as a madman, than burnt as a heretic.' He condemned the doctrine of Geneva; but he was no Atheist, which was a name, that, in his turn, he gave to the Trinitarians.

Many people were not displeased at the rooting out of a man, who had sowed his wicked doctrine about thirty years among Christians. Others thought he was punished too severely; his fact being only a matter of opinion, which, at the bottom, was a mixture of Judaism and Anabaptism; and that it had been better to have expected his repentance. But the magistrates of Geneva and Switzerland considered him as an apostate, a seducer, and an atheistical person.

Calvin published a book, wherein he confuted the heresies of *Servetus*, and exposed all the proceedings against him. That book was entitled, "*Fidelis expositio errorum Michaelis Serveti*;" or, "a faithful Exposition of the Errors of *Michael Servetus*, and a short Refutation of the same; in which is shewn, that heretics are to be punished with fire and sword." Another book was published, called, "*De non puniendis hæreticis gladio*;" which was thought to be wrote by *Castalio*, under the name of *Martin Bellius*. This was answered by *Theodore Beza*, in a piece with this title, "*De hæreticis a civili Magistratu puniendis*."

Calvin, in his *Fidelis Expositio*, acknowledges that the form of the indictment against *Servetus* was drawn up by his

his advice, and says, "He was not so mortally enraged against him, but that, if he had not been lost to all sense, it was in his power to have saved his life, by his modesty alone. Nor do I know, continues *Calvin*, what to say, unless it be this, that he precipitated himself to his end by his own fatal madness."

When *Calvin* drew up the confession of faith, he took care to insert the following article: "We detest all the heresies which have antiently disturbed the churches, and especially the diabolical imaginations of *Servetus*, who attributes to the Lord Jesus a fantastical divinity; forasmuch as he calls him the idea and pattern of all things, and names him personal or figurative Son of God; and finally forges for him a body of three elements uncreated, and thus mixes and destroys the two natures." It is said, that all the candidates for the ministry in *Switzerland*, and also in the *French* reformed churches abroad, are bound, before their ordination, to subscribe that article of the confession. Besides, in the form of confession of faith, which all the students of the public school of *Geneva* are to make before the rector, there is this article: "Although GOD is one simple essence, yet there are in him three distinct persons; wherefore I detest all the heresies condemned by the first council of *Nice*, as likewise those condemned in the councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*: Together with all those errors that have been revived by *Servetus* and his followers."

The next year, *Matthew Grybale*, lord of *Farges*, spread the same errors as *Servetus* had done: But he would not enter into a public conference with *Calvin*, and retired to *Bern*, where he made his recantation. Those errors also spread into *Poland*, *Hungary*, and *Transylvania*, where a great controversy arose about the punishing of heretics.

Farel, about this time, was indicted as a criminal at *Geneva*, and was obliged to appear before the judges. He had sharply reproved the enemies of *Calvin* in a sermon, and they complained he had done them a great injury. The senate of *Geneva* wrote to the magistrates of *Neufchatel*, to desire that *Farel* might come and answer the charge that was brought against him. Relying upon his innocence, his age, and that antient authority which he had over them, *Farel* readily came to *Geneva*. As soon as the senate had notice that he was arrived, they let *Calvin* know that *Farel* should not be suffered to ascend the pulpit. "I shall proceed no farther, (says *Calvin*); let it suffice to give you a taste of their ingratitude, which
" will

“ will raise a just aversion in all men of honour and probity. But because I have many reasons which hinder me from publickly deploring our calamity, take it briefly thus : Unless Satan be chained up by you, he must be let loose.” *Farel* was heard, and his adversaries defeated.

Calvin wrote his Commentaries upon the gospel of *St. John*, when all the Reformed churches received a great wound by the death of king *Edward VI.* Great numbers of *English* exiles fled for protection to *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and *Geneva*, who found unexpected encouragement and assistance from *Calvin*. The *English* fugitives had settled a church at *Frankfort*, where they were greatly influenced by *John Knox*, the *Scotch* preacher, who objected to the then *English* liturgy, and formed a scheme of parity in church government. This was resented by the *English* who settled at *Zurick*; and some thoughts were entertained of settling the *Geneva* form at *Strasburg*. *Calvin* was consulted on that head; and they sent him the *English* common-prayer-book in Latin, accompanied with many misrepresentations and criticisms upon the *English* worship: So that *Calvin*, in his answer, shewed a dislike to the *English* service. A liturgy was then made use of at *Frankfort*, partly extracted from that of *England*, and that of *Geneva*: But *Dr. Cox* obliged *Knox* to quit *Frankfort*, and retire to *Geneva*. *Cox* then applied to give *Calvin* a favorable opinion of the *English* liturgy; for he perceived he was under invincible prejudices against it. *Cox* went to *Strasburg*, and left *Horn* at *Frankfort*, where new differences arose, and the new modelled discipline of *Geneva* was introduced. Most of the *English* ecclesiastical historians date the rise of the dissenting principles in *England* from this schism: But *Calvin* appears only to be an occasional auxiliary; for it is easy to perceive, that *Knox*, and his friends, carried those principles with them from *Britain*.

The number of strangers visibly increased in *Geneva*; and the *English* were allowed to found a church of their own nation in the city, as the *Italians* had done before them in 1551, and the *Spaniards* some time afterwards: But when *Q. Elizabeth* came to the throne, and revived the Protestant religion, the *English* thanked the magistrates for their protection, and returned to their own country.

In 1555, a conspiracy was formed against the ministers of *Geneva*: But it was seasonably discovered, and the conspirators punished; some being beheaded, and others banished.

nished. *Calvin* went to *Bern*, and defended himself against *Bolsec*, who was banished for accusing him of false doctrine. *Calvin* regulated the church of *Poland*; he comforted the persecuted in *England*, and encouraged the afflicted in *France*. But, in 1556, a tertian ague seized upon him as he was preaching, which obliged him to quit the pulpit, and it was rumored abroad that he was dead. He recovered, and went to *Frankfort* to pacify some controversies which had lately sprung up in the *French* church.

In 1557, he published his commentaries upon the *Psalms*, to which he prefixed a very curious preface. He prevailed on the *German* princes to intercede for the *French* Protestants, and allayed the tempest of persecution in *France*.

In 1558, a new league was made between *Geneva* and *Bern*; but a disturbance happened in the former church. *Valentine Gentilis*, and some *Italians*, collected from the books of *Servetus* more than he had advanced against the Trinity. They were enjoined by the council to subscribe to the general confession of the church, which seven of them absolutely refused, among whom was *Gentilis*, who was committed to prison, from whence he was brought to dispute against *Calvin* before the council. He charged *Calvin* with oppressing the truth, and run himself into Arianism; his drift being to shew, that the divine essence belonged properly to none but the Father. *Calvin*, in a full assembly of the senators, ministers, and elders, fully confuted him out of the scripture, that all the *Italians* immediately subscribed to the established faith. It was the opinion of some lawyers, that the heresy of *Gentilis* deserved death: But he thought to escape all punishment by a seeming repentance, and retracting his opinion by a formal writing made for that purpose. The magistrates took notice of this, and inflicted no other punishment on him than the burning of his writings, and a command not to stir out of the city without their leave, which he submissively obeyed till he had an opportunity of making his escape. The bailiff of *Gex* obliged him to make a new recantation; and *Calvin* wrote a book against him, wherein he excellently confuted this heresy. But *Gentilis* returned to his old error, and was beheaded as an heretic at *Bern*, in 1566.

This year *Calvin* was seized with a quartan ague, which preyed greatly upon his weak body, already debilitated and worn out with his incessant labors and study: But he published his Commentary upon *Isaiah*, and the last edition of his Institutions in *French* and *Latin*.

The

The number of youth, who came from all parts to study at *Geneva*, increased so much, that the old school was not large enough to contain them. The council therefore resolved to erect a new college for seven classes, and three professors of Hebrew, Greek, and philosophy; besides divinity lectures, which *Calvin* read himself, to whom was joined *Theodore Beza*, who preached the following week after *Calvin*. The statutes of this college were first published in *St. Peter's* church, before the magistrates, ministers, and scholars, by *Calvin*, who seemed to consecrate so holy and profitable a foundation.

In 1560, *Calvin* confuted *Sancarus*, who asserted, that *Christ* was Mediator only according to his human nature. *Calvin* was consulted by the *Bohemian* Waldenses, whom he exhorted to enter into a nearer conjunction with other Reformed churches. He sent *Galacius* to plant a *French* church in *England*, where *Q. Elizabeth* gave protection to the refugees: And he published his lectures upon *Daniel*, which he dedicated to the *French* churches. *Francis II.* was then upon the throne of *France*, where the public affairs were conducted by the duke of *Guise*, and the cardinal de *Lorrain*, whose administration offended the Protestants, and occasioned the celebrated conspiracy of *Amboise*, which was formed against the princes of the house of *Guise*, by the prince of *Condé*, brother to the king of *Navarre*. The conspiracy was discovered, and the prince ordered for execution, which was prevented by the death of the king. He was succeeded by *Charles IX.* who honorably pardoned the prince of *Condé*; and he ordered the Catholics and Protestants to live in peace with each other: But both parties began to call themselves by the invidious names of *Papists* and *Hugonots*, in 1561. The origin of the word *Hugonot* is not certainly known: Some believe it took its rise from certain deputies of the Protestants coming to address the king in Latin; when he who was to speak stopped short at the beginning of what he should have said, and having repeated the word, '*huc nos, huc venimus,*' could proceed no farther: Though others are of opinion, that this name was given them at *Tours*, because they assembled late to teach in a part of the town, where superstitious people believed the apparition of king *Hugo* appeared every night.

The duke of *Guise*, the king of *Navarre*, and *Catherine de Medicis* the mother of *Charles IX.* formed an union, which was called the triumvirate, and governed the kingdom during the minority of the king. In 1562, the

prince of *Condé* appeared in arms, for their consciences who had embraced the Reformed religion, and the *French* Protestants received assistance from the queen of *England*. The duke of *Guise* was assassinated by *Polrot*, a Protestant gentleman; and the queen concluded a peace with the prince of *Condé*; whereby the Protestants were granted the liberty of assembling publicly for the exercise of their religion. But the war was renewed in 1564; and when peace was again concluded in 1568, the Protestants soon found the accomplishments of what had been foretold by the admiral de *Coligny*; 'That peace had been offered only to disarm them, and thereby destroy them, with greater ease.' The great *Coligny* was assassinated, and the bloody massacre of *Paris* was put in execution, which was extended all over the kingdom, and the war was carried on against the Protestants till 1573.

Calvin lived only to see the beginning of this civil and religious war in his native country, which so much affected him, that it increased his disease. In 1562, he published that excellent Confession of Faith, which was sent to the states of the empire at *Frankfort*, in the name of the prince of *Condé*, and also the Protestants of *France*. The year following he published his Commentaries upon the four Books of *Moses*, which he also translated out of *Latin* into *French*; and he began his Commentary upon *Joshua*, which he finished a little before his death.

On the sixth of *February*, 1564, *Calvin* preached his last sermon. He was faint, thin, and consumptive. He had for ten years together abstained from dinners; for he was frequently troubled with the head-ach, which his abstinence only could cure. By straining his voice, and using of aloes, he brought on the hemorrhoids, which at last proved ulcerous; and he had also a spitting of blood. When his ague left him, the gout took him in his right leg; then the cholic, and lastly the stone, which he never perceived till a few months before his death.

Though he was tormented with so many violent diseases, he never uttered a word unbecoming a Christian, and so great a divine; only lifting up his eyes to heaven, he used to say, "How long, Lord!" which was an expression he constantly used, when he heard of the calamities which afflicted his Protestant brethren, for which he felt more than for any thing that could befall himself. On the twenty-seventh of *March* he was carried in his chair to the senate, when he presented to them a new rector for the school; then uncovered his head, and thanked them
for

for all their favors, and particularly for their great care of him in his sickness: "For I perceive, (said he), this is the last time I shall come into this place." His voice failed him as he spoke, and the assembly took leave of him in tears.

On the second of *April*, which was *Easter-day*, he was carried to the church, where *Beza* administered to him the sacrament. He made his will on the twenty-fifth, and on the twenty-seventh died, 'having, by over-much study, brought upon him several distempers.' He died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and was buried the next morning, in the common church-yard of the large palace, according as he had desired in his will, without any pomp or epitaph. *Simon Goulard*, of *Senlis*, who came to *Geneva* awhile after, was chosen in his place: And *Theodore Beza* wrote a discourse of his life and death, which was published in the same year, together with his Testament.

Burnham, in his Pious Memorials, translates from *Melch. Adam*, the following account of his last will and death; he dictated his will to the public notary of *Geneva* in these words. "I, *John Calvin*, minister of the word of GOD in the church of *Geneva*, being so oppressed and afflicted with divers diseases, that I conclude the Lord GOD hath appointed shortly to take me out of this world; therefore have determined to make my last will and testament in this form following:

"First, I give thanks to GOD, that, taking pity on me, whom he created and placed in this world, he hath delivered me out of the deep darkness of idolatry, into which I was plunged; and hath brought me into the light of his gospel, and made me a partaker of the doctrine of salvation, whereof I was most unworthy. And he hath not only gently and graciously borne with my faults and sins, for which I deserved to be rejected of him and cast out, but hath treated me with such meekness and mildness, that he hath vouchsafed to use my labours in preaching and publishing the truth of his gospel. And I witness and declare, that I intend to pass the remainder of my life in the same faith and religion which he hath delivered to me by his gospel; and not to seek any other aid, or refuge for salvation, than his free adoption; in which alone salvation resteth. And, with my whole heart, I embrace the mercy which he hath used towards me for *Jesus Christ's* sake; recompensing my faults with the merit of his death and passion, that satisfaction might be made, by this means,

" for

“ for all my sins and crimes, and the remembrance of
 “ them be blotted out. I witness also and declare, that
 “ I humbly beg of him, that being washed and cleansed
 “ in the blood of that highest Redeemer, shed for the sins
 “ of mankind, I may stand at his judgement-seat, under
 “ the image of my Redeemer.

“ Also I declare, that I have diligently endeavoured,
 “ according to the measure of grace received, and the
 “ bounty which GOD hath used towards me, that I
 “ might preach his word holily and purely, as well in
 “ sermons, as in commentaries, and other writings; and
 “ interpret his holy scripture faithfully.

“ But, alas! that study and zeal of mine (if worthy
 “ so to be called) have been so remiss and languishing,
 “ that, I confess, innumerable things have been wanting
 “ in me to the well performing of my duty. And, un-
 “ less the unmeasurable bounty of GOD had been pre-
 “ sent, my studies had been vain and vanishing. For
 “ which causes, I witness and declare, that I hope for
 “ no other help for salvation than this only; that seeing
 “ GOD is the Father of mercy, I trust he hath shewed
 “ himself a father to me, who acknowledge myself a
 “ miserable sinner.

“ As for other things, after my departure out of this
 “ life, I would have my body committed to the earth, in
 “ that order and manner which is usual in this church
 “ and city, till the blessed day of resurrection com-
 “ eth, &c.”

To the four syndics, and all the magistrates, who in
 a body honored him with a visit before his death, he
 spoke to the following effect:

“ Honoured sirs, I give you great thanks that you have
 “ done me this honour, having not deserved it from you;
 “ and that you have so often borne with my infirmities;
 “ Which, to me, hath always been an argument of your
 “ singular goodness for me.

“ Touching the doctrine you have heard from me, I
 “ take GOD to witness, that I have not rashly and un-
 “ groundedly, but carefully and purely taught the word
 “ of GOD intrusted to me; whose wrath I should other-
 “ wise now perceive hanging over me. But I am cer-
 “ tainly assured, that my labours in teaching it have not
 “ been displeasing to him.

“ And I testify this the more willingly; both before
 “ GOD and yourselves; because, I doubt not but the
 “ devil, according to his custom, will raise up wicked,
 light,

“light, and giddy-headed people, to corrupt the sincere
“doctrine which you have heard from me.”

Then, considering the immeasurable benefits which
GOD had conferred on that city, he said;—“I am a
“very good witness, out of how many great dangers the
“hand of GOD hath delivered you: Moreover, you see
“in what estate you now are. Therefore, whether your
“affairs be prosperous or adverse, let this thing be al-
“ways before your eyes, that GOD is he alone who
“establisheth kingdoms and cities; and therefore will
“be worshipped by mortal men.”

And, continuing his discourse, he shewed them at large,
the danger of pride and security; the great dangers they
were also in from errors in judgement, and corruptions in
practice.

Then he prayed to GOD for the increase of his gifts
and blessings upon them, and for the safety and welfare of
the commonwealth. After which, giving his hand to
each of them, they took their leave; departing full of sor-
row, and with many tears, as from their common father.

April 28. The ministers of *Geneva* being with him, he
spoke thus to them—“Brethren, after my decease, stand
“fast in this work of the Lord, and be not discouraged;
“for the Lord will preserve this church and common-
“wealth against the threatenings of the enemies. When
“I came first to this city, the gospel indeed was preached,
“but the management of things, with respect to it, was
“very troublesome: Many conceiving, that Christianity
“was nothing more than the demolishing of images. And
“there were not a few wicked persons, from whom I
“suffered many things. But the Lord our God so con-
“firmed and strengthened me, who am not naturally bold,
“that I gave not place to any of their attempts. I pro-
“fess, brethren, that I have lived with you in true love
“and sincere charity; and thus I now depart from you:
“If you have found me any way pettish under my disease;
“I crave your pardon; and give you very great thanks,
“that you have so borne, on your part, the burden im-
“posed on me in the time of my sickness.”

Having thus spoken, he gave his hand to each of them,
who then took their leave, sorrowing and weeping.

A while after, *Calvin* hearing that *Viret*, who was eighty
years of age, and sickly, was on his journey to visit him,
wrote thus to stay him.

“Farewel, my best and sincerest brother: And seeing
“GOD will have you to out-live me in this world, live
“mindful

“mindful of our friendship; for as it has been profitable
 “to the church of GOD here, so the fruit of it tarrieth
 “for us in heaven. I would not have you weary yourself
 “for my sake. I hardly draw my breath: And I expect
 “daily when it will wholly fail me. It is enough that I
 “live and die to Christ, who is gain to his both in life and
 “death. Again farewell.” *May 11, 1564.*

Yet notwithstanding this letter, the good old man came to *Geneva*; and, having fully conferred with *Calvin*, he returned to *Newcome*. After which, *Calvin* passed his remaining time almost wholly in prayer, with his eyes towards heaven; while his voice often failed him, by reason of the shortness of his breath.

He died, as we observed before, *May* the 27th, A. D. 1564, aged fifty-four years, ten months, and seventeen days. *Beza* had but just left him, when *Calvin* suddenly altered for death. On which a messenger was dispatched after *Beza* to bring him back; but though *Beza* returned presently, *Calvin*, without a sigh or groan, was fallen asleep in *Jesus* before *Beza* could reach him.

Joseph Scaliger, who scarce thought any man worth his commending, could not forbear admiring *Calvin*; and he praised him, among other things, for not commenting on the *Revelations*; while he owned him, for the happiest of all the commentators, in apprehending the sense of the prophets. And *Pasquier* says, ‘*Calvin* was a good writer both in Latin and *French*, and our *French* tongue is highly obliged to him for enriching it with so great a number of fine expressions.’

Calvin had such a retentive memory, that he remembered people he had seen but once, several years after. Whenever he was dictating any thing, and happened to be interrupted for some hours, he renewed the thread of the discourse, without having occasion to be reminded where it was he left off: And he never forgot any thing that was entrusted to his memory.

He was a man, whose thoughts were lifted up much above the desire of worldly goods, only seeking how he might most and best promote his Master’s service in the establishment of his gospel. When he took leave of the people at *Strafsburg* (as we have mentioned above) to return to *Geneva*, they would have continued his freedom of the city, and the revenues of a prebend; which had been assigned him: The former he accepted, but absolutely refused the latter. He carried one of his brothers with him to *Geneva*, but he never labored to promote him, as most

men, possessed of his influence, would have done; on the contrary, he caused him to learn the trade of a bookbinder, which he followed all his life.

When his friends would have dissuaded him, in his sickness, from dictating, and especially from writing, he answered; "What; would you have me idle when my Lord comes?"

Calvin was held in the highest veneration by the foreign Reformed churches; and not less so by our own. Witness the exalted testimonies given of him by bishop *Andrews*, bishop *Bilson*, Mr. *Hooker*, bishop *Morton*, bishop *Stillingfleet*, and many others, cited by doctor *John Edwards*, for this purpose in his *Veritas redux*.

Dr. *Hoyle*, who wrote under the patronage of archbishop *Usher*, mentioning *Calvin*, says, 'What shall I speak of his indefatigable industry, almost beyond the power of nature, which paralleled with our loitering, will, I fear, exceed all credit? It may be the truest object of admiration, how one lean, worn, spent, and wearied body could hold out. He read every week of the year through three divinity lectures; every other week, over and above, he preached every day: So that (as *Erasmus* said of *Chrysostom*) I know not whether more to admire his constancy, or their's that heard him. Some have reckoned his yearly lectures to be *one hundred and eighty-six*, and his yearly sermons *two hundred and eighty-six*. Every Thursday he sate in the presbytery. Every Friday, when the ministers met to confer upon difficult texts, he made as good as a lecture. Besides all this, there was scarce a day, that exercised him not in answering, either by word of mouth or writing, the doubts and questions of different churches and pastors, yea sometimes more at once; so that he might say with *Paul*—*the care of all the churches lieth upon me*. Not a year past, wherein over and above all these former employments, in which some great volume in folio or other came not forth.'

There are many among the *Roman Catholics*, who would do justice to *Calvin*, if they durst speak their thoughts. *Guy Patin* has taught us to make this judgement; for he observes, that *Joseph Scaliger* said, that *Calvin* was the greatest wit the world had seen since the apostles. He acknowledged that no man ever understood ecclesiastical history like *Calvin*, who, at the age of twenty-two, was the most learned man in Europe. And he tells us, that *John de Montluc*, bishop of *Valence*, used

to say, that *Calvin* was the greatest divine in the world; *Patin* caused the life of *Calvin*, wrote by *Papyrius Masso*, to be made public. This life has done a great deal of mischief to the copies of *Bolsec*; for who can read it, without laughing at those who accuse this minister of loving good wine, and chearful company? The Papists; at last, have been obliged to acknowledge the falsity of those infamous calumnies published against the morals of *Calvin*. Their best pens have been contented to say, that, though he was free from corporeal vices, he was not so from spiritual ones, such as slander, passion, avarice, and pride.

Calvin has left behind him many who imitate him in his active life; his zeal and affection for the cause of religion. They employ their voices, their pens, their steps, and solicitations, for the advancement of the kingdom of GOD: But then they take care not to forget themselves; and are, generally speaking, a demonstration that the church is a bountiful mother, and that nothing is lost in her service. But for a man, who had acquired so great a reputation and authority, to content himself with a hundred crowns a year salary, and to leave behind him no more than three hundred crowns, is something so heroical, that it must be stupidity itself not to admire it. 'It is a strong proof of his not having studied to heap up riches, that all his effects, notwithstanding his library was sold very dear, scarce amounted to three hundred crowns; so that he might very justly, as well as elegantly, in order to wipe off this monstrous calumny, use these words, in the preface to his Commentary on the Psalms; "If I cannot in my life time persuade some people that I am no boarder of money, I shall convince them at my death." The senate certainly can witness for him, that, though his stipend was very small, he was so far from being unsatisfied with it, that he positively refused the offer of increasing it.' This is one of the most extraordinary victories, the magnanimity of grace obtains over nature, even in those who are ministers of the gospel. Such a disinterestedness is a thing so extraordinary, as might make even those, who cast their eyes beyond the philosophers of antient Greece, say of him, 'I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel.'

The works of *Calvin*, published at Geneva, comprehended twelve volumes in folio; which the edition of Amsterdam, 1667, has reduced to nine. His Commentaries upon the Bible are the most considerable part of his works: But he gained most honor by his "Christian Institu-

"tion," which was wrote in defence of the Protestant religion, and has been always esteemed an incomparable work. An observation has been made, which shews that this book of *Calvin* has been sifted, scanned, anatomised, in all the different manners possible, by the Romanists. They have taken notice, that the first word is *all*, and the last *impiety*; which they think appears very mysterious. The fact is certain in the *French* translation; but not in the original *Latin*. The inquisition at *Rome*, and in *Spain*, condemned this piece, as being *Calvin's* work, falsely inscribed to *Alcuin*. Nor has it been thought sufficient to criticise *Calvin's* Institution, as a pseudonymous piece; but the very cut they pretend he ordered to be engraven for the title page, has been commented on, and the work itself affirmed to be only a collection of plagiarisms. This cut, say they, was a sword in the middle of flames, with this motto, '*Non veni mittere pacem, sed gladium.*' Mr. *Drelincourt* says it is false, and that their proofs are impertinent: 'For it is, (continues he,) as if any one should object to me the symbolical figures, which are placed without my knowledge on the frontispiece of some of my works, and pretend them to be my proper device.' This "Institution" has not only appeared in *French*, but also in *High Dutch*, *Low Dutch*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *English*. *Calvin* intended it as a complete system, and a full idea of theology.

We may add the well-known distich concerning that excellent book.

*Præter apostolicas, post Christi tempora, chartas,
Huic peperere libro sæcula nulla parem.*

That is; 'Since the ascension of *Christ*, no age has produced a book of equal worth, if we omit the writings of the apostles.'

The admirable *Beza* wrote the following epitaph to the memory of his departed friend:

*Romæ ruentis terror ille maximus,
Quem mortuum lugent boni, horrescunt mali,
Ipsa à quo potuit virtutem discere virtus,
Cur adeo exiguo ignotoque in cespite clausus
Calvinus lateat, rogas?
Calvinum assidue comitata modestia vivum
Hoc tumultu manibus condidit ipsa suis.
O te beatum cespitem tanto hospite!
O cui invidere cuncta possint marmora!*

The following translation, taken (with a slight alteration or two) from an old author, is tolerably close, and not inelegant.

' If any ask, why Reverend CALVIN, whom
 ' We justly style the Dread of falling ROME,
 ' (Whose Death the Good with gushing Tears bewail,
 ' And who, though dead, makes all the Bad look pale,
 ' From whom e'en Virtue might more Virtue learn,
 ' And in his Life all heav'nly Grace discern,)
 ' Lies hid within so mean and strait a Grave,
 ' While worthless Mortals splendid Tomb-stones have?
 ' Know ye, That Modesty, which was allied
 ' Always to CALVIN living, when he dy'd
 ' With her own Hands this Mansion did provide,
 ' O happy Grave, enrich'd with such a Guest,
 ' As proudest Marbles envy, not possess!

CONRADE PELLICAN.

THIS great Hebræan and eminent divine was born at *Rubeac*, in *Sweden*, in the year 1478. His parents (whose family-name was *Kurfiner*, or, in English, *Skinner*,) brought him up at school till he was thirteen years of age, and then sent him to *Heidelberg*, where he studied sixteen months; after which he returned home, and entered into a monastery. After some time, he went again to *Heidelberg*, and from thence to *Tubingen*, where he studied with great success, and was much admired for the pregnancy of his parts. *Melchior Adam* relates very prolixly the most uncommon pains, which *Pellican* took to acquire the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, and the great proficiency he attained in it without any instruction from others. His own and his parents' circumstances were but low; so that he got all his erudition in a manner out of the fire. While he was at *Tubingen*, the bookseller there had purchased an Hebrew Bible, in a very small type, imprinted at *Pisa*, but complete, which nobody seemed to care for. *Pellican*, after examining it well for a few days, wrote to his uncle for money, and bought it for a florence and a half, then believing himself to be a richer man than *Cræsus*. He immediately applied himself to the diligent reading

reading of it, which was then the middle of *July*, and with such zeal, that by the end of the *October* following, he finished it; selecting the roots, and ranging the words in the form of a concordance. This was shewn to the famous *Capnio*, or *Reuchlin*, who declared himself astonished, not only at the work, but at the very short time in which it had been performed.

About this time, flourished *Paulus Scriptor*, a countryman and friend of *Pellican*; and of the famous *Staupitius* the patron of *Luther*. This good man preached and maintained the same doctrines, which were afterwards called *Lutheran*: And it seems not improbable, that, from these two excellent men, and from the writings of others, the great Reformer providentially received those intimations of the true understanding of the scriptures, which he afterwards promulged with so much courage and success.

In the year 1501, he was ordained presbyter, at which time the plague raged exceedingly at *Rubeac*, and carried off both his father and mother. In condolence of himself upon so afflictive a dispensation, he transcribed the seven penitential *Psalms* in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, subjoining many suitable prayers. The year following he proceeded to the degree of doctor in divinity at *Basil*, and was made divinity-reader of the convent. About this time *John Amerbac* printed St. *Austin's* works at *Basil*, whom *Pellican* greatly assisted. Cardinal *Raymund*, the pope's legate, at whose instance *Pellican* was first made licentiate, and then doctor in divinity, and who was much attached to him on account of his great learning, purposed taking him with him to *Rome*; but *Pellican* falling ill of a fever by the way, returned to *Basil*.

While *Pellican* continued a friar, he was universally esteemed for his learning and integrity, but when it pleased GOD, by the reading of *Augustine*, *Jerom*, *Berengarius*, &c. and by the conversation of certain learned, godly men, to shew him the errors and absurdities of the church of *Rome*, and he began publicly to exclaim against them, he was presently hated and persecuted. He had, upon an occasion, visited *Rome* itself; and the sight of so many stupid and preposterous superstitions, which there passed before him, not a little contributed to his conversion. And when, about the year 1518, *Luther* and *Erasmus* had published some of their writings, which attacked virtually some of the principal points of the *Romish* corruption, he soon declared himself of their persuasion, and soon became stigmatized for a *Lutheran*. The senate of *Basil* observing

observing his very great abilities, chose him joint-lecturer in divinity with *Oecolampadius* in that city; where he began to read, first upon *Genesis*, then on *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes*. In the year 1526, by the desire of *Zuinglius*, he was invited to *Zurick*, where he heard the first lectures upon Hebrew from the excellent *Leo Judæ*. Here, in the forty-eighth year of his age, he renounced Popery, and, by the persuasion of the other divines to confirm the propriety and holiness of marriage in ecclesiastics as well as other men, he married; and having a son, while he was reading lectures on the history of *Samuel*, he called him *Samuel*. His wife dying, he married again, but had no children by his second wife. He was present at the religious disputation at *Bern*. In the year 1527 he published an edition of the Hebrew Bible, with the comments of *Aben Ezra* and *R. Salomon*.

He diligently applied himself to the study of the *Turkish* language, that he might be the better able to bring some that had become his neighbors to the Christian faith. He was Hebrew professor at *Zurick* for thirty years, where he was universally admired and greatly beloved, both on account of his extensive learning and unwearied labors, and also for his life and conversation, which were heavenly and devout. At length being grievously afflicted with the stone and other diseases, he changed this life for a better on the day of *Christ's* resurrection, in the year 1556, and in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

Lavater says, he had often heard *Pellican* affirm, "that when he first began to study the languages, there was not one Greek Testament to be got in all *Germany* at any price; and that the first he ever saw, was one brought out of *Italy*. But that he could not help rejoicing in having lived to see the vast difference that had obtained, as now many might be purchased for a trifle." *Pellican*, and the rest of the Reformers, studied the holy scriptures. They indeed followed the rule of

Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.

They had no idea of being true divines, without understanding the Bible, nor supposed that theology was really attainable by any other book without it or beyond it. If some moderns, who presume to treat their knowledge in divine things with lightness and an air of superiority, had read *GOD's* word with a measure of the same industry, piety, and learning, it is possible they would have found, that, among all their improvements in speculation, they have

have still a height to climb, before they can equal the sacred erudition and attainments of these excellent men.

Pellican, complying with the earnest requisition of several learned men, published, in his life-time, his lectures and annotations, which were upon the whole Bible, except the book of *Revelation*, which part of the scripture, not presuming through modesty to write upon himself, he added the commentary of *Sebastian Meyer* upon it, in order to render the commentary on the Bible complete. He translated many books out of Hebrew, which were printed by *Robert Stephens*. The *Chaldee* Bible also he translated into Latin. He wrote an exposition in *Dutch* upon the *Pentateuch*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Isaiah*, and *Jeremiah*, with a desire to convince the *Jews*; and, with the same laudable design, he translated the disputation of *Ludovicus Vives* with the *Jews* into the *Dutch* language; and also many books of *Aristotle* and *Tully*; saying, that, like the *Grecians* and *Romans*, they might acquire knowledge in their own language. He made indexes to several books; and with great labor compared the bible of *Munster*, printed at *Zurich*, and another of *Leo Judæ* and *Bibliander*, with the Hebrew text, word by word, lest any thing should have escaped their attention.

Upon the whole, he left behind him a most amiable character in his private life, as well as a most respectable one in his public; being eminent for his sincerity, candor, integrity, humility, and truth.

GEORGE BROWNE,

THE FIRST

PROTESTANT BISHOP IN IRELAND.

THIS first bishop, that embraced and promoted the Reformation in *Ireland*, was by birth an *Englishman*, of the order of *St. Augustine* in *London*, and because of his learning, humility, and pacific temper, was made provincial of the friars of the same order in *England*. Where their convent stood is still known by the name of *Austin-Friars*, in *Throgmorton-street*. He received his academical education

education in the house of his order, near *Holywell* in *Oxford*, where *Wadham* college now stands.

About this time, namely, in the year 1523; he supplicated the university for the degree of bachelor of divinity; but it does not appear that he was then admitted. He took afterwards the degree of doctor in divinity, in some university beyond sea, and was admitted to the same degree at *Oxford*, in the year 1534, and soon after at *Cambridge*. Before that time, having read some of *Luther's* writings, he conceived a liking for his doctrine; and, among other doctrines he then began to teach, even while he was provincial of his order, was "That they should make their applications to CHRIST alone, and not to the Virgin *Mary*, or the Saints." This caused him to be much taken notice of, and K. *Henry VIII.* being informed of it, took him into his favor, and promoted him to the archbishopric of *Dublin*. He had the assent, *March* 12th, 1534-5; was consecrated the nineteenth of the same, by *Thomas Cranmer*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, assisted by the bishops of *Rocheſter* and *Salisbury*; and had restitution of the temporalities on the twenty-third following.

A few months after archbishop *Browne's* arrival in *Ireland*, the lord privy-seal, *Cromwell*, signified to him, that his majesty having renounced the papal supremacy in *England*, it was his highness's pleasure, that his subjects of *Ireland* should obey his commands in that respect as in *England*; and nominated him one of the commissioners for the execution of it. The twenty-eighth of *November*, 1535, he acquainted the lord *Cromwell* with his success, in the following letter:

"My most honoured Lord,

"YOUR humble servant receiving your mandate, as one of his highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of this temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owning his highness their supreme head as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother *Armagh*, [*George Cromer*, then archbishop of *Armagh*] who hath been the main oppugner; and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans and clergy within his see and jurisdiction. He made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people, whosoever should own his highness's supremacy; saying, that isle, as it is in their *Irish* chronicles, *Insula sacra*, belongs to none but to the bishop of
" *Rome*,

“ *Rome*, and that it was the bishop of *Rome*’s predecessors
 “ gave it to the king’s ancestors. There be two mes-
 “ sengers by the priests of *Armagh*, and by that arch-
 “ bishop, now lately sent to the bishop of *Rome*. Your
 “ lordship may inform his highness, that it is convenient
 “ to call a parliament in this nation, to pass the supre-
 “ macy by act; for they do not much matter his high-
 “ ness’s commission which your lordship sent us over.
 “ This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance
 “ by the *Romish* orders; and as for secular orders, they
 “ be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not
 “ able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not
 “ knowing what they themselves say in the *Roman* tongue:
 “ The common people of this isle are not more zealous
 “ in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in
 “ the truth at the beginning of the gospel. I send to
 “ you, my very good lord, these things, that your lord-
 “ ship, and his highness, may consult what is to be done.
 “ It is feared *O-Neal* will be ordered, by the bishop of
 “ *Rome*, to oppose your lordship’s order from the king’s
 “ highness; for the natives are much in numbers within
 “ his power. I do pray the Lord *Christ* to defend you
 “ from your enemies. *Dublin 4 Kalend. Decembris, 1535.*”

In the parliament which met at *Dublin, May 1st, 1536*,
 the lord *Leonard Grey* being then *K. Henry*’s viceroy of
Ireland, our archbishop was very instrumental in having
 the act, for the king’s supremacy over the church of *Ire-*
land, passed: And, therefore, though he had not been
 more than a year and a few months in his archiepiscopal
 chair in *Dublin*, he stood up and made this short speech
 following: “ My lords and gentry of this his majesty’s
 “ realm of *Ireland*, behold your obedience to your king
 “ is the observing of your God and Saviour *Christ*; for
 “ he, that High-Priest of our souls, paid tribute to *Cæsar*,
 “ though no Christian; greater honour, then, surely, is
 “ due to your prince, his highness the king, and a Chris-
 “ tian one: *Rome*, and her bishops, in the fathers’ days,
 “ acknowledged emperors, kings, and princes to be su-
 “ preme over their dominions, nay, *Christ*’s own vicars.
 “ And it is as much to the bishop of *Rome*’s shame, to
 “ deny what their precedent bishops owned. Therefore
 “ his highness claims but what he can justify the bishop
 “ *Eleutherius* gave to *St. Lucius*, the first Christian king
 “ of the *Britains*: So that I shall, without scruple, vote
 “ his highness *K. Henry* my supreme over ecclesiastic mat-
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“ters as well as temporal, and head thereof, even of both
 “isles *England* and *Ireland*, and that without guilt of con-
 “science, or sin to GOD; and he who will not pass
 “this act, as I do, is no true subject to his highness.”
 This speech so startled the other bishops and the other
 lords, and being seconded by justice *Brabazon*, that the
 act passed, though with great difficulty. But he met
 with great and many obstacles in the execution of it; of
 which he gave the lord *Cromwell* an account in the fol-
 lowing letter.

“Right honourable and my singular good Lord,
 “I ACKNOWLEDGE my bounden duty to your
 “lordship’s good will to me, next to my Saviour *Christ*’s,
 “for the place I now possess; I pray GOD give me his
 “grace to execute the same to his glory, and his highness’s
 “honour, with your lordship’s instructions. The peo-
 “ple of this nation are zealous, yet blind and unknow-
 “ing; most of the clergy, as your lordship hath had
 “from me before, being ignorant, and not able to speak
 “right words in the mass, or liturgy, as not being skilled
 “in the Latin grammar; so that a bird may be taught to
 “speak with as much sense, as several of them do in this
 “country. These sorts, though not scholars, yet are
 “crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dis-
 “suade them from following his highness’s orders. *George*,
 “my brother of *Armagh*, doth underhand occasion quar-
 “rels, and is not active to execute his highness’s orders
 “in his diocese.
 “I have observed your lordship’s letter of commission,
 “and do find several of my pupils leave me for so doing.
 “I will not put others in their livings, till I know your
 “lordship’s pleasure; for it is meet I acquaint you first,
 “that the *Romish* relicks and images of both my cathe-
 “drals in *Dublin*, of the *Holy Trinity*, and of *St. Patrick*’s,
 “took off the common people from the true worship; but
 “the prior and the dean find them so sweet for their gain,
 “that they heed not my words: Therefore send in your
 “lordships next to me an order more full, and a chide to
 “them and their canons, that they might be removed.
 “Let the order be, that the chief governors may assist
 “me in it. The prior and dean have written to *Rome*,
 “to be encouraged, and if it be not hindered before they
 “have a mandate from the bishop of *Rome*, the people
 “will be bold, and then tugg long, before his highness
 “can submit them to his grace’s orders. The country
 “folk

“ folk here much hate your lordship, and despitefully call you, in their *Irish* tongue, *The Blacksmith's Son*.

“ The duke of *Norfolk* is, by *Armagh* and that clergy, desired to assist them, not to suffer his highness to alter church-rules here in *Ireland*. As a friend, I desire your lordship to look to your noble person; for *Rome* hath a great kindness for that duke (for it is so talked here) and will reward him and his children. *Rome* hath great favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness; and so have got, since the act passed, great indulgences for rebellion; therefore my hope is lost, yet my zeal is to do according to your lordship's orders. GOD keep your lordship from your enemies here and in *England*. *Dublin* the third Kalends, *April*, 1538.”

The court of *Rome* likewise left no stone unturned, to prevent any alterations in *Ireland*, with regard to religious matters. For the pope sent over a bull of excommunication, against all such as had owned, or should own, the king's supremacy within that kingdom: As also the form of an oath of obedience, to be taken to his holiness, at confession. This our archbishop sent in a letter to the lord *Cromwell*, which was as follows.

“ Right Honourable,

“ MY duty premised, it may please your lordship to be advertised, since my last, there has come to *Armagh* and his clergy a private commission from the bishop of *Rome*, prohibiting his gracious highness's people here in this nation to own his royal supremacy, and joining a curse to all them and theirs who shall not, within forty days, confess to their confessors, after the publishing of it to them, that they have done amiss in so doing: The substance, as our secretary has translated the same into *English*, is thus,

“ I, A. B. from this present hour forward, in the presence of the holy Trinity, of the blessed virgin mother of GOD, of St. *Peter*, of the holy apostles, arch-angels, angels, saints, and of all the holy host of heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the holy see of St. *Peter* of *Rome*, and to my holy lord the pope of *Rome* and his successors, in all as well spiritual as temporal, not consenting in the least that his holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the papacy of our mother church of *Rome*, or to the regality of St. *Peter*. I do vow and swear to maintain, help and assist the just laws, liberties and rights of the mother church

of *Rome*. I do likewise promise to confer, to defend,
 and promote, if not personally, yet willingly as far as
 able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or other-
 wise, the church of *Rome* and her laws, against all
 whatsoever resisting the same. I further vow to oppugn
 all heretics, either in making or setting forth edicts or
 commands contrary to the mother church of *Rome*, and,
 in case any such be moved or composed, to resist it to
 the uttermost of my power, with the first convenience
 and opportunity I can possibly. I count and value all
 acts, made or to be made by heretical powers, of no force
 or worth, or be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any
 other son of the mother church of *Rome*. I do further
 declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister,
 son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, ne-
 phew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mis-
 tress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friends
 or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or
 shall hold, for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or
 civil power above the authority of the mother church,
 or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of
 her, the mother of churches, opposers or enemies, or
 contrary to the same, which I have here sworn unto:
 So GOD, the blessed virgin, St. *Peter*, St. *Paul*, and
 the holy evangelists help me.

"His Highness's viceroy of this nation, [Sir *Anthony*
St. Leger] is of little or no power with the old natives,
 therefore your lordship will expect of me no more than
 I am able: This nation is poor in wealth, and not suf-
 ficient now at present to oppose them. It is observed,
 that ever since his highness's ancestors had this nation in
 possession, the old natives have been craving foreign
 powers to assist and rule them; and now both *English*
race and *Irish* begin to oppose your lordship's orders,
 and do lay aside their national old quarrels; which I
 fear will, if any thing will, cause a foreigner to invade
 this nation. I pray GOD I may be a false prophet,
 yet your lordship must pardon my opinion, for I write
 it to your lordship as a warning. *Dublin, May,*
 1538."

It seems the archbishop's suspicions were not ground-
 less; for that endeavours were used to raise a rebellion
 there, as appears from a circumstance that fell out on the
 feast of St. *John Baptist* following: The archbishop caused
 one *Thady O'Brian*, a Franciscan friar, to be seized,
 when the following papers from the pope and cardinals,
 signed

signed by the bishop of *Metz*, were found upon him, being sent to the lord privy-seal by a special messenger,

‘ My Son *ONeal*,
 ‘ THOU and thy fathers were all along faithful to the
 ‘ Mother-Church of *Rome*: His Holiness *Paul*, now Pope,
 ‘ and the Council of the holy Fathers there, have lately
 ‘ found out a Prophecy, there remaining, of one *St. Lacerianus*, an *Irish* Bishop of *Cashell*, wherein he saith,
 ‘ That the Mother-Church of *Rome* falleth, when in *Ireland*
 ‘ the Catholic Faith is overcome: Therefore, for the glory
 ‘ of the Mother-Church, the honour of *St. Peter*, and
 ‘ your own secureness, suppress heresy and his Holiness’s
 ‘ enemies; for, when the *Roman* faith there perisheth,
 ‘ the See of *Rome* falleth also; therefore the Council of
 ‘ Cardinals have thought fit to encourage your Country
 ‘ of *Ireland*, as a sacred Island, being certified, whilst the
 ‘ Mother-Church hath a Son of Worth as yourself, and
 ‘ of those that shall succour you, and join therein, that
 ‘ she will never fall, but have more or less a Holding in
 ‘ *Britain*, in spite of Fate. Thus having obeyed the Or-
 ‘ der of the most sacred Council, we recommend your
 ‘ Princely Person to the holy Trinity of the blessed Vir-
 ‘ gin, of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and of all the heavenly
 ‘ Host of Heaven. Amen.’ *Romæ* 4 Kalend. May, 1538,
Episcopus Metensis.

In pursuance of this letter, *ONeal* had declared himself the champion of Popery; and having entered into a confederacy with others, they jointly invaded the *Pale*, and committed several ravages; but were soon after quelled. The friar, *ONeal*, was put in the pillory, and confined a prisoner till the king’s further orders. But it being rumored that he was to be hanged, he laid violent hands on himself; yet his dead corpse was carried to the Gallows-Green and hanged up, and afterwards there buried: But it was said, by the register of *St. Francis’s* monastery of *Dublin*, that they brought him from thence and buried him in that monastery. About the time that *K. Henry VIII.* began to suppress the monasteries in *England* and *Ireland*, archbishop *Browne* perfected his design of removing all superstitious reliques and images out of the two cathedrals in *Dublin*, and out of the rest of the churches within his diocese; and in their room placed the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in gold letters and gilded frames. And, soon after, namely in the year 1541, the king converted the priory of the Holy Trinity,

Trinity, into a cathedral church, consisting of a dean and chapter, a chanter, a treasurer, six vicars choral, and two singing-boys; who were allowed 45*l.* 6*s.* *English* money: This sum *Mary* confirmed for ever. But *K. James I.* altered what *K. Henry* and his daughter had done; and upon this second alteration he constituted a dean, a chanter, a chancellor, a treasurer, three prebends, six vicars choral, and four singing-boys: Ordering likewise, that the archdeacon of *Dublin* should have a place in the choir, and a vote in the chapter. And our archbishop founded three prebends in the same, in 1554, namely, *St. Michael's*, *St. John's*, and *St. Michan's*: From which time it hath generally been known by the name of *Christ-Church*,

In the year 1542, died primate *Cromer*, and was succeeded in the see of *Armagh* the year following by archbishop *Dowdal*; who was zealous against the Reformation, as his predecessor had been. *K. Henry* the VIIIth, also died in the year 1546, and was succeeded by his son *K. Edward* the VIth; who, by the advice of his privy council, began to consider, what good effects proceeded from the translation of the bible into *English*, and what light it gave to the understandings of his subjects in matters of religion; and therefore he caused the liturgy to be altered from what his father had established, and ordered it to be read and sung in the several cathedrals and parish churches of *England* in *English*: And that his subjects of *Ireland* might have the same benefit, he sent over an order dated the sixth of *February*, 1550, for the reading the liturgy and the prayers of the church, and the bible in the mother-tongue; which was first observed in *Christ-Church, Dublin*, on Easter-day in the year 1551, in presence of the lord deputy *St. Leger*, archbishop *Browne*, and the mayor and bayliffs of *Dublin*. But previous to the proclamation for observing this order, the deputy convened an assembly of the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and signified to them the king's order, and the opinions of the bishops and clergy of *England*, who adhered unto the same there. Primate *Dowdal* and the popish party bent all their force against receiving the liturgy in *English*; but not being able to prevail, he departed from the assembly, and with him several of his suffragan bishops*: But archbishop *Browne* received it with the utmost satisfaction and pleasure; saying at the same time, "This order, brethren,

* See the end of his life,

“ is from our gracious king, and from the fathers and
 “ clergy of *England*; who have compared the holy scrip-
 “ tures with what they have done; unto whom I submit,
 “ as *Jesus* did to *Cæsar*, in all things just and lawful,
 “ making no question why or wherefore, as we own him
 “ our true and lawful king.” Several of the more mo-
 derate of the bishops and clergy adhered to our archbishop;
 among whom were *Staples*, bishop of *Meath*; *Lancaster*,
 bishop of *Kildare*; *Travers*, bishop of *Leighlin*, and *Coyne*,
 bishop of *Limerick*; which concurrence was severely re-
 membered to most of them in the following reign.

Archbishop *Browne* preached a sermon on this occasion
 against keeping the scriptures in the Latin tongue, and
 the worship of images; and as this sermon is the only
 piece extant of so great a man, and at so singular a period,
 besides his letters set down above, we have subjoined it,
 being short, presuming it may prove agreeable to the cu-
 rious Reader *. Archbishop *Dowdal*, by reason of his
 violent and unseasonable opposition to the king's order,
 was deprived of the title of primate of all *Ireland*; which,
 by letters patent, bearing date the twentieth of *October*,
 1551, was conferred on archbishop *Browne*, and his suc-
 cessors in the see of *Dublin* for ever. However he did not
 long enjoy this dignity; for he was deprived, both of it,
 and his archbishopric, in 1554, the first of *Q. Mary I.*

* Sir *Anthony St. Leger* signified, in this assembly, that it was his
 majesty's order, as also the opinion of the bishops and clergy in *Eng-
 land*, that the liturgy of the church should be read or sung, and the
 bible be read in *English* in the several cathedrals and churches in *Ire-
 land* the same as in *England*; primate *Dowdal* then standing up, with
 much zeal said, Then shall every illiterate fellow read service, or mass,
 as he in those days termed the word *service*. To which Sir *Anthony*
 replied; No, your Grace is mistaken, for we have too many illiterate
 priests amongst us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor
 know what it means, no more than the common people that hear them;
 but, when the people hear the Liturgy in *English*, they and the priest
 will then understand what they pray for. Upon this reply, *Dowdal*
 bade Sir *Anthony* beware of the clergy's curse. Sir *Anthony* made an-
 swer, I fear no strange curse, so long as I have the blessing of that
 church which I believe to be the true one. The archbishop again said,
 Can there be a truer church, than the church of *St. Peter*, the mother
 church of *Rome*? Sir *Anthony* returned this answer; I thought we had
 been all of the church of *Christ*; for he calls all true believers in him his
 church, and himself the head thereof. The archbishop replied, And is
 not *St. Peter* the church of *Christ*? Sir *Anthony* returned this answer;
St. Peter was a member of *Christ*'s church, but the church was not *St. Peter*'s;
 neither was *St. Peter*, but *Christ*, the head thereof. Upon
 this the archbishop rose up, and with him several bishops and clergy,
 under his jurisdiction, went away.

under

under pretence that he was married; but in truth, because he had zealously promoted the Reformation. And then archbishop Dowdal, who had lived in exile during part of the reign of K. Edward VI. recovered the title of primate, and also the archbishopric of *Armagh*, which had been given to *Hugh Goodacre* *. While archbishop Browne enjoyed the see of *Dublin*, the cathedral of St. Patrick's was suppressed, for about the space of eight years; but Q. Mary restored it to its antient dignity, towards the end of the year 1554. The exact time of archbishop Browne's death is not recorded; only we are told, that he died about the year 1556. The learned and excellent *Usher*, late primate of *Armagh*, amongst his memorials of *Ireland*, gives this description of him; 'George Browne was a man of a chearful countenance, meek and peaceable, in his acts and deeds plain downright, of good parts, and very stirring in what he judged to be for the interest of religion, or the service of his king; to the poor merciful and compassionate, pitying the state and condition of the souls of the people, &c. and was adorned with every good and valuable qualification.'

* Q. Mary's letter to the dean and chapter of *Christ-church* in *Dublin*, to receive the archbishop of *Dublin* honorably, and with due respect. *Copia vera, ex Libro nigro Sancte Trinitatis Dublinii.*

'To our trusty and well beloved the dean and chapter, &c.

'Mary the Queen.

'TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well; and for as much as the right reverend father in GOD, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor the archbishop of *Dublin*, being lately chosen for that see, repairth speedily to that our realm of *Ireland*, as well to reside upon the cure of his bishopric, which now of long time hath been destitute of a catholic bishop, as also to occupy the office of our high chancellor of that our realm; albeit we have good hopes ye will, in all things of yourselves, carry yourselves towards him as becometh you; yet, to the intent he might the better govern the charge committed unto him, to the honour of almighty GOD, and for the remain of our service, we have thought fit to require and charge you, that for your part ye do reverently receive him, honour, and humbly obey him in all things, as appertaineth to your duties tending to GOD's glory, our honour, and the common weal of that our realm; whereby ye shall please GOD, and do us acceptable service.

'Given under our signet at the manor of *Greenwich*, the twenty-fifth of *September*, in the second and third years of our reign.'

We have here inserted this letter on two accounts: First, as being a record remaining in the cathedral; Secondly, because there hath been some discourse of late, whether the archbishop of *Dublin* had power herein, or whether it was upon K. Henry's mutation made a deanery, as *Whitehall* chapel is, and no cathedral; but, by this letter, it shews it is both still a cathedral, and subject to the archbishop of *Dublin*.

The

The following remarkable providence, as it stands, in some measure, connected with our Author's life, as to time and place, and tends to shew that God is a God of Providence, preserving his people in times of danger from the hands of the wicked, as well as a God of Grace, saving their souls and bringing them to glory, we shall lay before our Readers, as we find it in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 568.

'*Q. Mary*, having dealt severely with the Protestants in *England*, about the latter end of her reign, signed a commission for to take the same course with them in *Ireland*; and, to execute the same with greater force, she nominates *Dr. Cole* one of the commissioners, sending the commission by this doctor, who in his journey coming to *Chester*, the mayor of that city, hearing that her majesty was sending a messenger into *Ireland*, and he being a churchman, waited on the doctor, who in discourse with the mayor, taketh out of a cloke-bag a leather box, saying unto him, 'Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of *Ireland*,' calling the Protestants by that title. The good woman of the house, being well affected to the Protestant religion, and also having a brother named *John Edmonds* of the same, then a citizen in *Dublin*, was much troubled at the doctor's words; but watching her convenient time, whilst the mayor took his leave, and the doctor complimented him down the stairs, she opens the box and takes the commission out, placing in lieu of it a sheet of paper with a pack of cards, the knave of clubs faced uppermost, wrapped up. The doctor coming up to his chamber, suspecting nothing of what had been done, put up the box as formerly. The next day, going to the water-side, wind and weather serving him, he sails towards *Ireland*, and landed on the seventh of *October*, 1558, at *Dublin*; then coming to the castle, the lord *Fitz-Walters*, being lord deputy, sent for him to come before him and the privy council; who coming in, after he had made a speech relating upon what account he came over, he presents the box unto the lord deputy, who causing it to be opened, that the secretary might read the commission, there was nothing save a pack of cards with the knave of clubs uppermost; which not only startled the lord deputy and council, but the doctor, who assured them he had a commission, but knew not how it was gone; then the lord deputy made answer, 'Let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the mean while:' The doctor being troubled in his mind went away, and returned

into *England*; and coming to the court obtained another commission; but, staying for a wind at the waterside, news came to him, that the queen was dead; and thus GOD preserved the Protestants in *Ireland*.

This being a copy of *Richard* earl of *Corke*'s memorials, as also of *Usher*, sometime lord primate of *Armagh*, being also entered amongst Sir *James Ware*'s manuscripts, who hath often heard the late *James Usher*, nephew to the said *Henry*, and also primate of *Armagh*, aver the same, and wondred that Mr. *Fox* had not inserted it in his 'Acts and Monuments'; there is yet living a reverend father of the church, *Henry* now lord bishop of *Meath*, who can affirm this relation from the said *James Usher*, late lord primate of all *Ireland*.

Upon the recalling of the lord *Fitz-Walters* into *England*, *Q. Elizabeth*, who succeeded her sister, discoursing with the said lord, concerning several passages in *Ireland*, amongst other subjects he related the above passage that had happened in *Ireland*; which so delighted the queen, that her majesty sent for the good woman, named *Elizabeth Edmonds*, but by her husband called *Mattershad*, and gave her a pension of forty pounds *durante vitâ*, (so long as she lived) for saving her Protestant subjects of *Ireland*.

The following is a very remarkable sermon, preached by our archbishop in the year 1551 at *Christ-church, Dublin*. The copy of it was given to Sir *James Ware*, (see his history of *Ireland*, p. 152. edit. 1705.) and is inserted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, vol. v. p. 566*.

PSAL. cxix. 18.

Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law.

"THE wonders of the Lord GOD have for a long time been hid from the children of men, which hath happened by *Rome*'s not permitting the common people to read the holy scriptures; for to prevent you, that you might not know the comfort of your salvation, but to depend wholly on the church of *Rome*, they will not permit it to be in any tongue but the

* It has been observed in *Maclaine*'s translation of *Mosheim*'s Ecclesiastical History, that 'the character and spirit of the JESUITS were admirably described, and their transactions and fate foretold, with a sagacity almost prophetic' in this sermon. The passage, alluded to, is near the close, beginning with the words, "But there is a new fraternity, &c." The memory of almost every Reader can confirm the justness of the archbishop's presentiment or prediction.

"Latin,

“ Latin, saying that Latin was the *Roman* tongue: But
 “ the wonderful GOD inspired the holy apostles with
 “ the knowledge of all languages, that they might teach
 “ all people in their proper tongue and language; which
 “ caused our wise K. *Henry*, before his death, to have
 “ the holy scriptures transcribed into the *English* tongue,
 “ for the good of his subjects, that their eyes may be opened
 “ to behold the wondrous things out of the law of the Lord.
 “ But there are false-prophets at this instant, and will be
 “ to the end of the world, that shall deceive you with
 “ false doctrines, expounding this text, or that, purposely
 “ to confound your understandings, and to lead you cap-
 “ tive into a wilderness of confusion, whom you shall
 “ take as your friends, but they shall be your greatest
 “ enemies, speaking against the tenets of *Rome*, and yet
 “ be set on by *Rome*; these shall be a rigid people, full
 “ of fury and envy.

“ But, to prevent these things that are to come, ob-
 “ serve *Christ* and his apostles: *Let all things be done with*
 “ *decency, with mildness, and in order*; fervently crying
 “ unto GOD, *Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold the*
 “ *wondrous things out of thy law*; then should you rightly
 “ keep the law and the prophets. It is the part of a
 “ prince to be wise, for he hath a great charge to rule
 “ and govern a nation. Your late king, foreseeing *Rome*
 “ and her pope’s intentions, how that he intended to en-
 “ slave his subjects, and to keep them in the state of ig-
 “ norance, consulted with the learned of his realm,
 “ knowing that youth might quickly be wrought on;
 “ therefore he prepared, before his death, a wise and
 “ learned sort of counsellors for his son’s overseers; not
 “ trusting to one or two, but to several, that he might
 “ the better rule his people; whose eyes the Lord GOD
 “ Almighty hath opened betimes, to behold his wondrous
 “ works.

“ Though the words of my text be plainly thus (*Open*
 “ *thou mine eyes*) the meanest of you that hear me have
 “ eyes, but the true meaning of the words is, Endue us
 “ with understanding; for a fool hath eyes, and sees men,
 “ women, beasts, birds, and other things, but yet wants
 “ understanding: So, when we say, *Open thou our eyes*,
 “ we desire the Lord GOD to instruct and teach us the
 “ knowledge of his laws.

“ When you were lately led in blindness, your eyes
 “ beheld the images that then stood in several of the mo-
 “ nastries and churches, until they were removed; yet

“ all this while were your understandings blinded; because ye believed in them, and placed your trust in them.

“ Suppose an artist or workman make an image either of man or woman, and at last a clergyman of *Rome* give it such a name, calling it *St. Peter*, or *St. Paul*, or *St. Mary*, or *St. Anne*; must not that man, though he behold his own handy-work, and knows in his heart that it was his own work, be blind, and void of reason and understanding of the law of GOD, and of the *wondrous things that are contained in the law of the Lord*? Yes, surely, he must be blind, and void of reason, and of the true faith, that would worship the same.

“ The workman carved the eyes, but these eyes see not; he likewise carved the ears, but they hear not; the nose, and it smells not; the mouth, and it neither breathes nor speaks; the hands, they feel not; the feet, but they stand stock still.

“ How therefore can your prayers be acceptable unto this image, that sees you not approaching towards it, that hears you not when you pray to it, that smells not the sweet smells, be they of myrrh or frankincense burning before it? How can it absolve you, when the mouth is not able to say, *Thy sins are forgiven thee*? And if you place a certain sum of money in the palm of the hand of that image; come you again to-morrow, the money, it is true, shall find a customer, but the image never the wiser, who took it; and, if you desire to have it come unto you, it cannot without help; therefore the workman, that made this image, is as blind, as deaf, as dumb, and as void of sense as the image itself; and so be ye all, that put your trust in them.

“ Therefore of late new artificers by springs have made artificial ones, which for a certain time shall move, and ye shall believe it to be real and certain: But beware, good people, for they be but lying wonders, purposely that ye may break the law of GOD. And thus hath the devil devised a lying wonder, that ye may be deluded to break the law of the Lord, which is, *Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image*. O Lord, open thou our eyes, our ears, and our understanding, that we may behold the wondrous things that are in thy law. The law of GOD is an undefiled law. Oh! why should we be so wicked then as to defile that law, which the Almighty GOD hath made so pure without
“ blemish!

“ blemish! *Jesus came to fulfil the law, and not to abolish*
 “ *the law.* But there is a new fraternity of late sprung
 “ up, who call themselves *Jesuits*, which will deceive
 “ many, who are much after the scribes and pharisees
 “ manner: Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish
 “ the truth, and shall come very near to do it; for these
 “ sorts will turn themselves into several forms, with the
 “ heathen, an heathenist; with atheists, an atheist; with
 “ the Jews, a Jew; and with the Reformers, a Reform-
 “ ade; purposely to know your intentions, your minds,
 “ your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring
 “ you at last to be like the fool that *said in his heart there*
 “ *is no GOD.* These shall spread over the whole world,
 “ shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they
 “ never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your
 “ princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein,
 “ unto them, and yet they not perceive it; which will
 “ happen from falling from the law of GOD, by neg-
 “ lect of fulfilling of the law of GOD, and by winking
 “ at their sins; yet in the end, GOD, to justify his
 “ law, shall suddenly cut off this society even by the
 “ hands of those who have most succoured them, and
 “ made use of them; so that at the end, they shall be-
 “ come odious to all nations: They shall be worse than
 “ Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then
 “ shall a Jew have more favour than a *Jesuit.* Now, to
 “ arm you all good Christians against these things that
 “ are to come, lest ye be led into temptation: Cry un-
 “ to the Lord your GOD, and heartily pray that he
 “ would be so merciful unto you as to *open the eyes of your*
 “ *understanding, that you may behold the wonders and plea-*
 “ *santness that is in his law.*—Which GOD of his infi-
 “ nite mercy grant that we may all do.”

JOHN BUGENHAGIUS.

MEELINESS and humility were the characteristics
 of this great divine, who was born at *Julin*, near
Stetin in Pomerania, in the year 1485. His parents being
 of some rank in the state, gave him a very liberal educa-
 tion; instructing him with great care, in the principles
 of

of religion: And, finding that he made great progress in his learning, they sent him early to the university of *Grypswald*, where he profited so much in the study of the liberal arts and the languages, that, at twenty years of age, he taught school at *Treptow*, and by his learning and diligence raised the school to a considerable degree of reputation. He read every day, to his numerous scholars, some portion of scripture, and prayed with them; till one day meeting with *Erasmus's* *Lucubrations*, which treat of the histrionical carriage of the friars, and the idolatry of the 'times;' he received so much light in the true understanding of the scriptures, that he began to instruct others by lecturing in his school on the gospel by *St. Matthew*, *Paul's* epistles to *Timothy*, and the *Psalms*. To these he added catechising, an exposition of the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Many in the city, of various descriptions, resorted to these exercises.

He was called from the school to preach in the church, and was admitted into the college of Presbyters; where many people of all ranks attended his preaching. As learning was not very frequent in the popish divines of those days, and as *Bugenhagenius* was endowed with a considerable variety of knowledge, both in ecclesiastical, theological, and even political concerns; he soon became of great estimation. Prince *Bogisslaus* engaged him to write a history of *Pomerania*, furnishing him with money, books and records; and he completed it in two years, with much judgement and integrity.

His prince had employed him about these temporal affairs; but it pleased GOD soon to call off his attention to better things. For in the year 1520, one *Otbo Slutovius* of *Treptow*, having *Luther's* book on the 'Babylonish Captivity' sent him, gave it to *Bugenhagenius* as he sat at dinner with his colleagues. *Bugenhagenius* looked over a few leaves of it, and told them, that "many heretics had disquieted the peace of the church since *Christ's* time, but that there never was a more pestilent heretic than the author of that book;" shewing at the same time, how, in many particulars, *Luther* dissented from the received doctrine of the church. But in a few days after, having read it with great diligence and attention, GOD was pleased to work such an effect upon him, that he made this public recantation before them all: "What shall I say of *Luther*? All the world hath been blind and in *Cimmerian* darkness; only this one man hath found out the truth." And further reasoning with them

them on the contents of *Luther's* book, most of his colleagues were brought to form the same judgement of them with himself; and the abbot, two aged pastors of the church, and some other of the friars, began to discover the deceits of Popery, and to preach against the superstitions and abuses of human traditions, persuading their auditors wholly to rely upon the merits of *Christ*.

Bugenhagenius after this applied himself diligently to the reading of *Luther's* other works, in which he was taught to see the nature of the law and the gospel, justification by faith, &c. perceiving the agreement there was, in opinion of these doctrines, between *Augustine* and *Luther*, and how wide of the mark, upon these points, were the writings of *Origen* and *Thomas Aquinas*. These truths of scripture he preached and taught with such success, at the same time opening to the people the idle comments and delusions of the monks, that *Erasmus Mandwell*, bishop of *Cammin*, enraged to a high degree, began to persecute many priests, scholars, and citizens of *Treptow*, who were the professors or hearers of these doctrines. He grounded the occasion of it upon the images being removed out of the church in the night, and the injury that the popish priests received by the people's leaving the mass. Moved with envy and rage, he raised a persecution against all that believed and professed them. Some he cast into prison, while others fled abroad: And *Bugenhagenius*, not thinking himself safe, and being desirous of an interview and an acquaintance with *Luther*, went to *Wittenberg* in the year 1521, which was a little before *Luther* went to the diet of *Worms*. About this time, *Bartholomew Bernhard Feldkirch*, pastor of *Kemberg*, was the first priest who led the way, since the absolute interdiction of marriage by the see of *Rome*, by taking a wife. This gave rise to the disputes on the *Obligation of Vows made in Monks*. In *Luther's* absence, *Bugenhagenius* engaged in a controversy with *Carlostadius*, who would have brought the law of *Moses* into the civil state, and removed images out of the church. On *Luther's* return from his *Patmos*, by the suffrages of the university and senate, *Bugenhagenius* was chosen pastor of the church at *Wittenberg*, in which he labored in word and doctrine with much inward consolation, in many changes of affairs, for thirty years, never leaving the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, neither because of the dangers of war, nor for the pestilence that wasteth at noon-day; but preferred very homely fare with the people, among whom he had been made useful, to the

profered riches and preferment both of his own prince and the king of *Denmark*.

In the year 1522, he was requested to go to *Hamburg*, to draw up for them certain doctrinal articles, the mode of church-government, and the form of calling ministers; he also erected a school in the monastery of *St. John*, which afterwards became a school of great note. And in the year 1530, he was desired to go to *Lubeck*, and to do for them as he had done at *Hamburg*, where he likewise set up a school in the monastery of *St. Catherine*. In the year 1537, he was solicited by *Christian* king of *Denmark* and duke of *Holstein*, to reform religion in his dominions, and to erect schools; at which time he published a book on the "Ordination of Ministers, formerly agreed upon by *Luther*, and his Colleagues, with Prayers, and a Form or Directory for holy Administrations." And instead of the seven bishops of *Denmark*, he appointed seven superintendants, who, for the time to come, should ordain ministers and take care of all ecclesiastical affairs, whom he ordained in the presence of the king and his council, in the chief church at *Copenhagen*. He also prescribed what lectures should be read in the university of *Copenhagen*; and appointed ministers in the kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*, to the number of twenty-four thousand.

In the year 1542, he was employed by the elector of *Saxony*, to reform the churches in the dukedom of *Brunswick*: And the year following the senate of *Hildesheim* sent for him to reform their churches; where he, with *Corvinus* and *Henry Winckle*, wrote them a form of ordination, and ordained six pastors to their six congregations, committing the oversight of them to *Jodocus Iserman*, and shut up the church of the canons. In the year 1533, *John Frederick* elector of *Saxony*, with his counselors, being present at the public disputations of *Luther*, *Cruciger*, *Bugenhagen*, and *Æpine*, on the articles of justifying righteousness, the nature of the church, and the difference between ecclesiastical authority and the civil power; *Bugenhagen* made an oration on the last of these, which very much pleased the prince, at whose instance *Bugenhagen* then proceeded doctor in divinity.

Thus far the life of *Bugenhagen* seems to have been quiet and easy; but when the *Bella Theologorum*, the wars of divines began, as they did about this time, he experienced one continued series of outward trouble and distress. Yet when tribulations abounded, the Lord caused the inward consolations of his spirit much more to abound:

abound: So that in all the wars and confusions of Germany, among the states, princes, and divines, and when Wittenberg itself was besieged, he did not fly to any other place, but gave himself up to constant fervent prayer, encouraging himself much in seeing, that in the midst of the storms and tempests of controversies and quarrels the poor ship of *Christ's* church was not, and could not, be swallowed up and destroyed. He remained stedfast and unmoveable both in the doctrine and discipline of the church, always averse to unquiet and seditious counsels; urging that text, *Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto GOD the things that are GOD's*. Like the emperor *Severus*, 'he minded his own business, without minding what others said of him.' His business was the work of the gospel, about which he was to give an account to GOD, and not to man. He left those, who delighted to meddle with factions, to gather the thistles and thorns, which they would surely find in the way. He was only concerned for the distractions of the church: And it was a favorite text with him, in all the commotions he saw and felt, *Commit thy way to the Lord, and hope in him: He shall bring it to pass*. At length, through age and great labor, not being able to preach any longer, he went daily to the church, and in the most devout and ardent manner prayed for himself and for the afflicted church of God. Afterwards falling sick, he still continued instant in prayer and holy profitable conferences with his friends, till drawing near his end, he often repeated that important portion of scripture, *This is life eternal, to know thee the only true GOD, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent*; and so quietly departed in the Lord on the twentieth of April, in the year 1558, in the seventy-third year of his age.

He was a faithful pastor, compassionate to the poor, bold in reproof, a zealous defender of the truth against all error, and had learned the apostolic lesson, in every station and condition in life *therewith to be content*; so that the most earnest intreaties, seconded by honor, power and profit, could never prevail upon him to remove from the flock which he believed GOD had committed to his charge; but he remained with them in all their afflictions, and watched over them with the fidelity, assiduity, and pains of a faithful shepherd. In his sermons he was modest and manly, but so earnest and devout, that he would often exceed the usual time allotted for a discourse. He assisted *Luther* in the translation of the Bible into German, and

kept the day, on which it was finished, annually a festival with his friends, calling it "THE FEAST OF THE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE;" and it certainly deserves a red letter more than half the saints in the Kalendar. His life was of a piece with his doctrine, altogether evangelical. Upon the article of a sinner's justification before GOD, he frequently used this simile: "As a ring, set with a precious stone, is esteemed, not for the quantity of gold which incloses the stone, but for the stone itself; so sinners are justified by faith in and through the Son of GOD, whom faith, as the ring does the jewel, receives and apprehends." Luther often declared, that of all his writings none pleased him, but his Catechism, and his treatise *De servo Arbitrio*, or Free-will a Slave; and *Bugenhagen* was so much of that opinion, that he considered them as some of the choicest tracts upon the Christian religion, always carried them about in his pocket himself, and earnestly recommended them to others.

His WORKS are: 1. *A Commentary on the Psalms*, which Luther highly commended. 2. Annotations on the Epistles to the *Galatians*, *Ephesians*, *Colossians*, the first and second Epistles to the *Thessalonians*, the first and second Epistles to *Timothy*, to *Titus*, *Philemon*, *Hebrews*. 3. Annotations on *Samuel* and *St. John*. 4. The History of *Christ*, suffering and glorified, being an Harmony of the Gospels, with Notes. 4. Annotations upon *Deuteronomy*; and some other tracts.

MARLORATUS.

THIS holy martyr and excellent minister of *Christ* was born in the dukedom of *Lorrain*, in the year 1506. His parents died when he was very young; and his relations, coveting his estate, thrust him, at eight years of age, into a monastery of *Augustine* friars; which, through Providence, proved the means of his obtaining a good education. He was very eager to learn the languages, and to improve in the study of divinity, which he afterwards devoted to the service of the Protestant church, of which he became an eminent ornament and support. After a time, perceiving that the idleness of monks was but ill calculated



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calculated to encourage the ardor with which he pursued his literary objects, he left the monastery, and went and studied in *France*; and from thence removed to the university of *Lausanne*, in the canton of *Bern*, situated upon the borders of the lake *Lemon*. Here it pleased GOD to bring him to the knowledge of the truth; and here, by extraordinary diligence and application, he made a very great proficiency in learning and in the critical knowledge of the holy scriptures. Entering into orders, he was chosen to be pastor at *Vivia*: And from *Vivia* he was called to *Rouen*, in *Normandy*, where he gathered a large congregation, which he watched over and instructed with so much labor and fidelity, and conducted himself on all occasions with so much wisdom, prudence and piety, that he baffled the opposition and malice of his adversaries.

In the year 1561, he was present at the conference held at *Posiab*, [or *Poissy*] between *Beza* and the cardinal of *Lorraine*, in which he distinguished himself by his ability and zeal on the side of the Protestants against the Papists. The year following, the civil wars broke out in *France*, when the city of *Rouen* was besieged, and at last taken by storm. *Montmorency*, the constable of *France*, after much abuse of *Marloratus*, cast him into close prison, and coming to him the next day, with the duke of *Guise*, vehemently accused him of having seduced the people. To which *Marloratus* answered immediately, "If they are seduced, it is GOD who hath seduced them, and not I; for I have preached nothing to them but divine truths." "Thou art a seditious person (replied the constable,) and the cause of this great city's ruin." "In answer to that charge (said *Marloratus*,) I appeal to all that have heard me preach, both Papists and Protestants; and let them say, if they ever heard me meddle with human politics, or matters of state: On the contrary, I have confined myself, according to my abilities, to my proper sphere as a minister of that kingdom which is not of this world, laboriously instructing them out of GOD's word, and guiding them in the way to life everlasting." The constable rejoined, that he and his adherents had plotted together to make the prince of *Condé* king, admiral *Coligni* duke of *Normandy*, and *Andelot* duke of *Bretagne*. To this *Marloratus* answered, professing his own and the innocence of these noble personages. But the constable turning away in a great rage, blasphemously cried out; "We shall see, in a few days, whether thy GOD is able to deliver thee out of my hands, or not."

He was soon after indicted by *Bigot*, the king's advocate, and condemned for high treason; having been, as they said, the author of those great assemblies which had caused rebellion and civil wars. This the Papists have ever been fond of charging upon the Protestants; and it was one of their most vehement accusations against *Luther*. But true religion hath nothing to do with rebellion and civil wars, but to preach them down, and to pray against them; for *GOD is not the author of confusion, but of peace*. The court, however, sentenced him to be drawn on a sledge, and to be hanged on a gibbet before *Nôtre-Dame* church at *Rouen*, his head then to be cut off and set upon a pole on the bridge of the city, and his goods and inheritance to be confiscated. Touched with the worth of the man, and the injustice done him, some of *Marloratus's* adversaries wished to have saved him; but their motion was over-ruled, and he, (with four other chief citizens,) suffered on the thirtieth of *October*, in the year 1562, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

As he went to the place of execution, drawn on a sledge, the constable and his son *Monbrun*, (who was soon after slain in the battle of *Dreux*,) behaved with great indecency; and one *Villebon* added a blow with a stick to many reproachful speeches; all which *Marloratus* bore with the greatest patience and meekness. Before he was turned off, he made an excellent speech, as long as he was permitted; exhorting, strengthening, and comforting his fellow-sufferers, who with himself, after glorifying *GOD* together in doing his will, now glorified him in suffering it. While they were hanging one of the soldiers struck *Marloratus's* legs across with a sword. The providences which occurred to several of his persecutors, after this event, were not a little extraordinary. The captain who apprehended him was murdered within three weeks after, by one of the soldiers in his own company: One of his judges died of a bloody-flux, which was so violent as to baffle all the skill of physicians: Another, who was a counsellor, had no longer a passage for his water but at his anus, and that with such a stink, that none could bear to come near him to give him any assistance: And *Villebon*, who had struck him as he went to execution, being invited to dinner, soon after, by marshal *Vielle-Ville*, who had come to *Rouen* upon public affairs; the marshal lamenting in discourse the present miseries of the city, exhorted *Villebon* as the king's lieutenant, to endeavor the reformation of several abuses;
this

this *Villebon* took so ill, that he said, 'If any man dare to tax me for not carrying myself as I ought in my place, I would tell him to his face, that he lyed.' Which he repeated so often over and in so provoking a manner, that the marshal rose up and struck him a blow with his sword, that would have cleft his head in two, if he had not warded it off with his hand; which, however, struck off that hand, with which he had with equal meanness and cruelty struck the suffering *Marloratus*.

His *WORKS*, which are subjoined, shew how great a loss the church at that time sustained in the death of this learned and pious divine.

1. *Novi Testamenti catholica expositio ecclesiastica: ex probatis theologis, quos Dominus ecclesiæ suæ diversis in locis dedit, excerpta, & diligenter concinnata: Sive, Bibliotheca expositionum Novi Testamenti; id est, expositio ex probatis theologis collecta, & in unum corpus singulari artificio conflata: Quæ instar bibliothecæ multis expositoribus refertæ esse possit.* The fourth edition of this book was printed at Geneva, 1585. Of this work, Dr. *Willet* speaks very highly, and wishes that such another exposition had appeared in his time upon the Old Testament. Very happily for us of this land, we have now several upon both Testaments, of which that of Mr. *Matthew Henry* is to be named among the first. 2. An Exposition of the book of *Psalms*. 3. An Exposition of the book of *Isaiah*. 4. An Exposition of the Prophecy of *Isaiah*. 5. *Thesaurus totius canonicae scripturæ, in locos communes, dogmatum, & phrasium, ordine alphabetico digestum.* This work was printed under the inspection of *William Feuguerius* of Rouen, afterwards professor of divinity at Leyden, to whom *Marloratus* left it, not being quite finished at his decease.

WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS.

WOLFGANGUS MUSCULUS was a celebrated German divine and Reformer, whose life was chequered with many extraordinary particulars. He was the son of a cooper, and born at *Dieuze* upon *Lorrain*, the eighth of September, 1497. His father, seeing him inclined to books,

books, designed him for a scholar; but not having wherewithal to educate him in that way, *Musculus* was obliged to provide for his own subsistence, which accordingly he did, by singing from door to door. He left *Dieuze* and travelled into *Alsace*, and after going through several towns in that country, he came to *Rapperswil*, where a well-disposed widow, observing something in his countenance, as she thought, promising future greatness (in which she was not mistaken) supported him in his attendance on the schools there, till he was one day taken notice of by a gentleman, who very liberally maintained him during his stay in that place. From *Rapperswil* he went to *Sehestadt*, where, in the course of his studies, he excelled in poetry, and obtained the approbation of his teacher.

At the age of fifteen, he purposed to return home; and in his way, calling upon his aunt at *Wesstreich*, she took him with her to vespers, in a convent of Benedictines, where *Musculus* joined in singing with the choristers, and so happily, that the prior, struck with his appearance and charmed with his voice, offered him the habit of the order *gratis*, (a favor never before conferred on any one,) which he accepted; and the prior, as long as he lived, treated *Musculus* as his own son. He continued in this monastery fifteen years, and applied himself to the study of the arts and sciences with great applause, especially from *Claudius Cantiancula*, a learned lawyer of those days. He also made great proficiency in musick. And at the age of twenty, he devoted himself more immediately to the study of divinity, which a pious old monk observing, said, 'If you intend to become a good preacher, you must endeavour to be familiar with the BIBLE.' This hint *Musculus* wisely improved, and gave himself up to reading of the scriptures, with a view, in due time, when he should become a public preacher, of being a scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven, and, like a man that is an householder, bringing forth out of his treasure things new and old. While he was thus exercised, a friend took occasion to supply him with *Luther's* books, which by this time were dispersed in *Germany*, and which, while he read with great attention, comparing the doctrines with the scriptures, it pleased GOD to bless, as means to his conversion from popish darkness to the light and belief of the pure doctrines of the gospel. His wise and prudent conversation, accompanied with steadiness and zeal, made so strong an impression upon many of his
brother

brother friars, that most of the Benedictines of that convent forsook the order : And being a preacher at the church of *Leixheim*, under the jurisdiction of the monastery, he was equally successful in preaching the gospel to the various ranks of people. Among other noble men converted to the true faith, was *Reinhardus*, governor of the castle at *Lutzelstein*, and in great favor with the prince *Palatine*. In the mean time, he raised himself many enemies, and found himself exposed to many difficulties and dangers ; upon which he made an open profession of Lutheranism.

In 1527 he fled to *Strasburg*, and the same year married *Margaret Barth*, whom he had betrothed before he left the monastery. As he had nothing to subsist on, he sent his wife to service in a clergyman's family, and bound himself apprentice to a weaver, who dismissed him in two months, for disputing too much with an Anabaptist minister, that had lodgings in the house. He then resolved to earn his bread, by working at the fortifications of *Strasburg* ; but the evening before he was to begin this drudgery, he was informed that the magistrates had appointed him to preach every Sunday, in the village of *Dorlisheim*. He did so ; but lodged the rest of the week at *Strasburg*, with *Martin Bucer*, from whom he gained a livelihood, by transcribing : For *Bucer* wrote so ill, that the printers could not read his hand ; nay, he was often puzzled to read it himself. Some months after, he was obliged to reside at *Dorlisheim*, where he suffered the rigors of poverty with great constancy. His only moveable was the little bed he brought from the convent ; which however was occupied by his wife, who was ready to lye-in, while he lay on the ground upon a little straw. He served the church of this village a whole year, without receiving one farthing of stipend, through the oppression of the abbey, who gathered the tithes and revenues of it, and must have perished through want, if the magistrates of *Strasburg* had not assigned him a sum out of the public treasury. He was called back to *Strasburg*, to have the function of minister-deacon in the principal church conferred upon him : And after he had acquitted himself in this character for about two years, he was called to *Augsburg*, where he began to preach in 1531. Here he had terrible conflicts to sustain with the Papists ; yet by degrees prevailed upon the magistrates to banish Popery entirely. In 1534, the senate and people of *Augsburg* absolutely discharged them from preaching in any part of the city, and left only eight places where they were allowed to say mass : And these eight places they abolished,

with

with all their trumpery, in 1537. *Musculus* served the church of *Augsbu*rg till 1548, when *Charles V.* having entered the city, and re-established the Papists in the church of *Notre-Dame*, he found it necessary for his own safety to decamp. He retired to *Switzerland*, his wife and children following soon after; and was invited by the magistrates of *Bern*, in 1549, to the professorship of divinity. He cheerfully accepted this invitation, and acquitted himself in this capacity with all imaginable pains: And, to shew his gratitude to the city of *Bern*, he never would accept of any employment, though several were offered him elsewhere. He died at *Bern*, the thirtieth of *August*, 1563. He was employed in some very important ecclesiastical deputations: He was deputed by the senate of *Augsbu*rg, in 1536, to the synod which was to be held at *Eysnach*, for the re-union of the Protestants upon the doctrine of the supper: he was deputed to assist at the conferences which were held between the Protestant and *Roman* catholic divines, during the diet of *Worms*, and that of *Ratisbon*, in the years 1540 and 1541: He was one of the secretaries of the conference at *Ratisbon*, between *Melancthon* and *Eccius*, and drew up the acts of it: And he was sent to the inhabitants of *Donawert*, who embraced the Reformation in 1544, to form them into a church, and to lay the foundations of the true faith among them.

Musculus was a man of great application and deep learning, and a considerable master of the Greek and Hebrew languages, although he was at the least thirty-two years of age when he began to study the latter, and forty when he first applied to the former. He published several books, and began with translations from the Greek into Latin. The first work of this nature which he published was, The Comment of *St. Chrysostom* upon *St. Paul's* epistles to the *Romans*, *Ephe*sians, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, and *Thessalonians*, printed at *Basil* in 1536. He afterwards published, in 1540, the second volume of the works of *St. Basil*; and, after that, the *Scholia* of the same father upon the *Psalms*, several treatises of *St. Athanasius* and *St. Cyril*, the ecclesiastical history of *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Theodoret*, *Evagrius*, and *Polybius*.

He also wrote Commentaries, 1. On *Genesis*. 2. The *Psalms*. 3. *Matthew*. 4. *John*. 5. *Romans*. 6. *Corinthians*. 7. *Philippians*. 8. *Colossians*. 9. *Thessalonians*. 10. *1 Timothy*. 11. His Common Places. 12. Upon the Commandments. 13. Of Oaths. 14. Of the German Wars. 15. Two Sermons preached at *Worms* concerning

"concerning the "Popish Mass." Printed at *Wittenberg*."

A little before his death, his biographer *Melchior Adam* says, he composed the following verses, to which we have added a translation taken from the Memoir of the late Rev. Mr. *Toplady*, in which it has been given.

*Nil superest vitæ, frigus præcordia captat :
Sed tu, CHRISTE, mihi vita perennis ades.
Quid trepidas, Anima ? ad sedes abitura quietis,
En tibi ductor adest ANGELUS ille tuus.
Linque domum hanc miseram, nunc in sua fata ruentem,
Quam tibi fida DEI dextera restituet.
Peccasti ? scio : sed CHRISTUS credentibus in se
Peccata expurgat sanguine cuncta suo.
Horribilis mors est ? fateor : sed proxima vita est,
Ad quam te CHRISTI gratia certa vocat.
Præsto est de Satanâ, peccato, et morte triumphans
CHRISTUS : ad HUNC igitur læta alacrisque migra.*

- ' My fainting Life is nearly gone ;
- ' My Frame is chill'd with dying Cold :
- ' But JESUS, Thou, my better Life,
- ' Canst neither sicken nor be old.
- ' Why tremblest, then, my parting Soul ?
- ' To Mansions of eternal Rest
- ' That ANGEL waits to guide thy Way,
- ' And blest thee there among the Blest.
- ' Quit then, O quit, this wretched House,
- ' Nor, at its Ruin, once repine :
- ' God soon shall build it up again,
- ' And bid it with new Lustre shine.
- ' But, art thou all-defil'd with Sins ?
- ' Fear not, my Soul, thou ne'er shalt fall ;
- ' Believe his faithful Word, and know,
- ' The Blood of CHRIST can cleanse them all.
- ' Can Death a thousand Horrors shew ?
- ' True, Soul ; but what is Death to thee ?
- ' Life is at hand, the promis'd Life,
- ' And, like its Giver, sure and free.
- ' Lo ! CHRIST, o'er Satan, Sin, and Death,
- ' Yonder in Triumph sits on high :
- ' Fly, happy Soul, with eager Wings ;
- ' Away to JESUS swiftly fly !'

J O H N B A L E,

BISHOP OF OSSORY IN IRELAND.

JOHAN BALE was born the twenty-first of November, in the year 1495, at *Cove*, a small village in *Suffolk*, near *Dunwich*. His parents, whose names were *Henry* and *Margaret*, being in poor circumstances, and encumbered with a large family, by the advice of their then popish priests, entered young *Bale*, at twelve years of age, in the convent of *Carmelites* at *Norwich*; and from thence sent him to *Jesus-College* at *Cambridge*. He was educated in the *Romish* religion, but became afterwards a Protestant. "I wandered, (says he,) in utter ignorance and blindness of mind both there [*Norwich*] and at *Cambridge*, having no tutor or patron; till, the word of GOD shining forth, the churches began to return to the pure fountains of true divinity. In which bright rising of the *New Jerusalem*, being not called by any monk or priest, but seriously stirred up by the illustrious the lord *Wentworth*, as by that centurion who declared *Christ* to be the Son of GOD, I presently saw and acknowledged my own deformity, and immediately, through the Divine Goodness, I was removed from a barren mountain to the flowry and fertile valley of the gospel, where I found all things built, not on the sand, but on a solid rock. Hence I made haste to deface the mark of wicked antichrist, and entirely threw off his yoke from me, that I might be partaker of the lot and liberty of the sons of GOD. And that I might never more serve so execrable a beast, I took to wife the faithful *Dorothy*, in obedience to that divine command, *Let him that cannot contain marry.*" This good woman was a great comfort to him in his future exiles and troubles, which not long afterwards were permitted to fall upon him.

His conversion, and publicly preaching against the popish doctrines, however, greatly exposed him to the persecution of the *Romish* clergy; and he must have felt their keenest resentment, had he not been protected by the famous lord *Cromwell*, then in high favor with *Henry VIII.*

But

But upon the death of that nobleman, *Bale*, being pressed with the celebrated *six articles*, (commonly called *the whip with six strings*,) was forced to retire into the *Low-countries*, where he resided seven or eight years; during which time he wrote several pieces, chiefly against the *Romish* superstitions, in the *English* language. He was recalled into *England* by *K. Edward VI.* and presented to the living of *Bishopstoke*, in the county of *Southampton*. While our Author lived retired at *Bishopstoke*, about five miles from *Southampton*, (about which time he lived in great familiarity with the excellent bishop *Ponet* of *Winchester*,) the king went to *Southampton*, where *Bale* waited upon him. His majesty, who had been informed that he was dead, was surprized to see him, and, the bishopric of *Ossory* in *Ireland* being then vacant, summoned his privy-council, and appointed him, (*August 15th, 1552.*) to that see: Whereupon the lords present wrote the following letter to our Author.

‘ To our very lovinge friende Doctour Bale. After
 ‘ our hartye commendacyons. For as much as the Kinges
 ‘ Majestie is minded in consideracyon of your learninge,
 ‘ wysdome, and other vertuose qualities, to bestowe
 ‘ upon you the bishopricke of Ossorie in Irelande presently
 ‘ voyde, we have thought mete both to give you know-
 ‘ ledge thereof, and therewithall to lette you understande,
 ‘ that his Majestie wolde ye made your repayre hyther to
 ‘ the courte as soon as conveniently ye may, to the end,
 ‘ that if ye be inclined to embrace this charge, his high-
 ‘ nesse may at your comynge give such ordre for the far-
 ‘ ther procedinge with you herin, as shall be convenient.
 ‘ And thus we bid you hartily farewell. From Southamp-
 ‘ ton the 16th daye of August 1552. Your lovinge
 ‘ friendes, *W. Winchester, J. Bedford, H. Suffolke, W.*
 ‘ *Northampton, T. Darcy, T. Cheine, J. Gate, W. Cecill.*’

Our Author tells us, in his piece entitled, “The Vo-
 cacyon of *John Bale* to the bishopricke of *Ossorie* in
 “*Irelande, &c.*” that he refused this offer at first, alledg-
 ing his poverty, age, and want of health; but the king
 not admitting this excuse, *Dr. Bale* went to *London* about
 six weeks after, where every thing relating to his election
 and confirmation were dispatched in a few days, without
 any manner of charge or expence. On the nineteenth of
December, in the same year, he set out, with his books
 and other effects, and arrived at *Bristol*, where he waited
 twenty-six days for a passage to *Ireland*. On the twenty-
 first of *January*, he embarked, with his wife and one ser-

vant, and in two days arrived at *Waterford*; and from thence went by land to *Dublin*. On the twenty-fifth of *March* following, he was consecrated at *Dublin* by the archbishop of *Dublin*, assisted by the bishops of *Kildare* and *Down*; and at the same time *Hugh Goodacre*, a particular friend of our Author, was consecrated archbishop of *Armagh*. He underwent a variety of persecutions from the popish party in *Ireland*, while he used his utmost endeavors, in preaching the gospel of *Jesus Christ* in its purity, to correct the leud practices and debaucheries of the priests, to abolish the mass, and to establish the use of the new book of Common Prayer set forth in *England*; but all his labors of this kind were put a stop to by the death of *K. Edward*, and the accession of *Q. Mary*, and himself exposed so much to the rage and fury of the Papists, that his life was frequently endangered. Once in particular, they murdered five of his domestics, who were making hay in a meadow near his house, and would probably have attempted the same upon him, if the governor of *Kilkenny*, hearing of it, had not come to his defence with an hundred horsemen and three hundred footmen. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that he expended the whole nearly of his episcopal revenue in acts of piety and beneficence. Yet no liberality or goodness could stop the rage of his popish adversaries, who were implacably offended at his preaching the doctrines of the gospel, and at the success which GOD was pleased to give it.

At length, the bishop receiving intimations, that the *Romish* priests were conspiring his death, he withdrew from his see, and lay concealed in *Dublin*. Afterwards, endeavoring to make his escape in a small trading vessel in that port, he was taken prisoner by the captain of a *Dutch* man of war, who rifled him of all his money, apparel and effects. This ship was drove by stress of weather into *St. Ives* in *Cornwall*, where our prelate was taken up on suspicion of treason. The accusation was brought against the bishop by one *Walter* an *Irishman*, who was pilot of the *Dutch* ship, in hopes of coming in for a share of the bishop's money, which was in the captain's hands. When our Author was brought to his examination before one of the bailiffs of the town, he desired the bailiff to ask *Walter*, how long he had known him, and what treason he, [the bishop,] had committed. *Walter* replied, he had never heard of, nor seen him, till he was brought into that ship. Then said the bailiff, What treason have you known by this honest gentleman? For I promise you he looks like

like an honest Man. Marry, said *Walter*, he would have fled into *Scotland*. (The vessel in which the bishop embarked in the port of *Dublin* was bound for *Scotland*.) Why, said the bailiff, know you any impediment why he should not have gone into *Scotland*? If it be treason for a man, having business in *Scotland*, to go thither, it is more than I knew before. *Walter* was so confounded by what the bailiff said, that he had nothing to reply. In the interim, the captain and purser coming in deposed in favor of the bishop, assuring the bailiff that he was a very honest man, and that *Walter* was a vile fellow, and deserved no credit. For the captain, our Author observes, was afraid lest the money he had stripped him of should be taken out of his hands.

The bishop being discharged, they sailed from thence, and after a passage of several days, the ship arrived in *Dover Road*, where the poor bishop was again put in danger by a false accusation. One *Martin*, a *Frenchman* by birth, but an *English* pirate, persuaded the *Dutch* captain and his crew, that our Author had been the principal instrument in putting down the mass in *England*, and in keeping the bishop of *Winchester*, *Dr. Gardiner*, so long in the tower; and that he had poisoned the king. With this information, the captain and purser went ashore, carrying with them our Author's episcopal seal, and two letters sent him from *Conrad Gesner*, and *Alexander Alefius*, with commendations from *Pellican*, *Pomeranus*, *P. Melancthon*, *Joachim Camerarius*, *Matthias Flaccius*, and other learned men, who were desirous to inform themselves in the doctrines and antiquities of the *English* church. They had likewise taken from him the letter from the council, concerning his appointment to the bishopric of *Offory*. These things aggravated the charge against him. For the episcopal seal was construed to be a counterfeiting of the king's seal, the two letters were heretical, and the council's letter a conspiracy against the queen. When the captain returned to the ship, it was proposed to carry the bishop to *London*; but at length they resolved to send the purser and one more, with a message to the council in relation to the affair. However, this resolution was dropped, upon our Author's strong remonstrances to the captain, and his agreement to pay fifty pounds for his ransom, on his arrival in *Holland*.

He was carried into *Zealand*, and lodged in the house of one of the four owners of the ship, who treated the bishop with great civility and kindness. He had but

twenty-

twenty-six days allowed him for raising the money agreed upon for his ransom, and could not obtain the liberty of going abroad to find out his friends. In the mean time he was threatened to be thrown into the common gaol, sometimes to be brought before the magistrates, sometimes to be left to the examination of the clergy, at other times to be sent to *London*, or else to be delivered to the queen's ambassador at *Brussels*. At last his kind host interposed in his behalf, and desired the captain to consider, how far he had exceeded the limits of his commission, in misusing a subject of *England*, with which nation they were not at war. This produced the desired effect, and the captain was persuaded to take only thirty pounds for the bishop's ransom, as he should be able to pay it, and so to discharge him. From *Holland* he retired to *Basil* in *Switzerland*, where he continued during the reign of *Q. Mary*.

On the accession of *Q. Elizabeth*, he returned to *England*, but not to his bishopric in *Ireland*, contenting himself with a prebend of *Canterbury*, to which he was promoted the fifteenth of *January*, 1560, and in which city he died in *November*, 1563, being then in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was buried in the cathedral of that place.

This prelate is author of a celebrated WORK, containing the lives of the most eminent writers of *Great Britain*, written in Latin. When it first made its appearance, it was entitled *Summarium illustrium Majoris Brytanniæ*, 4to. *Wesel*, 1549. It was addressed to *K. Edward VI.* and contained only five centuries of writers. He afterwards added four more, and made several additions and corrections throughout the whole work. The title of the book thus enlarged, is as follows, *Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Brytanniæ, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam vocant, Catalogus, à Japheto per 3618 annos usque ad annum hunc Domini 1557, ex Berofo, Gennadio, Bedâ, Honorio, Bostone Buriensi, Frumentario, Capgrave, Bostio, Burello, Triffa, Trithemio, Gesnero, Joanne Lelando, atque aliis authoribus collectus, et in centurias, continens, &c. &c. Basil, apud Joannem Oporinum.* This title at full length is an exceeding good analysis of the Author's design in this work. It informs us, that the writers, whose lives are there treated of, are those of the *Greater Britain*, namely, *England* and *Scotland*; that the work commences from *Japhet*, one of the sons of *Noah*, and is carried down, through a series of 3618 years, to the year of our Lord 1557, at which time the Author was an exile for religion in *Germany*; that it is

is collected from a great variety of authors, as *Berosus*, *Gennadius*, *Bede*, *Honorius*, *Boston of Bury*, *Fruentarius*, *Capgrave*, *Bostius*, *Burellus*, *Trithemius*, *Gesner*, and our antiquarian *John Leland*; that it consists of *nine* centuries, comprizing the antiquity, origin, annals, places, successes, the more remarkable actions, sayings and writings of each author; in all which a due regard is had to chronology: The whole with this particular view, 'That the actions of the reprobate as well as the elect ministers of the church may historically and aptly correspond with the mysteries described in the REVELATION, the stars, angels, horses, trumpets, thunderings, heads, horns, mountains, vials, and plagues, through every age of the same church.' There are appendixes to many of the articles; also an account of such actions of the contemporary popes as are omitted by their flatterers, *Carfulanus*, *Platina*, and the like; together with the actions of the monks, particularly those of the Mendicant order, who (he supposes) are meant by the *locusts* in the *Revelation*, chap. ix. ver. 3 & 7. To these appendixes is added a perpetual succession both of the holy fathers and the antichrists of the church, with curious instances from the histories of various nations and countries; in order to expose their adulteries, debaucheries, strifes, seditions, sects, deceits, poisonings, murders, treasons, and innumerable impostures. The book is dedicated to *Otho Henry*, prince *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, duke of both the *Bavarias*, and elector of the *Roman* empire; and the epistle dedicatory is dated from *Basil* in *September*, 1557. In *February*, 1559, came out a new edition of this work, with the addition of *five* more centuries, making in all *fourteen*; to which is prefixed an account of the writers before the deluge and the birth of *Christ*, with a description of *England* from *Paulus Jovius*, *George Lilly*, *John Leland*, *Andrew Althamerus*, and others. This volume is dedicated to count *Zkradin*, and Dr. *Paul Scalichius* of *Lika*.

The following is a catalogue of his other WORKS, as given by Mr. *Fuller*. The titles are not given, only the subjects on which he wrote, briefly expressed; for as our Author's pieces are very scarce, it was impossible to supply all the titles. Those he compiled whilst he was yet a *Papist* are,

- “ 1. A Bundle of Things worth knowing. 2. The Writers from *Elias*. 3. The Writers from *Berthold*.
4. Additions to *Trithemius*. 5. *German* Collections.
6. *French* Collections. 7. *English* Collections. 8. Di-

vers

yers Writings of divers learned Men. 9. Catalogue of
 Generals. 10. The Spiritual War. 11. The Castle
 of Peace. 12. Sermons for Children. 13. To the Syn-
 nod at *Hull*. 14. An Answer to certain Questions. 15.
 Addition to *Palasnydorus*. 16. The History of Patron-
 age. 17. The Story of *Simon the Englishman*. 18.
 The Story of *Francis Senensis*. 19. The Story of *Bre-
 zard*. 20. A Commentary on *Mantuan's* Preface to his
Fasti. The following he wrote after he had renounced
 Popery, first in *Latin*: 1. The *Heliades* of the *English*.
 2. Notes on the three Tomes of *Walden*. 3. On the
 Bundle of Tares. 4. On *Polydore de Rerum Inventioni-
 onibus*. 5. On *Textor's Officia*. 6. On *Capgrave's* Ca-
 talogue. 7. On *Barnes's* Lives of the Popes. 8. The
 Acts of the Popes of *Rome*. 9. A Translation of *Thorpe's*
 Examination. Secondly, in *English* metre, and sever-
 al sorts of verse: 1. The Life of *John Baptist*. 2. Of
John Baptist's Preaching. 3. Of *Christ's* Temptation.
 4. Two Comedies of *Christ's* Baptism and Temptations.
 5. A Comedy of *Christ* at twelve Years Old. 6. A
 Comedy of the Raising of *Lazarus*. 7. A Comedy of
 the High Priest's Council. 8. A Comedy of *Simon* the
 Leper. 9. A Comedy of the Lord's Supper, and the
 Washing of the Disciples Feet. 10. Two Comedies (or
 rather Tragedies) of *Christ's* Passion. 11. Two Co-
 medies of *Christ's* Burial and Resurrection. 12. A
 Poem of God's Promises. 13. Against those that per-
 vert God's Word. 14. Of the corrupting of God's
 Laws. 15. Against Carpers and Traducers. 16. A
 Defence of *K. John*. 17. Of *K. Henry's* two Mar-
 riages. 18. Of Popish Sects. 19. Of Popish Treach-
 eries. 20. Of *Thomas Becket's* Impostures. 21. The
 Image of Love. 22. *Pammachius's* Tragedies, trans-
 lated into *English*. 23. Christian Sonnets. The fol-
 lowing in *English* Prose: 1. A Commentary on *St.*
John's Apocalypse. 2. A Locupletation of the Apoca-
 lypse. 3. *Wickliffe's* War with the Papists. 4. *Sir*
John Oldcastle's Trials. 5. An Apology for *Barnes*.
 6. A Defence of *Gray* again *Smith*. 7. *John Lambert's*
 Confession. 8. *Anne Askew's* Martyrdom. 9. Of *Lu-
 ther's* Decease. 10. The Bishop's Alcoran. 11. The
 Man of Sin. 12. The Mystery of Iniquity. 13. Against
 Antichrists, or false Christs. 14. Against *Baal's* Priests,
 or *Balamites*. 15. Against the Clergy's single Life. 16.
 A Dispatch of Popish Vows and Priesthood. 17. The
 Acts of *English* Votaries in two Parts. 18. Of He-
 retics

retics indeed. 19. Against the Popish Mass. 20. The Drunkard's Mass. 21. Against Popish Persuasions. 22. Against *Standish* the Impostor. 23. Against *Bonner's* Articles. 24. Certain Dialogues. 25. To *Elizabeth* the King's Daughter. 26. Against customary Swearing. 27. On *Mantuan* of Death. 28. A Week before God. 29. Of his Calling to a Bishoprick. 30. Of *Leland's* Journal, or an Abridgement of *Leland*, with Additions. 31. A Translation of *Sebald Heyden's* Apology against *Salve Regina*. 32. A Translation of *Gardiner's* Oration of true Obedience, and *Bonner's* Epistle before it, with a Preface to it, Notes on it, and an Epilogue to the Reader."

Gesner, in his *Bibliotheca*, calls bishop *Bale*, *vir diligentissimus*, 'a writer of the first diligence;' and bishop *Godwin*, in his treatise of the *Conversion of the Britons to Christianity*, gives him the character of a laborious enquirer into the *British* antiquities. The reverend *Laurence Humphrey*, in his *Vaticinium de Româ*, has this distich on our Author:

*Plurima Lutherus patefecit, Platina multa,
Quædam Vergerius, cuncta Balæus habet.*

That is, *Luther* and *Platina* discovered many things, [viz. the errors and frauds of the Papists] and *Vergerius* some; but *Bale* detected them all. *Valentine Henry Vogler*, (in his *Introduct. Universal. in notit. Scriptor. c. 22.*) 'thinks 'it will be less matter of wonder, that *Bale* inveighs 'with so much asperity against the power of the pope, 'when it is considered, that *England* was more grievously 'oppressed, by the tyranny of the holy see, than any 'other kingdom.'—And adds, 'that notwithstanding our 'Author had rendered himself so odious to the Papists, 'yet his very enemies could not help praising his *Catalogue of English Writers*.'

W I L L I A M F A R E L.

THERE are diversities of gifts (says the apostle), but it is the same Spirit: And this Spirit divideth to every man severally as he will. GOD useth all sorts of means
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for the accomplishment of his work, to shew us, that all means are in his hand : And he suffers many persons to come within the sound and compass of them, who are not in the least affected by them, to demonstrate, that not all the means in the world can have any efficacy, without the concurrence of his divine power. He uses sometimes soft and lenient methods, and sometimes cutting and severe. To some souls he blesses the gentle persuasives and comforts of a *Barnabas*; while to others he succeeds the vehemence and thunder of a *Boanerges*, to awaken them from their sins, and to drive them from ruin.

Of this latter kind was WILLIAM FAREL, the subject of the present article. This learned minister of the Protestant church, and most intrepid Reformer, was the son of a gentleman of *Dauphiny* in *France*, and was born at *Gap*, in the year 1489. He studied philosophy and the Greek and Hebrew tongues at *Paris* with great success, and was for some time a teacher in the college of cardinal *Le Moine. Briconnet* bishop of *Meaux*, who being inclined to the Reformed religion, invited him to preach in his diocese in the year 1521; but the persecution, raised there against those that were styled *heretics*, in the year 1523, obliged him to seek his security out of *France*. He retired to *Strasburg*, where *Bucer* and *Capito* readily admitted him as a brother; and he was afterwards received as such by *Zuinglius* at *Zurich*, by *Haller* at *Berne*, and by *Oecolampadius* at *Basil**. As he was thought a very proper man for the purpose, he was advised to undertake the Reformation of religion at *Montbellegard*, in which design he was supported by the duke of *Wittenberg*, who was lord of that place; and he succeeded in it most happily. He was a man of the most lively zeal, which however he tempered a little, according to *Oecolampadius*'s advice. A remarkable instance of this warmth is recorded of him, which however

* At *Basil*, in 1524, *Farel* proposed several theses for public disputations, among which were the following :

“ That *Christ* hath prescribed for us a perfect rule of life.

“ That the commands of *Christ* are to be obeyed; among which it is ordained, that they, who have not the gift of continence, should marry.

“ That long and wordy prayers are dangerous, and contrary to the precept of *Christ*.

“ That he, who believes that he shall be saved and justified by his own righteousness and strength, makes himself God.

“ That such sacrifices, as the Holy Ghost prescribes, are to be offered to God alone.”

we do not pretend to justify. Once on a procession-day, he pulled out of the priest's hand the image of St. *Anthony*, and threw it from a bridge into the river: It is a wonder he was not torn to pieces by the mob. *Erasmus* did by no means like *Farel's* temper, as appears from what he wrote of him to the official of *Berangon*. 'You have,' (says he,) in your neighbourhood the new evangelist '*Farel*; than whom I never saw a man more false, more virulent, more seditious.' He has given a frightful character of him elsewhere, and even descended to the meanness of giving him a nickname. But he thought *Farel* had abused him in some of his writings, and therefore, is not to be altogether believed in every thing he says of him. *Farel* was blunt; but *Erasmus* could trim and walk in so fine a line between error and truth, that it required a considerable share of penetration to discern sometimes to which he belonged.

In the year 1528, he had the same success in promoting the Reformation in the city of *Aigle*, and soon after in the bailiwick of *Morat*. He went afterwards to *Neufchatel*, in the year 1529, and disputed against the Roman catholic party with so much power, that this city embraced the Reformed religion, and established it entirely on the fourth of *November*, 1530. He was sent a deputy to the synod of *Waldenses*, held in the valley of *Angrogne*. Hence he went to *Geneva*, where he and *Viret* labored against Popery: But the grand vicar, and the other clergy resisted him with so much fury, that he was obliged to retire. He was called back in the year 1534, by the inhabitants, who had then renounced the Roman catholic religion: And he was the chief person that procured the perfect abolition of Popery in the next year. Added to this, he was the great means of fixing *Calvin* at *Geneva*, where neither of them met with that gratitude and affection which they both deserved; for,

In the year 1538, he was banished with his great friend *Calvin* from *Geneva*, and retired to *Basil*, and afterwards to *Neufchatel*, where there was great probability of a large evangelical harvest. From thence he went to *Metz*, but had a thousand difficulties to struggle with, and at length was obliged to retire into the abbey of *Görze*, where the count of *Furstenberg* protected him and the new converts. But they could not continue there long; for they were presently besieged in the abbey, and obliged at last to surrender, upon a capitulation. *Farel* very happily escaped, though strict search was made after him, having been put

in a cart among the sick and infirm. He took upon him his former functions of a minister at *Neufchatel*, whence he took now and then a journey to *Geneva*. He went to *Geneva* in the year 1564, to take his last leave of *Calvin*, who was dangerously ill. He took a second journey to *Metz* in the year 1565, being invited by his antient flock, to come and see the fruits of the seed, which he had sown in their hearts. He returned to *Neufchatel*, and died there the thirteenth of *September* in the same year, and in the seventy-sixth of his age, having survived his good friend *Calvin* not more, (say some,) than eleven months, but, according to *Melchior Adam*, one year, three months, and fourteen days.

He married at the age of sixty-nine, and left a son, who was then but one year old, and who survived him but three years. Though he was far better qualified to preach than to write books, yet he was the author of some few pieces. The difficulties this minister underwent in promoting the Reformation, and the courage he shewed in surmounting them all, are almost incredible. He was to be bent by no difficulties, affrighted by no threats, and overcome by no malice, that men or devils could give him. Yet with all this invincible courage, he was not only remarkable for his piety, learning and innocency of life, but the most exemplary and unassuming modesty. He had an extraordinary presence of mind, great ardor and force of expression, insomuch that, says *Melchior Adam*, 'he seemed rather to thunder, than to speak.' And he possessed such a wonderful gift of prayer, that he not only appeared wrapt up himself with the life of heaven, but lifted up the hearts of his audience thither. He was often surrounded with drawn swords: Bells were rung to prevent his being heard; but in vain: They could neither interrupt nor terrify the preacher. And when they haled him before the magistrates, and it was inquired of him, 'by whose command and desire he presumed to preach;' he answered, with his usual intrepidity, -- *by the command of Christ, and the desire of his members*, and then went to defend himself in a manner, they could answer in no better form than by persecution. His marriage was thought very strange, and out of season, by his friends: But he was not at a loss for arguments, to make them approve of it. He married, as it is said, for the sake of an help-mate in his old age: He married to shew, that a state of celibacy is neither meritorious nor satisfactory, as they of the Romish church assert: And he



Miles Coverdale Bp. of Exeter



From a Drawing in the Possession of D^r Gifford.

he married to prove, that the grace of a perpetual continency is neither given to all, nor for ever.

He published only some disputations, which he had held at *Basil* and *Bern*; being, as we observed before, much more considerable as a Preacher than a Writer.

MILES COVERDALE,

BISHOP OF EXETER.

THIS pious Reformer was born in *Yorkshire*, in the reign of *Henry VIII.* and being educated in the *Romish* religion, became an *Augustine* monk. He took his doctor's degree at *Tubingen* in *Germany*, and was admitted *ad eundem* at *Cambridge*. By GOD's grace embracing the Reformation, he entered into holy orders; and, as *Bale* tells us, he was one of the first, who, upon the delivery of the church of *England* from the see of *Rome*, together with *Dr. Robert Barnes*, taught the purity of the gospel, and dedicated himself wholly to the service of the Reformed religion. He assisted *Tindale* and *Rogers* in the *English* version of the Bible, published in the years 1532 and 1537, which he afterwards revised and corrected for another edition in a larger volume, with notes, which was printed in or about the year 1540. *Dr. Coverdale* succeeded *Dr. John Harman*, alias *Voysey*, in the see of *Exeter*, *August* the fourteenth, in the year 1551, being promoted *propter singularem sacrarum literarum doctrinam, moresque probatissimos*; i. e. 'on account of his extraordinary knowledge in divinity, and his unblemished character.' The patent for conferring this bishopric on him, though a married man, is dated *August* 14th, 1551, at *Westminster*. Upon the accession of *Q. Mary* to the throne, bishop *Coverdale* was ejected from his see, and thrown into prison; out of which he was released at the earnest request of the king of *Denmark*, and, as a very great favor, permitted to go into banishment. In his confinement, he was one of those who signed the famous confession of faith, which we have given our Readers in the first volume, under the article of *Ferrar*. Upon this ejection, *Harman* was reinstated. Soon after *Q. Elizabeth's* accession

accesſion to the throne, he returned from his exile, but reſuſed to be reſtored to his biſhopric, and paſſed the remainder of his time in a private manner. He died *May 20, 1567*, in a good old age, viz. at the age of eighty-one, at *London*, and lyes buried in the church of *St. Bartholomew* by the *Exchange*, attended to his grave by vaſt crouds of people. He was a celebrated preacher, juſtly admired, and very much followed.

He was Author of ſeveral TRACTS. He wrote, 1. "The Chriſten Rule or State of all the Worlde from the higheſt to the loweſt: and how every Man Shulde lyve to pleaſe God in his callinge. 2. The Chriſten State of Matrymonye, wherein Huſbandes and Wyfes maye lerne to keepe Houſe together with Loue. The original of holy Wedloke: when, where, how, and of whom it was inſtituted and ordeyned: what it is: how it oughte to procede: what be the occaſions, frute, and commodities thereof: contrarywyſe how ſhamefull and horrible a thinge Whoredome and Aduoutry [Adultery] is: how one ought alſo to choſe hym a mete and convenient Spouſe to keep and increace the mutual Loue, Trouth and Dewtye of Wedloke: and how married Folkes ſhulde bring up theyer Chyldren in the Feare of God. 3. A Chriſten Exhortation to cuſtomable Swearers. What a ryghte and lawfull Othe is: whan, and before whome it oughte to be. 4. The Maner of ſayenge Grace, or gyvyng Thankes to God, after the Doctrine of Holy Scripture. 5. The old Fayth: an evident Probacion out of the Holy Scripture, that the Chriſten Fayth (which is the ryghte, true, olde, and undoubted Fayth) hath endured ſens the beginnyng of the Worlde. Herein haſt thou alſo a ſhort ſumme of the whole Byble, and a Probacion, that al vertuous Men have pleaſed God, and wer ſaved through the Chriſten Fayth. Theſe pieces are printed together in a ſmall *duodecimo*, and a black letter, in the year 1547. 6. A faythfull and true Prognostiſtication upon the year *M.CCCC.xlix.* and perpetually after to the Worlde's Ende, gathered out of the Prophecies and Scriptures of God, by the Experience and Practiſe of hys Workes, very comfortable for all Chriſten Hertes; divided into Seven Chapters. 7. A ſpirituall Almanacke, wherein every Chriſten Man and Women may ſee what they oughte daylye to do, or leaue undone. Not after the Doctrine of the Papiſtes, not after the Lernynge of *Ptolomy*, or other Heythen Aſtronomers, but out of the very true and wholſome Doctryne of God our Almyghty heavenly Father,





From an Original Picture

ther, shewed unto us in his holy Worde by his Prophets, Apostels, but specially by his dere Sonne *Iesus Christ*: and is to be kept not only this newe Yeare, but continually unto the Daye of the Lorde's comyng agayne. These two were printed in a thin *duodecimo*, and a black letter, at London by *Richard Kele*, dwellynge at the longe Shoppe in the *Poultry* under Saynt *Myldred's* church, *cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*. Bale ascribes some other pieces to our author; particularly, a Confutation of *John Standish*, a Tract on the Lord's Supper, a Concordance to the New Testament, a Christian Catechism, and some Translations from *Bullinger*, *Luther*, *Oslander*, *Johannes Campensis* and *Erasmus*."

JOHN JEWEL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

THIS great man was born on the twenty-fourth of *May*, in the year of our Lord, 1522, at *Buden* in the parish of *Berinner*, in the county of *Devon*; and, though a younger brother, inherited his father's name. His mother's name was *Bellamy*; and he had so great an esteem for it and her, that he engraved it on his signet, and had it always imprinted in his heart; a lasting testimony both of her virtue and kindness to him.

His father was a gentleman descended rather of an ancient and good, than very rich family. It is observed that his ancestors had enjoyed that estate for almost two hundred years before the birth of this great man. And yet such was the number of his children, that it is no wonder if this, when young, wanted the assistance of good men for the promoting of his studies; for it is said his father left ten children between sons and daughters behind him.

This *John Jewel* proving a lad of pregnant parts, and of a sweet and industrious nature and temper, was from his youth dedicated to learning; and with great care cultivated by his parents and masters, which he took so well, that at the entrance of the thirteenth year of his age, about the feast of *St. James*, he was admitted in *Merton-college*

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in *Oxford*, under one Mr. *Peter Burrey*, a man neither of any great learning, nor much addicted to the Reformation, which then (in the Reign of *Henry VIII.*) went on but slowly, and with much irregularity in its motions. But we are however obliged to his first tutor for this, that he committed Mr. *Jewel* to Mr. *John Parkhurst*, a fellow of the same college, and afterwards first minister of *Cleave*, and then bishop of *Norwich*, who was a man both of more learning and of a better faith; and prudently instilled, together with his other learning, those excellent principles into this young gentleman, which afterwards made him the darling and wonder of his age.

During his continuance in this college, a plague happening in *Oxford*, he removed to a place called *Croxham*, where being lodged in a low room, and studying hard in the night, he got a lameness by a cold which attended him to his grave; having spent almost four years in this college, the nineteenth of *August*, A. D. 1539, the one and thirtieth of *Henry VIII.* in the seventeenth year of his age, he was, by the procurement of one Mr. *Slater*, and Mr. *Burrey* and Mr. *Parkhurst* his two tutors, removed into *Corpus Christi-college* in the same university, where, I suppose, he met with something of an encouragement; but it is much more certain he met with envy from his equals, who often suppressed his ingenious exercises, and read others that were more like their own.

The twentieth day of *October* in the following year, he took his first degree of bachelor of arts, with a great and general applause; when he prosecuted his studies with more vigor than before, beginning them at four in the morning, and continued them till ten at night, so that he seemed to need somebody to put him in mind of eating.

Being now attained to a great reputation for learning, he began to instruct others, and amongst the rest *Anthony Parkhurst* was committed to his care by Mr. *John Parkhurst* his tutor, which was a great argument of his uncommon worth and industry.

Being thus employed, he was chosen reader of humanity and rhetoric of his own college, and he managed this place seven years with great applause and honor. His example taught more than any precepts could; for he was a great admirer of *Horace* and *Cicero*, and read all *Erasmus's* works, and imitated them too, for it was his custom to write something every day; and it was his common saying, that men "acquired more learning by a frequent exercising their pens, than by reading many
"books."

"books." He affected ever rather to express himself fluently, neatly, and with great weight of argument and strength of reason, than in hunting after the flowers of rhetoric, and the cadences of words, though he understood them, no man better, and wrote a dialogue in which he comprehended the sum of the art of rhetoric.

The ninth of *February*, 1544, he commenced master of arts, the charge of it being borne by his good tutor Mr. *Parkhurst*, who had then the rich rectory of *Cleve* in the diocese of *Gloucester*, which is of better value than some of our smaller bishoprics. Nor was this the only instance whereby he partook of this good man's bounty, for he used twice or thrice in a year to invite him to his house, and not dismiss him without presents, money, and other things, that were necessary for the carrying on his studies. And one time above the rest, coming into his chamber in the morning, when he was to go back to the university, he seized upon his and his companions purses, saying, 'What money, I wonder, have these miserable, 'beggarly *Oxonians*?' And finding them all very empty, he stuffed them with money, till they became sufficiently weighty.

Edward VI. succeeding his father on the twenty-eighth of *July*, 1546, the Reformation went on more regularly and swiftly, and *Peter Martyr* being by that prince called out of *Germany*, and made professor of divinity at *Oxford*, Mr. *Jewel* was one of his most constant hearers; and by the help of characters, which he had invented for his own use, took all his lectures almost as perfectly as he spoke them.

About this time one Dr. *Richard Smith*, predecessor to *Peter Martyr* in that chair at *Oxford*, who was more a sophister than a divine, made an insult upon *Peter Martyr*, and interrupted him publicly and unexpectedly in his lecture: The *German* was not to be baffled by a surprize, but *extempore* recollected his lecture, and defended it with great presence of mind; the two parties in the schools being just upon the point of a tumult, the Protestants for the present professor, and the Papists for the old one.

Peter Martyr, nettled with this affront, (which happened on the twenty-eighth of *May*, 1549) challenged *Smith* to dispute with him publicly, and appointed him a day: But *Smith* fearing to be called in question for this uproar, fled before the time to *St. Andrews* in *Scotland*. But then *Tresham* and *Chadsey*, two popish doctors, and one *Morgan* entered the lists against *Peter Martyr*, and

there was a very sharp but regular dispute betwixt them concerning the Lord's-Supper. And Mr. *Jewel*, having then a large share in *Peter Martyr's* affections, was by him appointed to take the whole disputation in writing, which was printed in the year 1549. For the regulating this disputation, the council sent to *Oxford*, *Henry* bishop of *Lincoln*, Dr. *R. Cox*, chancellor of that university, Dr. *Simon Haines*, *Richard Morison*, Esq. and Dr. *Christopher Nevison*, commissioners and moderators.

In the year 1551, Mr. *Jewel* took his degree of bachelor of divinity, when he preached an excellent Latin sermon, which is extant almost perfect; taking for his text the words of St. *Peter*, 1 *Pet.* iv. 11. *If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God, &c.* Upon which words he raised such excellent doctrines, and made such wise and holy reflections in so pure and elegant a style, as convinced every body of his great ability and deserts.

About the same time, Mr. *Jewel* took a small living near *Oxford* called *Sunningwell*, more out of a desire to do good, than for the salary, which was but small; whither he went once a fortnight on foot, though he was lame, and it was troublesome to him to walk; and at the same time preached frequently both privately in his own college, and publicly in the university.

Besides his old friend Mr. *Parkhurst*, amongst others, one Mr. *Curtis* a fellow of the same college, afterwards canon of *Christ-Church*, allowed him forty shillings a year, which was a considerable sum in those days; and one Mr. *Chambers*, who was entrusted with distributing the charity of some *Londoners* to the poor scholars of *Oxford*, allowed Mr. *Jewel* out of it six pounds a year for books.

Edward VI. dying on the sixth of *July*, in the year 1553, and *Q. Mary* succeeding him, and being proclaimed the seventeenth of the same month, *Jewel* was one of the first that felt the fury of this tempest, and, before any law was made, or so much as any order given by the queen, was expelled out of the college by the fellows, upon their private authority, who had nothing to object against him, but, 1. His following *Peter Martyr*. 2. His preaching some doctrines contrary to Popery. 3. And his taking orders according to the laws then in force: But *Fuller* in his *Church History* says, he was expelled for refusing to be present at mass. As for his life, it was acknowledged to be angelical and extremely honest, by *John Moren*, a fellow of the same college; who yet at the same time

time could not forbear calling him *Lutheran, Zuinglian,* and heretic. He took his leave of the college in these words, as near as I can render them in *English*.

"In my last lectures I have, (said he,) imitated the custom of famished men, who when they see their meat likely to be suddenly and unexpectedly snatched from them, devour it with the greater haste and greediness. For whereas I intended thus to put an end to my lectures, and perceived that I was like forthwith to be silenced, I made no scruple to entertain you (contrary to my former usage) with much unpleasant and ill dressed discourse, for I see I have incurred the displeasure and hatred of some, but whether deservedly or no, I shall leave to their consideration; for I am persuaded that those, who have driven me from hence, would not suffer me to live any where if it were in their power. But as for me, I willingly yield to the times, and if they can derive to themselves any satisfaction from my calamity, I would not hinder them from it. But as *Aristides*, when he went into exile and forsook his country, prayed that they might never more think of him; so I beseech God to grant the same to my fellow collegians; and what can they wish for more? Pardon me, my hearers, if grief has seized me, being to be torn from that place against my will, where I have passed the first part of my life, where I have lived pleasantly, and been in some honour and employment. But why do I thus delay to put an end to my misery by one word? Wo is me, that (as with my extreme sorrow and resentment I at last speak it) I must say farewell my studies, farewell to these beloved houses, farewell thou pleasant seat of learning, farewell to the most delightful conversation with you, farewell young men, farewell lads, farewell fellows, farewell brethren, farewell ye beloved as my eyes, farewell ALL; farewell!"

Thus did he take his leave of his lecture, fellowship, and college, and was reduced at one blow to great poverty and desertion: But he found for some time a place of harbor in *Broadgates-Hall*, another college in the same university. Here he met with some short gleams of comfort; for the university of *Oxford* more kind than his college, and to alleviate the miseries of his shipwrecked estate, chose him to be her orator, in which capacity he curiously penned a gratulatory letter or address (as the term now is) to the queen, on the behalf and in the name

of the uiversity, expressing in it the countenance of the *Roman* senators in the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, exquisitely tempered and composed, to keep out joy and sadness, which both strove at the same time to display their colors in it; the one for dead *Augustus*, the other for reigning *Tiberius*. And upon the assurance of several of her nobles, that the queen would not change the established religion, expressing some hopes she would abide by this assurance, which was confirmed then to them by the promise the queen had made to the *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* gentry, who had rescued her out of the very jaws of ruin. *Fuller* says, that the writing this letter was put upon him with a design to ruin him, but there is not the least color for this surmise; he being so very lately, seasonably and kindly chosen orator, when he was so injuriously expelled out of his own college; but it is much more probable the sweetness, smoothness, and briskness of his style, was both the reason why he was chosen orator first, and then employed to pen this letter. The sum or heads of which are in Mr. *Laurence Humfrey's* life of *Jewel*: But there is no entire copy extant.

It is observed by the last-mentioned author, that whilst *Jewel* was reading this letter to Dr. *Tresham*, vice-chancellor, the great bell of *Christ-Church*, which this doctor having caused to be new hung a few days before, had christened by the name of *Mary*, tolled, and that hearing her pleasant voice now call him to his beloved mass, he burst out into an exclamation, 'O delicate and sweet harmony! O beautiful *Mary*, how musically she sounds, how strangely she pleaseth my ears!' So Mr. *Jewel's* sweet pen was forced to give way to the more acceptable tinkling of this new lady. And we may easily conjecture how the poor man took it.

Being ejected out of all he had, he became obnoxious to the insolence and pride of all his enemies, which he endeavored to allay by humility and compliance, which yet could not mitigate their rage and fury; but rather, in all probability, heightened their malice, and drew more affronts upon the meek man. But amongst all his enemies, none sought his ruin more eagerly than Dr. *Marshall*, dean of *Christ-Church*, who had changed his religion now twice already; and did twice or thrice more in the reign of *Q. Elizabeth*: He having neither conscience nor religion of his own, was very desirous to make *Jewel's* conscience or life a papal sacrifice.

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In order to this, he sends to *Jewel* by the inquisitors a bead-roll of popish doctrines to be subscribed by him upon pain of fire and faggot, and other grievous tortures; the poor man having neither friend nor time allowed him to consult with, took the pen in his hand, and saying, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write?" subscribed his name hastily, though with great reluctance.

But this no way mitigated the rage of his enemies against him; they knew his great love to, and familiarity with *Peter Martyr*, and nothing less than his life would satisfy these blood-hounds, of which turn-coat *Marshal* was the fiercest: So being forsaken by his friends for this his sinful compliance, and still pursued like a wounded deer by his enemies; but more exagitated by the inward remorse and reproaches of his own conscience, he resolved at last to flee for his life.

And it was but time; for if he had staid but one night longer, or gone the direct way to *London*, he had perished by their fury: One *Augustin Berner*, a *Switzer*, first a servant to bishop *Latimer*, and afterwards a minister, found him lying upon the ground almost dead with vexation, weariness, (for this lame man was forced to make his escape on foot), and cold, and setting him upon an horse, conveyed him to the lady *Ann Warcupps*, a widow, who entertained him for some time, and then sent him up to *London*, where he was in more safety.

Having twice or thrice changed his lodgings in *London*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, a great minister of state in those times, furnished him with money for his journey, and procured him a ship for his transportation beyond the seas. And well it had been if he had gone sooner; but his friend Mr. *Parkhurst* hearing of the restoring of the mass fled forthwith; and poor Mr. *Jewel* knowing nothing of it, went to *Cleve*, in *Gloucestershire*, to beg his advice and assistance, being almost killed by his long journey on foot in bitter cold and snowy weather, and being forced at last to return to *Oxford*, more dejected and confounded in his thoughts than he went out; which miseries were the occasions of his fall, as GOD's mercy was the procurer both of his escape and recovery.

For being once arrived at *Francfort* in the beginning of the second year of Q. *Mary's* reign, he found there Mr. *Richard Chambers*, his old benefactor, Dr. *Robert Horne*, afterwards bishop of *Winchester*, Dr. *Saunders*, bishop of *London*, Sir *Francis Knollys*, a privy-counsellor, and afterwards lord-treasurer, and his eldest son, &c. these
received

received *Jewel* with the more kindness, because he came unexpectedly and unhopd for, and advised him to make a public recantation of his subscription; which he willingly did in the pulpit the next Lord's-day in these words: "It was my abject and cowardly mind, and faint heart, that made my weak hand to commit this wickedness." Which when he had uttered as well as he could for tears and sighs, he applied himself in a fervent prayer, first to GOD Almighty for his pardon, and afterwards to the church; the whole auditory accompanying him with tears and sighs, and ever after esteeming him more for his ingenuous repentance, than they would, perhaps, have done if he had not fallen.

It is an easy thing for those, that were never tried, to censure the frailty of those that have truckled for some time under the shock of a mighty temptation; but let such remember *St. Paul's* advice. *Let him that standeth take heed lest he fall.* Mr. *Jewel* had not been long at *Francfort*, before *Peter Martyr* hearing of it, often solicited him to come to *Strasburg*, where he was now settled and provided for; and all things considered, a wonder it is that he [*Martyr*] did not perish in *England*; for there was no person more openly aimed at than he, because none of them had given wider wounds than he to the *Roman Catholic* cause. One *Tresham*, a senior canon of *Christ-Church*, who had held some points against him at his first coming thither, now took the benefit of the times to be revenged on him, and incited those of *Christ-Church* and of other houses to affront him publicly. So that not finding any safety at *Oxford*, he retired to *Lambeth* to *Cranmer*, where he was sure of as much as the place could afford him. A consultation had been held by some of the more fiery spirits, for his commitment into prison. But he came thither, as was well known, on the public faith, which was not to be violated for the satisfaction of some private persons. It was thought fit therefore to discharge him of all further employment, and to license him to depart in peace: None being more forward to furnish him with all things for his going hence than the new lord chancellor bishop *Gardiner*, whether in honor to his learning, or out of a desire to send him packing, shall not now be questioned. *Peter Martyr* also helped himself, for he would not go without the queen's passport and leave, and when he had it, concealed himself fourteen days on the *English* coast, then privately took ship, and arrived at *Antwerp* in the night, and before day took coach, and so got

got safe to *Strasburg* the thirtieth of *October*, 1553. But less humanity was shewed to him in his wife, whose body having been buried in the church of *St. Frideswide*, was afterwards by public order taken out of the grave and buried in a common dunghill. But in the reign of *Q. Elizabeth* she was again removed as may be seen in the former volume under *Martyr's* life. And the truth is, the queen, who was a bigotted papist, and too much priest-ridden, breaking not only her promise to the men of *Suffolk*, who had stood by her in her greatest necessity, and treating them with extreme severity but for challenging the performance of her promise; one *Dobbe* who had spoken more boldly than the rest, being ordered to stand three days in the pillory; but also her more solemn engagement made the twelfth of *August*, 1553, in the council; that although her conscience was settled in the matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or strain others, otherwise than as *GOD* should put into their hearts a persuasion of that truth she was in; and this she hoped should be done by the opening his word to them, by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers: I say, considering how ill she kept her promise to her own subjects, it is a wonder she should keep the faith given to this stranger in her brother's reign, and not by her; and I conceive no reason can be given for this, but the over-ruling providence of *GOD*, who governs the hearts of princes as he thinks fit.

But well it was for *Mr. Jewel*, that there he was; and as much of *Mr. Jewel's* sufferings in *England* had been occasioned by his great respects he had shewn to *Peter Martyr* whilst he lived at *Oxford*: So now *Peter Martyr* never left soliciting him, (as I said,) to come to him to *Strasburg* till he prevailed, where he took him to his own table and kept him always with him. And here *Mr. Jewel* was very serviceable to him in his edition of his *Commentaries* upon the book of *Judges*, which were all transcribed for the press by him; and he used also to read every day some part of a father to him, and for the most part *St. Augustine*, with which father they were both much delighted.

At *Strasburg* *Mr. Jewel* found *J. Ponet*, late bishop of *Winchester*, *Edmund Grindal*, afterwards archbishop of *York*, *Sir Edwin Sandys*, *J. Cheeke* and *Sir Anthony Coke*, knight, and several other great men of the *English* nation, who were fled thither for their religion. And with these he was in great esteem, which opened a way for his preferment upon his return into *England* after the storm was over.

Peter Martyr, having been a long time solicited by the senate of *Zurick* to go thither and take upon him the place of professor of *Hebrew*, and interpreter of the scriptures, in the place of *Conrade Pellican*, who was almost the first professor of *Hebrew* in Christendom, and died about this time near an hundred years of age; at last accepted the office, and carried *Mr. Jewel* with him to *Zurick*, where he lived still with *Peter Martyr* in his own family. Here he found *James Pilkington*, bishop of *Durham*, and several others, who were maintained by the procurement of *Richard Chambers*, but out of the purses of *Mr. Richard Springham*, *Mr. John Abel*, *Mr. Thomas Eton*, merchants of *London*, and several others; till at last *Gardiner*, finding who were their benefactors, threatened he would in a short time make them eat their finger-ends for hunger: And it was sore against his will that he proved a false prophet, for he clapt up so many of their benefactors in *England*, that after this there came but a small if any supply out of *England* to them. But then *Christopher*, prince of *Wittenberg*, and the senators of *Zurick*, and the foreign divines, were so kind to them, that they had still a tolerable subsistence; and *Mr. Jewel* stood in need of the less, because he lived with *Peter Martyr* till his return into *England*.

During all the time of his exile, which was about four years, he studied very hard, and spent the rest of his time in comforting and confirming his brethren; for he would frequently tell them, that when their brethren endured such bitter tortures and horrible martyrdoms at home, it was not reasonable they should expect to fare deliciously in banishment, concluding always; *Hæc non durabunt ætatem*; "These things will not last an age." Which he repeated so very often, and with so great an assurance of mind, that it would be so; that many believed it before it came to pass, and more took it for a prophetic sentence afterwards.

Accordingly, on the seventeenth of *November*, 1558. GOD remembered the distressed state of the church of *England*, and put an end to her sufferings, by removing the bigotted *Q. Mary*; the news of which flying speedily to our exiles, they hasted into *England* again, to congratulate the succession of *Q. Elizabeth*, of ever blessed memory.

His good benefactor and tutor *Mr. Parkhurst*, upon the arrival of this news, made him a visit in *Germany*; but fearing *Mr. Jewel* had not chosen the safest way for his return

return to *England*, left him and went another way, which seeming more safe, in the end proved otherwise. Mr. *Jewel* arriving safely in *England* with what he had, whilst the other was robbed by the way; and so at his landing in *England*, Mr. *Jewel* (who was here before him), very gratefully relieved his great benefactor.

The time of Mr. *Jewel*'s arrival in *England* is nowhere expressed that I can find, but he being then at *Zurich* in all probability, was for that cause none of the first that returned; so that when he came back, he had the comfort to find all things well disposed, for the reception of the Reformation: For the queen had by a proclamation of the thirtieth of *December*, 1558, ordered that no man, of what quality soever he were, should presume to alter any thing in the state of religion, or innovate in any of the rites and ceremonies thereunto belonging, &c. until some further order should be taken therein. Only it was permitted, and withal required, that the litany, the Lord's-prayer, the creed and the ten commandments, should be said in the *English* tongue, and that the epistle and gospel should be read in *English* at the time of the high mass, which was done, (saith Dr. *Heylyn*,) in all the churches of *London*, on the next Sunday after, being New-Year's-day; and by degrees in all the other churches of the kingdom: Further than this, she thought it not convenient to proceed at the present, only she prohibited the elevation of the sacrament at the altar of the chapel royal: Which was likewise forborn in all other churches: And she set at liberty all that had been imprisoned for religion in her sister's time, and ordered the liturgy to be revised with great care, and that a parliament should be summoned to sit at *Westminster* the twenty-fifth of *January*, 1559.

All this I suppose at least was done before Mr. *Jewel* returned into *England*; for whether he was here at the coronation is uncertain. He was entertained first by Mr. *Nicholas Culverwell* for almost six months, and then, falling into a sickness, was invited, by Dr. *William Thames*, to lodge at his house; but this was after the parliament.

The liturgy being then reviewed, and whatever might give the popish party any unnecessary exasperation or discontent purged out, in order to the facilitating the passing an act of parliament for the settling it, and the establishment of other things that were necessary, a public disputation was appointed on the thirtieth of *March* following, to be holden in the church of *Westminster* in the *English* tongue, in the presence of as many of the lords of the

council, and of the members of both houses, as were desirous to inform themselves in the state of the questions. The disputation was also to be managed, (for the better avoiding of confusion,) by a mutual interchange of writings upon every point; each writing to be answered the next day, and so from day to day till the whole were ended. To all which the bishops at first consented, though they would not afterwards stand to it. The questions were three, concerning prayers in the vulgar tongue, the power of the church, for the changing rites and ceremonies, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass for the living and the dead.

The first use that was made of Mr. *Jewel* after his return, was the nominating him one of the disputants for the Reformed party; and though he was the last in number and place, yet he was not the least either in desert or esteem, having made great additions to his former learning in his four years exile and travel: Which is a great improvement to ingenious spirits. But this disputation was broken off by the popish party, who would not stand to the order appointed; so that Mr. *Jewel* in all probability had no occasion to shew either his zeal or learning. The whole process of this affair is related by *Fox* in his Acts and Monuments.

The parliament ended the eighth of *May*, 1559, and by virtue of an act passed in this parliament, soon after *Midsummer*, the queen made a visitation of all the dioceses in *England*, by commissioners for rectifying all such things as they found amiss, and could not be redressed by any ordinary episcopal power, without spending more time than the exigencies of the church could then admit of. And this was done by a book of articles printed for that purpose, and the inquiry was made upon oath by the commissioners. Here Mr. *Jewel* was taken in again, and made one of these commissioners for the west. When he visited his own native country, (which till then perhaps he had not seen since his return from exile,) he preached to and disputed with his countrymen, and endeavored more to win them to embrace the Reformation by good usage, civility, and reason, than to terrify or awe them by that great authority the queen had armed him and his fellow commissioners with.

Returning back to *London*, and giving the queen a good and satisfactory account of their visitation, the twenty-first of *January*, Mr. *Jewel*, who was then only bachelor of divinity, was consecrated bishop of *Salisbury*, which he

he at first modestly declined, but at last accepted in obedience to the queen's command. This see had been void by the death of *John Capon*, his immediate predecessor, who died in the year 1557, now near three years. And here the divine providence again gave him the advantage in point of seniority over his tutor Mr. *John Parkhurst*, who was not consecrated bishop of *Norwich* till the fourteenth of *July* after; but then his tutor had the advantage of him in point of revenue, for Mr. *Jewel's* bishopric had been miserably impoverished by his predecessor; so that he complained afterwards, that there was never a good living left him that would maintain a learned man; for, said he, the *Capon* has devoured all: Because he hath either given away or sold all the ecclesiastical dignities and livings.

The Sunday before *Easter* of this year, bishop *Jewel* preached at *Paul's Cross*, his famous sermon upon the 1 *Cor.* xi. 23. *For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, &c.* This sermon gave a fatal blow to the popish religion here in *England*, which was become very odious to all men, by reason of the barbarous cruelty used by those of that persuasion in the reign of *Q. Mary*; but the challenge which he then made, and afterwards several times and in several places repeated, was the most stinging part of this sermon, and therefore though I am concerned to be as short as I can, I will yet insert this famous piece at large.

“ If any learned man of our adversaries, (said he,)
 “ or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring
 “ any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic
 “ doctor, or father, or general council, or holy scripture,
 “ or any one example in the primitive church, whereby
 “ it may clearly and plainly be proved during the first six
 “ hundred years; 1. That there was at any time any private masses in the world. 2. Or that there was then
 “ any communion ministered unto the people under one
 “ kind. 3. Or that the people had their common-prayer
 “ in a strange tongue that the people understood not. 4.
 “ Or that the bishop of *Rome* was then called an universal
 “ bishop, or the head of the universal church. 5. Or
 “ that the people were then taught to believe that Christ's
 “ body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or
 “ naturally, in the sacrament. 6. Or that his body is or
 “ may be in a thousand places or more at one time. 7.
 “ Or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over

" his head. 8. Or that the people did then fall down
 " and worship it with godly honour. 9. Or that the
 " sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up
 " under a canopy. 10. Or that in the sacrament after
 " the words of consecration, there remained only the ac-
 " cidents and shews, without the substance of bread and
 " wine. 11. Or, that then the priests divided the sacra-
 " ment in three parts, and afterwards received himself
 " alone. 12. Or that whosoever had said the sacrament
 " is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of
 " Christ's body, had therefore been adjudged for an he-
 " retic. 13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty,
 " twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in the same
 " church in one day. 14. Or that images were then set
 " up in the churches, to the intent the people might wor-
 " ship them. 15. Or that the lay-people were then for-
 " bidden to read the word of GOD in their own tongue,
 " 16. Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pro-
 " nounce the words of consecration closely, or in private
 " to himself. 17. Or that the priest had then authority
 " to offer up Christ unto his Father. 18. Or to com-
 " municate and receive the sacrament for another, as they
 " do. 19. Or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and
 " passion to any man by the means of the mass. 20. Or
 " that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the
 " people, that mass, *ex opere operato*, (that is, upon ac-
 " count of the work wrought,) is able to remove any
 " part of our sin. 21. Or that any Christian man called
 " the sacrament of the Lord, his GOD. 22. Or that
 " the people were then taught to believe, that the body
 " of Christ remaineth in the sacrament, as long as the
 " accidents of bread and wine remain there without cor-
 " ruption. 23. Or that a mouse, or any other worm or
 " beast, may eat the body of Christ, (for so some of our
 " adversaries have said and taught). 24. Or that when
 " Christ said, *hoc est corpus meum*, the word *hoc* pointed
 " not to the bread, but to an *individuum vagum*, as some
 " of them say. 25. Or that the accidents, or forms, or
 " shews of bread and wine be the sacraments of Christ's
 " body and blood, and not rather the very bread and
 " wine itself. 26. Or that the sacrament is a sign or
 " token of the body of Christ, that lieth hidden under-
 " neath it. 27. Or that ignorance is the mother and
 " cause of true devotion. The conclusion is, that I shall
 " then be content to yield and subscribe."

This

This challenge, being thus published in so great an auditory, startled the *English* Papists both at home and abroad, but none more than such of our fugitives as had retired to *Lovain*, *Doway*, or *St. Omers*, in the Low-country Provinces, belonging to the king of *Spain*. The business was first agitated by the exchange of friendly letters betwixt the said reverend prelate and Dr. *Henry Cole*, the late dean of *St. Paul's*; more violently followed in a book of *Rassal's*, who first appeared in the lists against the challenger, followed herein by *Dorman* and *Marshall*, who severally took up the cudgels to as little purpose; the first being well beaten by *Nowel*, and the last by *Calfhill*, in their Discourses writ against them; but they were only velitations, or preparatory skirmishes in reference to the main encounter, which was reserved for the reverend challenger himself, and Dr. *John Harding*, one of the divines of *Lovain*, and the most learned of the college. The combatants were born in the same county, bred up in the same grammar-school, and studied in the same university: Both zealous Protestants in the time of *K. Edward*, and both relapsed to Popery in the time of *Q. Mary*; *Jewel* for fear, and *Harding* upon hope of favor and preferment. But *Jewel's* fall may be compared to that of *St. Peter*, which was short and sudden, rising again by his repentance, and fortified more strongly in his faith than before he was: But *Harding's* like to that of the other *Simon*, premeditated and resolved on, never to be restored again (so much was there within him of the gall of bitterness) to his former standing. But some former differences had been between them in the church of *Salisbury*, of which the one was prebendary, and the other bishop, occasioned by the bishop's visitation of that cathedral; in which as *Harding* had the worst, so was it a preface of a second foil which he was to have in this encounter. Who had the better of the day, will easily appear to any that consults the writings, by which it will be seen how much the bishop was too hard for him at all manner of weapons. Whose learned answers, as well in maintenance of his challenge, as in defence of his apology, contain in them such a magazine of all sorts of learning, that all our controversors since that time have furnished themselves with arguments and authority from it.

When *Q. Mary* died, *Paul IV.* was pope, to whom *Q. Elizabeth* sent an account of her coming to the crown, which was delivered by Sir *Edward Karm*, her sister's resident at *Rome*; to which the angry gentleman replied, That

England was held in fee of the apostolic see, that she could not succeed being illegitimate; nor could he contradict the declarations made in that matter by his predecessors *Clement VII.* and *Paul III.* He said it was a great boldness in her, to assume the crown without his consent; for which in reason she deserved no favor at his hands; yet if she would renounce her pretensions, and refer herself wholly to him, he would shew a fatherly affection to her, and do every thing for her that could consist with the dignity of the apostolic see. Which answer being hastily and passionately made, was as little regarded by the queen. But he dying soon after, *Pius IV.* an abler man, succeeded; and he was for gaining the queen by arts and kindness; to which end he sent *Vincent Parapalia*, abbot of *St. Saviours*, with courteous letters to her, dated *May 5, 1560*, with order to make large proffers to her under hand; but the queen had rejected the pope's authority by act of parliament, and would have nothing to do with *Parapalia*, nor would she suffer him to come into *England*. In the interim, the Pope had resolved to renew the council at *Trent*, and in the next year sent abbot *Martiningo* his nuncio to the queen, to invite her and her bishops to the council, and he accordingly came to *Bruxells*, and from thence sent over for leave to come into *England*: But though *France* and *Spain* interceded for his admission, yet the queen stood firm, and at the same time rejected a motion from the emperor *Ferdinand*, to return to the old religion as he called it. Yet after all these denials given to so many and such potent princes, one *Scipio*, a gentleman of *Venice*, who formerly had had some acquaintance with bishop *Jewel* when he was a student in *Padua*, and had heard of *Martiningo's* ill success in this negotiation, would needs spend some eloquence in laboring to obtain that point by his private letters, which the nuncio could not gain as a public minister; and to that end he writes his letters of Expostulation to bishop *Jewel* his old friend, preferred not long before to the see of *Salisbury*. Which letter did not long remain unanswered; that learned prelate was not so unstudied in the nature of councils, as not to know how little of a general council could be found at *Trent*: And therefore he returned an answer to the proposition, so elegantly penned, and so elaborately digested, that neither *Scipio* himself nor any other of that party durst reply to him. This was written some time after the apology was printed in *England*,

In

In the year 1562, bishop *Jewel* put out the Apology of the Church of *England*, in Latin; which though written by him, was published by the queen's authority, and with the advice of some of the bishops, as the public confession of the Catholick and Christian faith of the church of *England*, &c. and to give an account of the reasons of our departure from the see of *Rome*, and as an answer to those calumnies that were then raised against the *English* church and nation, for not submitting to the pretended general council of *Trent* then sitting. So that it is not to be esteemed as the private work of a single bishop, but as a public declaration of that church whose name it bears.

This apology being published during the very time of the last meeting of the council of *Trent*, was read there, and seriously considered, and great threats made that it should be answered; and accordingly two learned bishops, one a *Spaniard* and the other an *Italian*, undertook that task, but neither of them did any thing in it.

But in the mean time the book spread into all the countries in *Europe*, and was much applauded in *France*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, *Spain*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Scotland*; and found at least a passage into *Italy*, *Naples*, and *Rome* itself; and was soon after translated into the *German*, *Italian*, *French*, *Spanish*, *Dutch*, and at last into the *Greek* tongue; in so great esteem this book was abroad: And at home it was translated into *English* by the lady *Bacon*, wife to Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, lord keeper of the great seal of *England*.

It very well deserves the character Mr. *Humsfrey* has given of it, whose words are these. 'It is so drawn, that the first part of it is an illustration, and as it were a paraphrase of the twelve articles of the Christian faith (or creed); the second is a short and solid confutation of whatever is objected against the church; if the order be considered, nothing can be better distributed; if the perspicuity, nothing can be fuller of light; if the style, nothing more terse; if the words, nothing more splendid; if the arguments, nothing stronger.'

The good bishop was most encouraged to publish this apology by *Peter Martyr* (as appears by *Martyr's* letter of the twenty-fourth of *August*) with whom he had spent the greatest part of his time in exile. But *Martyr* only lived to see the book which he so much longed for, dying at *Zurick*, on the twelfth day of *November* following, after he had paid his thanks for, and expressed his value of this piece in a letter which is subjoined.

In

In the year 1564, Mr. *Harding* put out a pretended answer to bishop *Jewel's* famous challenge at *Paul's Cross*, mentioned above, to which, in the year following, the bishop made a very learned reply, the epistle before which bears date at *London* the twenty-seventh of *October* of that year. The same year the university of *Oxford* gave him (though absent) the degree of doctor of divinity; and certainly he well deserved to have that extraordinary respect and honor shewn him, who was so eminently employed then in the service and defence of the church.

He had no sooner brought this to a conclusion, but *Harding* was again upon him, and put out an Antapology, or answer to his Apology for the Church of *England*. A defence of which the bishop forthwith began, which he finished, as appears by his epistle to Mr. *Harding* at the end of it, the twenty-seventh of *October*, 1567.

The next year after, Mr. *Harding* put out another piece, which he entitled, A Detection of sundry foul Errors, &c. which was a cavilling reply to some passages in his defence of the Apology; which not seeming to deserve an answer by itself; he answered rather by a preface to a new impression of his former defence, which he finished the eleventh of *December*, 1569, and dedicated his works to the queen; *Harding* having told the world, that she was offended with bishop *Jewel* for thus troubling the world.

The same year pope *Pius IV.* having published a bull of excommunication and deprivation against the queen; bishop *Jewel* undertook the defence of his sovereign, and wrote a learned examination and confutation of that bull; which was published by *John Garbrand*, an intimate acquaintance of his, together with a short treatise of the holy scriptures; both which, as he informs us, were delivered by the bishop in his cathedral church, in the year 1570.

Besides these he wrote several other large pieces; as, 1. A Paraphractical Interpretation of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the whole Year. 2. Diverse Treatises of the Sacraments and Exhortations to the Readers. 3. Expositions of the Lord's-Prayer, the Creed, and ten Commandments. And also, 4. An Exposition upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*; the first of *St. Peter*, and both the Epistles to the *Thessalonians*; which I suppose were his sermons: For he was of opinion that it was a better way of teaching, to go through with a book, than to take here and there a text; and that it gave the people a more clear
and

and lasting knowledge. For a sample of his style and doctrine, see the note below*.

In the beginning of the next year, viz. April 5, 1571, was a parliament, and consequently a convocation, when some who aimed at the Reformation of the church upon the model of *Geneva*, to the exclusion of episcopacy in the government of it, having alarmed the church by their oppositions to the established religion, it was thought fit to obviate their attempts; and thereupon command was given by the archbishop, That all such of the lower house of convocation, who had not formerly subscribed unto the articles of religion agreed upon in the year 1562, should subscribe them now; or on their absolute refusal, or delay, be expelled the house: This occasioned a general and personal subscription of those articles. And it was also farther ordered, that the book of articles so approved, should be put into print, by the appointment of

* The extract is taken from his Exposition of the Epistles to the *Thessalonians*, p. 143, 144. Lond. 1611.—“GOD hath chosen you from the beginning. His election is sure for ever. The Lord knoweth who are his. You shall not be deceived with the power and subtilty of antichrist. You shall not fall from grace. You shall not perish. This is the comfort which abideth with the faithful; when they behold the fall of the wicked; when they see them forsake the truth and delight in fables; when they see them return to their vomit, and wallow again in the mire. When we see these things in others, we must say, alas! they are examples for me, and lamentable examples. Let him that standeth take heed that he fall not. But God hath loved me, and hath chosen me, to salvation. His mercy shall go before me, and his mercy shall follow in me. His mercy shall guide my feet, and stay me from falling. If I stay by myself, I stay by nothing; I must needs come to ground.—He hath loved me; he hath chosen me; he will keep me. Neither the example nor the company of others, nor the enticing of the devil, nor my own sensual imaginations, nor sword, nor fire, is able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This is the comfort of the faithful.—Whatsoever falleth upon others, though others fall and perish, although they forsake Christ and follow after antichrist, yet God hath loved you and given his Son for you. He hath chosen you, and prepared you unto salvation, and hath written your names in the book of life. But how may we know that God hath chosen us? how may we see this ELECTION? or how may we feel it? The apostle saith, through sanctification, and the faith of truth. These are tokens of God's election.—This [viz. the Holy Spirit] comforteth us in all temptations; and beareth witness with our spirit that we be the children of God; that God hath chosen us; and doth love us, and hath prepared us to salvation; that we are the heirs of his glory; that God will keep us as the apple of his eye; that he will defend us; and we shall not perish.”

the right reverend doctor *John Jewel*, then bishop of *Sarum*; which shews he was there, and in great esteem.

It was in some part of this year also, that he had his conference, and preached his last sermon at *Paul's Cross*, about the ceremonies and state of the church. But I cannot fix the precise time of either of them, or give any further account with whom that conference was.

Being naturally of a spare and thin body, and thus restlessly wearing it out with reading, writing, preaching, and travelling, he hastened his death, which happened before he was full fifty years of age; of which he had a strong presentiment a considerable time before it happened, and wrote of it to several of his friends, but would by no means be persuaded to abate any thing of his former excessive labors, saying, "A bishop should die preaching;" having these words impressed upon his mind, *Happy art thou, my servant, if, when I come, I find thee so doing.*

Though he ever governed his diocese with great diligence, yet perceiving his death approaching, he began a new and more severe visitation of it; correcting the vices of the clergy and laity more sharply; enjoining them in some places tasks of holy tracts to be learned by heart, conferring orders more carefully, and preaching oftener.

Having promised to preach at *Lacock* in *Wiltshire*, a gentleman who met him going thither, observing him to be very ill by his looks, advised him to return home, assuring him it was better the people should want one sermon, than to be altogether deprived of such a preacher. But he would not be persuaded, but went thither and preached his last sermon out of the fifth to the *Galatians*, *Walk in the Spirit, &c.* which he did not finish without great labor and difficulty.

In the beginning of his sickness he made his will, and gave most of his estate to his servants, to scholars, and to the poor of *Sarum*. The *Saturday* following, having called all his household about him, he expounded the Lord's-prayer, when he said:—"It hath always been my
 " desire, that I might glorify God, and honour his name,
 " by sacrificing my life for the defence of his truth: But
 " though God hath not granted my desire, yet I rejoice,
 " that my body is exhausted and worn away in the la-
 " bours of my holy calling. And now, that my hour is
 " at hand, I earnestly desire you to pray for me, and to
 " help me with the ardency of your affections, when you
 " perceive me, through the infirmity of the flesh, to
 " languish in my prayers. Hitherto I have taught you;
 " but

"but now the time is come in which I may and desire to be taught and strengthened by every one of you."

He then desired them to sing the seventy-first *Psalms*, and sung with them as well as he could; sometimes interposing some words of particular application to himself; and in the end he said,—“Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace. Break off all delays. Lord, receive my spirit, &c.” Then one standing by prayed with tears, that if the Lord pleased, he would restore him to his former health: *Jewel* hearing him, seemed to be offended, and said,—“I have not lived so, that I am ashamed to live longer; neither do I fear to die, because we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me. Christ is my righteousness. Father, let thy will be done: Thy will I say, and not mine, which is imperfect and depraved. This day, quickly, let me see the LORD JESUS.”

He died on *Saturday* the twenty-first of *September*, 1571, aged fifty, at *Monkton-sarley*, when he had been a bishop almost twelve years; and was buried almost in the middle of the choir of his cathedral church, and *Ægidius Lawrence* preached his funeral sermon. He was extremely bewailed by all men; and a great number of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew verses were made on this occasion by learned men, which are collected and printed by Mr. *Lawrence Humfrey*, regius professor of divinity at *Oxford*, in the end of his life written in Latin by the order of that university; nor has his name been since mentioned by any man, without such eulogies and commendations as befitted so great, so good, so learned and laborious a prelate.

Having thus brought him to his grave, (says his honorable biographer) permit me to collect some particular things which could not so well be inserted into the history of his life, without breaking the thread of it.

He had naturally a very strong memory, which he had greatly improved by art, so that he could exactly repeat whatever he wrote after once reading. While the bell was ringing, he committed to his memory a repetition sermon, and pronounced it without hesitation. He was a constant preacher; and, in his own sermons, his course was to write down only the heads, and meditate upon the rest, while the bell was ringing to church. Yet so firm was his memory, that he used to say, if he were to deliver a premeditated speech before a thousand auditors, shouting or fighting all the while, they would not

put him out. Mr. *Hymfrey* gives several examples of this, but I will instance in two only; *John Hooper*, bishop of *Gloucester*, who was burnt in the reign of *Q. Mary*, once to try him, wrote about forty *Welsh* and *Irish* words; Mr. *Jewel* going a little while aside, and recollecting them in his memory, and reading them twice or thrice over, said them by heart backward and forward exactly in the same order they were set down. And another time he did the same by ten lines of *Erasmus's* paraphrase in *English*, the words of which being read sometimes confusedly without order, and at other times in order by the lord keeper *Bacon*, Mr. *Jewel* thinking a while on them, presently repeated them again backward and forward, in their right order and in the wrong, just as they were read to him; and he taught his tutor Mr. *Parkhurst* the same art.

Though his memory were so great and so improved, yet he would not entirely rely upon it, but entered down into common-place books, whatever he thought he might afterwards have occasion to use; which, as the author of his life informs us, were many in number, and great in quantity, being a vast treasure of learning, and a rich repository of knowledge, into which he had collected sacred, profane, poetic, philosophic, and divine notes of all sorts; and all these he had again reduced into a small piece or two, which were a kind of general indexes, which he made use of at all times when he was to speak or write any thing; which were drawn up in characters for brevity, and thereby so obscured, that they were not of any use, after his death, to any other person. And besides these, he ever kept diaries, in which he entered whatever he had heard or saw that was remarkable, which once a year he perused, and out of them extracted whatever was most remarkable.

And from hence it came to pass, that whereas Mr. *Harding* in that great controversy they had, abounded only in words, bishop *Jewel* overwhelmed him with a cloud of witnesses and citations out of the antient fathers, councils, and church historians; confirming every thing with so great a number of incontestable authorities, that Mr. *Harding* durst never after pretend to a second perfect and full answer, but contented himself with snarling at some small pieces: The truth is, all the following controversies were in this point beholding to the indefatigable industry of this great Leader.

Yet he was so careful in the use of his own common-place books, that when he was to write his defence of the Apology, and his Reply, he would not trust entirely to his own excerpts or transcriptions, but having first carefully read Mr. *Harding's* books, and marked what he thought deserved an answer, he in the next place drew up the heads of his intended answer, and resolved what authorities he would make use of upon each head, and then by the directions of his common-place book, read and marked all those passages he had occasion to make use of, and delivered them to some scholars to be transcribed under their proper heads, that he might have them together under his eye, when he came to write; which care and diligence of his speaks at once both his industry, fidelity, and modesty, in that he would not trust his own transcripts, and is a just reprehension of the falshood of those who knowingly make false citations, and of the supine negligence of those who take them up upon trust from other men, and use them without any examination; by which means great mistakes are made, and controversies spring up to the disturbance of the world. The truth is, a man ought to re-examine his own thoughts; for what may seem very pertinent at a first reading to any purpose, may prove otherwise upon second thoughts, and a close observation of what goes before, or follows after in the author; and few men are so exact in their first extracts, but through haste, inadvertence or mistake, they may more or less err and be deceived; not to say that a man's intention of mind is much exalted by the fixing it upon one particular object, and the expectation of a conviction from his adversary, in case he make the least mistake. This account of our venerable bishop was given by Mr. *John Garbrand*, who was intimately acquainted with him, in an epistle dedicatory before some of his sermons, printed in octavo, in the year 1583.

He was an excellent *Grecian*, and not unacquainted with the *Italian* tongue; and as to the *Latin*, he wrote and spoke it with that elegance, politeness, purity, and fluency, that it might very well be taken for his mother tongue: And certainly he took the right course to be master of it, having made himself in his youth perfectly master of *Horace*, (upon whom he wrote a large commentary) *Tully*, and *Erasmus*, all whose voluminous and excellent works he read over, excerpted and imitated every day, especially during his continuance at *Oxford*; and he was then wont also to declaim *extempore* to himself in *Latin*
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in the woods and groves as he walked. He was excellently read in all the Greek poets, orators, and historians, especially in the ecclesiastical historians, and, above all other, loved *Gregory Nazianzen*, and quoted him on all occasions.

His learning was much improved by his exile, in which, besides his conversation with *Peter Martyr* and the other learned men at *Straßburg* and *Zurick*, and his society with *Mr. Sands*, afterwards archbishop of *York*, who was his bedfellow almost all the time they were in exile, his curiosity led him over the *Alps* into *Italy*, and he studied some time in *Padua*, and by the acquaintance he contracted with *Seignior Scipio*, a great man, seems to have been very much esteemed there.

He was of a pleasant humour, extremely civil and obliging to all; but withal of great gravity, and of so severe a probity and virtue, that he extorted from his bitterest enemies a confession, that he lived the life of an angel; and though he were lame, yet till his being a bishop, he travelled for the most part a-foot, both at home and beyond the seas; he was contented in every condition, and endeavored to make all others so, by telling them when he was in exile, that neither would their calamity last an age, neither was it reason they should bear no share of the cross of Christ, when their brethren in *England* fared so much worse.

He was so extremely grateful to all that had done him good, that when he could not express his gratitude to *Mr. Bowin* his schoolmaster, he paid it to his name, and did good to all that were so called for his sake, though they were not related to that good man.

He was a most laborious preacher, always travelling about his diocese, and preaching wherever he came; wherein he labored to speak to the apprehensions of the people, hating all light gingling discourses and phrases, as beneath the dignity of that sacred place; yet he was careful here too in the choice of his words, and endeavored to move the affections of his auditory by pathetic and zealous applications, avoiding all high-flown expressions, and using a grave and sedate, rather than sweet way of speaking to them.

He was a man of great moderation, and expressed a great sense of the frailties of mankind, as appears by his letter to *Dr. Parkhurst* when bishop of *Norwich*. "Let your chancellor, (saith he,) be harder, but you easier; let him wound, but do you heal; let him lance, do
" you

“you plaister; wise clemency will do more good than rigid severity; one man may move more with an engine, than six with the force of their hands.” And accordingly he would often sit in his own consistory with his chancellor, hearing, considering, and sometimes determining causes concerning matrimony, adultery, and testaments, &c. not thinking it safe to commit all to the sole care and fidelity of his chancellor and officers. But though as a justice of peace he often sat in the courts of quarter-sessions, yet here he very rarely interposed, except his judgement were desired concerning some scruples of religion, or some other such like difficulty. So exact was his care, not to entangle himself with secular affairs; and yet not to be wanting to his duty in any case.

Though he came to a bishopric miserably impoverished and wasted, yet he found means to exercise a prodigious liberality and hospitality. For the first, his great expence in the building a fair library for his cathedral church, may be an instance, which his successor Dr. *Gheast* furnished with books, whose name is perpetuated, together with the memory of his predecessor by this inscription: *Hæc Bibliotheca extructa est sumptibus, R. P. ac D. D. JOHANNIS JEWELLI, quondam Sarum Episcopi; instructa vero libris à R. in Christo P. D. Edmundo Gheast, olim ejusdem Ecclesiæ Episcopo, quorum memoria in Benedictione erit. A. D. 1578.*

His doors stood always open to the poor, and he would frequently send his charitable reliefs to prisoners, nor did he confine his bounty to *English* men only, but was liberal to foreigners, and especially to those of *Zurick*, and the friends of *Peter Martyr*.

But perceiving the great want of learned men in his times, his greatest care was to have ever with him in his house half a dozen or more poor lads which he brought up in learning; and took much delight to hear them dispute points of grammar-learning in *Latin* at his table when he was at his meal, improving them, and pleasing himself at the same time.

And besides these, he maintained in the university several young students, allowing them yearly pensions; and whenever they came to visit him, rarely dismissed them without liberal gratuities. Amongst these was the famous Mr. *Richard Hooker* his countryman, whose parents being poor, must have been bound apprentice to a trade, but for the bounty of this good bishop, who allowed his parents a yearly pension towards his maintenance

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well near seven years before he was fit for the university, and in the year 1567, appointed him to remove to *Oxford*, and there to attend *Dr. Cde*, then president of *Corpus Christi-college*, who, according to his promise to the bishop, provided him a tutor, and a clerk's place in that college; which with a contribution from his uncle *Mr. John Hooker*, and the continued pension of his patron the bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence; and in the last year of the bishop's life, *Mr. Hooker* making this his patron a visit at his palace, the good bishop made him, and a companion he had with him, dine at his own table with him, which *Mr. Hooker* boasted of with much joy and gratitude, when he saw his mother and friends, whither he was then travelling on foot. The bishop when he parted with him, gave him good counsel and his blessing, but forgot to give him money, which when the bishop be-thought himself of, he sent a servant to call him back again, and then told him, "I sent for you, *Richard*, to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank *GOD* with much ease." And presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled many parts of *Germany*; and then went on, and said, "*Richard*, I do not give but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to *Oxford*; and I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to *Exeter*; and here are ten groats more which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send her a bishop's blessing with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten more to carry you on foot to the college; and so *GOD* bless you, good *Richard*." It was not long after this, before this good bishop died, but before his death he had so effectually recommended *Mr. Hooker* to *Edwin Sandys*, then bishop of *London*, and afterwards archbishop of *York*, that about a year after he put his son under the tutelage of *Mr. Hooker*, and was otherwise so liberal to him, that he became one of the most learned men of the age. Nor was *Mr. Hooker* ungrateful, but having occasion to mention his good benefactor in that piece, he calls him, bishop [*Jewel*,] 'the worthiest divine Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years.'

But to return to bishop *Jewel*, he had collected an excellent library of books of all sorts, not excepting the most impertinent of the popish authors; and here it was that he

he spent the greatest and the best part of his time, rarely appearing abroad, especially in a morning till eight of the clock; so that till that time it was not easy to speak with him; when commonly he eat some slight thing for the support of his thin body; and then, if no business diverted him, retired to his study again till dinner.

He maintained a plentiful, but sober table, and though at it he eat very little himself, yet he took care his guests might be well supplied, entertaining them in the mean time with much pleasant and useful discourse, telling and hearing any kind of innocent and diverting stories: For though he was a man of great and exact piety and virtue, yet he was not of a morose, sullen, unsociable temper; and this his hospitality was equally bestowed upon both foreigners and *Englishmen*.

After dinner he heard causes, if any came in; and dispatched any business that belonged to him (though he would sometimes do it at dinner too); and answered any questions, and very often arbitrated and composed differences betwixt his people, who knowing his great wisdom and integrity, did very often refer themselves to him as the sole arbitrator, where they met with speedy, cheap, and impartial justice.

At nine at night he called all his servants about him, examined how they had spent their time that day, commended some, and reprov'd others, as occasion served, and then closed the day with prayers, as he began it: The time of his publick morning prayers seems to have been eight.

After this, he commonly went to his study again, and from thence to bed, his servant reading some part of an author to him, to compose his mind, and then committing himself to his GOD and Saviour, he betook himself to his rest.

He was extremely careful of the revenues of the church, not caring whom he offended to preserve it from impoverishing in an age, when the greatest men, finding the queen not over liberal to her courtiers and servants, too often paid themselves out of the church patrimony, for the services they had done the crown, till they ruined some bishopricks intirely, and left others so very poor, that they are scarce able to maintain a prelate.

There is one instance of this mentioned by all that have written our bishop's life; a courtier, (who was a lay-man), having obtained a prebend in the church of *Salisbury*, and intending to let it to another lay-person for his best advantage, acquainted bishop *Jewel* with the conditions

between them; and some lawyers opinion about them. To which the bishop replied; "What your lawyers may answer I know not; but for my part, to my power, I will take care that my church shall sustain no loss whilst I live." What was the event of this, none of them have told us.

Nor was he careful of his own church only, but of the whole *English* church, as appears by his sermon upon *Psalms* lxi. 9. *The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up.* Which he preached before the queen and court, as appears by it in several addresses to her in the body of that sermon. In it he hath this observation. "In other countries the receiving of the gospel hath always been the cause that learning was more set by; and learning hath ever been the furtherance of the gospel. In *England*, I know not how it cometh otherwise to pass, for since the gospel hath been received, the maintenance for learning hath been decayed; and the lack of learning will be the decay of the gospel." And a little after he tells us, "Those that should be fosters of learning, and increase the livings, had no zeal. What said I, increase? Nay, the livings and provisions which heretofore given to this use are, (saith he) taken away." And a little after, "Whereas all other labourers and artificers have their hire increased double, as much as it was wont to be; only the poor man that laboureth and sweateth in the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, hath his hire abridged and abated." And he applies himself towards the conclusion thus to the great men. "You enriched them which mocked, and blinded, and devoured you; spoil not them now that feed, and instruct, and comfort you."

His WRITINGS which have rendered his name famous over all the Christian world, are as follow: 1. *Exhortatio ad Oxonienses*. The substance printed in *Humfrey's* life of him, p. 35, and seq. edit. 1573, 4to. 2. *Exhortatio in collegio CC. sive concio in fundatoris Foxi commemorationem*, printed *ibid.* p. 45, 46, &c. 3. *Concio in templo B. M. Virginis, Oxon.* 1550, preached for his degree of B. D. it is reprinted in *Humfrey*, *ibid.* p. 49. and again in *English* by R. at London, 1586, 8vo. 4. *Oratio in aula collegii CC.* His farewell Speech on his Expulsion in 1554, printed by *Humfrey*, *ibid.* p. 74, &c. 5. A short tract, *De Usura*, *ibid.* p. 217, &c. 6. *Epistola ad Scipionem, Patrium Venetum*, &c. 1559, and reprinted in the Appendix to father *Paul's* History of the Council of Trent, in *English*, by *Brent*, third edit. 1629, folio. 7. A Letter

to *Henry Bullinger*, at *Zurick*, concerning the State of Religion in *England*, dated *May 22, 1559*, printed in the Appendix to *Strype's Annals*, No. xx. 8. Another Letter to the same, dated *Feb. 8, 1556*, concerning his controversy with *Hardynge*, *ibid.* No. 36, 37. 9. Letters between him and *Dr. Henry Cole*, &c. *London, 1560, 8vo.* 10. A Sermon preached at *St. Paul's Cross*, the second Sunday before *Easter*, an. 1560, *London, 1560, 8vo.* *Dr. Cole* wrote several letters to him on this subject. 11. A Reply to *Mr. Hardynge's Answer*, &c. *London, 1566. fol.* and again in Latin, by *Will. Whitaker*, fellow of *Trinity-college, Cambridge*, at *Geneva, 1578, 4to.* (see his Life, hereafter). And again in 1585, in folio, with our Author's *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.* 12. *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, *London, 1562, 8vo.* it was several times printed in *England* and abroad, and a *Greek* translation of it was printed at *Oxford, 1614, 8vo.* The *English* translation by the lady *Bacon*, wife to *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, intituled, *An Apology or Answer in Defence of the Church of England*, &c. *London, 1562, 4to.* This apology was approved by the queen, and set forth with the consent of the bishops. 13. A Defence of the Apology, &c. *London, 1564, 1567, folio*, again in Latin by *Thomas Braddock*, fellow of *Christ's-college, Cambridge*, at *Geneva, 1600, folio.* This was ordered by *Q. Elizabeth, K. James,* and *K. Charles*, and four successive archbishops, to be read and chained up in all parish churches throughout *England* and *Wales.* 14. An Answer to a Book written by *Mr. Hardynge*, intituled, *A Detection of sundry fowl Errors*, &c. *London, 1568 and 1570, folio.* 15. A View of a seditious Bull, sent into *England* from *Pius V.* &c. *London 1582, 8vo.* 16. A Treatise of the Holy Scriptures, *ibid.* 8vo. 17. Exposition on the two Epistles to the *Thessalonians*, *ibid.* 1694, 8vo. 18. A Treatise of the Sacraments, &c. *ibid.* 1583. 19. Certain Sermons preached before the Queen's Majesty, at *Paul's Cross*, and elsewhere. All these books, (except the first eight,) with the Sermons and Apology, were printed at *London* in 1609, in one vol. folio, with an Abstract of our Author's Life by *Dan. Featly*, but full of faults, as *Mr. Wood* says. 20. An Answer to certain frivolous Objections against the Government of the Church of *England*, *London, 1641, 4to, a single sheet.* 21. Many Letters in the Collection of Records in Part iii. of *Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation.*

A Letter written to the Reverend Father in God Dr. John Jewel, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, by Dr. Peter Martyr.

‘BY the favour of the bishop of *London*, (most worthy prelate and my very good lord,) there was brought me one of your Apologies for the Church of *England*; which neither I nor any others hereabouts before had seen: It is true in your last letter you rather intimated that it might come out, than signified that it should; but however it came not hither till about the middle of *July*. And from hence your lordship may consider how much we suffer from the distance of places. It hath not only given me an entire satisfaction, who approve and am strangely pleased with all you do; but to *Bullinger* and his sons, and sons in law: And it seems so very wise, admirable and elegant to *Gualter* and *Wolphi*, that they can put no end to their commendations of it, as not thinking there hath been any thing printed in these times of so great a perfection. I do infinitely congratulate this great felicity of your parts, this excellent edification of the church, and the honour you have done your country; and I do most earnestly beseech you to go on in the same way; for though we have a good cause, yet the defenders of it are few in comparison of its enemies; and they now seem so awakened, that they have of late won much upon the ignorant multitude, by the goodness of their style, and the subtilty of their sophistry. I speak this of *Staphylus* and *Hofius*, and some other writers of that party, who are now the stout champions of the papal errors. But now you have, by this your most elegant and learned Apology, raised such an hope in the minds of all good and learned men, that they generally promise themselves, that whilst you live, the Reformed religion shall never want an advocate against its enemies. And truly I am extremely glad, that I am so happy as to live to see that day which made you the father of so illustrious and eloquent a production. May the GOD of heaven of his goodness grant that you may be blessed in time with many more such.’

Zurick, Aug. 24, 1562.

J O H N





From an original Painting in the Possession of Miss Haas at Edinburgh.

J O H N K N O X,

THE SCOTCH REFORMER,

SCOTLAND had the honor of producing this great and eminent luminary; who became the principal instrument, in GOD's hand, of effecting the REFORMATION in that kingdom, at a time when papal darkness, ignorance, and superstition, had involved the whole nation in shades of deeper than *Egyptian* night. He was descended of an antient and honorable family; and was born in the year 1505, at *Giffard*, near *Haddington*, in the county of *East-Lothian*, in *Scotland*. He received the first part of his education in the grammar-school of *Haddington*, and from thence was removed to the university of *St. Andrew's*, and placed under the tuition of the celebrated *Mr. John Mair*. He applied with uncommon diligence to the academical learning in vogue at that time; and, by the natural sharpness of his wit, having made a very great progress in these studies in a short space, he obtained the degree of master of arts when very young. As the bent of his inclination led him strongly to the church, he turned the course of his studies early that way, and, by the advantage of his tutor's instructions, soon became remarkable for his knowledge in scholastic theology; in-somuch, that he obtained priest's orders before the time usually allowed by the canons; and, from being an auditor of his tutor's instructions, he began himself to teach, with great applause, his beloved science to others. But after some time, upon a careful perusal of the fathers of the church, and particularly the writings of *St. Jerom* and *St. Austin*, his taste was entirely altered. He quitted the subtilizing method of theories and the schoolmen, and applied himself to a plainer and more simple divinity.

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At his entrance upon this new course of study, he attended the preaching of *Thomas Guillian*, a black-friar, whose sermons were of extraordinary service to him. This friar, who was provincial of his order, was born at *Atbelston-ford*, in *East Lothian*: And in this year, viz. 1543, he was chaplain to the earl of *Arran*, then governor of *Scotland*, and who favored the Reformation. Sir *James Balfour* says, he translated the New Testament, and publicly preached against the pope's authority; and that he was winked at by the regent, and supported by the noblemen that had returned lately from *England*. Which serves to explain what *Buchanan* says concerning him, that 'he was a preacher of sound judgement and healthsome doctrine;' as also of *Calderwood*, who observes, that he was 'the first from whom Mr. Knox received any taste of the truth.' Accordingly, Mr. Knox himself remarks, in his history of the Reformation, that "the provincial was learned and sound, of a good utterance, but with a great vehemence against superstition." The next year, 1544, Mr. *George Wishart*, so much celebrated in the history of this time*, coming from *England*, with the commissioners sent from *K. Henry VIII.* our Author being of an inquisitive nature, learned from him, the following year, the principles of the Protestants; with which he was so pleased, that he renounced the *Romish* religion, and became a zealous Protestant.

He had left *St. Andrew's* a little before, being appointed tutor to the sons of the lairds of *Ormiston* and *Langnidry*, who were both favorers of the Reformation. Mr. Knox's ordinary residence was at *Langnidry*, where he not only instructed his pupils in the several parts of learning, but was particularly careful to instil into them the principles of piety and the Protestant religion. This coming to the ear of the bishop of *St. Andrew's*, that prelate prosecuted him with such severity, that he was frequently obliged to abscond, and fly from place to place. Whereupon, being wearied with such continual dangers, he resolved to retire to *Germany*, where the Reformation was gaining ground; knowing that in *England*, though the pope's authority was suppressed, yet the greater part of his doctrine remained in full vigor. But this design being much disliked by the fathers of both his pupils, they, by their importunity, prevailed with him to go to *St. Andrew's*.

* For a particular account of this very famous and successful preacher of the gospel, see his life in Vol. I. p. 235.

about *Easter*, 1547; and for his own safety, as well as that of their children, to betake himself to the castle, where they might all be secure from the efforts of the Papists, and he be in a condition to instruct these young gentlemen with greater advantage. Here he began to teach his pupils in his usual manner. Besides the grammar and the classical authors, he read a catechism to them, which he obliged them to give an account of publicly in the parish church of *St. Andrew's*. He likewise continued to read to them the gospel of *St. John*, proceeding where he left off at his departure from *Langmerry*.

This lecture he read at a certain hour, in the chapel within the castle, at which several of the place were present. Among these, *Mr. Henry Balnaveis*, and *John Rough*, preacher there, being pleased with his doctrines, (for they were zealous for the new [that is, the Reformed] religion), began earnestly to intreat him to take the preacher's place; but he absolutely refused, alledging, "that he would not run where GOD had not called him," meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Hereupon, they deliberating the matter in a consultation with *Sir David Lindsay* of the *Mount*, lyon king at arms, a person of great probity and learning, it was concluded to give *Mr. Knox* a charge publicly by the mouth of the preacher. Accordingly *Mr. Rough*, upon the day appointed, preached a sermon concerning the election of ministers, wherein he set forth, ' what power the congregation, how small soever it was passing the number of two or three, had above [over] any man, in whom they supposed and espied the gifts of GOD to be, and how dangerous it was to refuse, and not to hear the voice of such as desire to be instructed.' These and other things being declared in general, the preacher then addressed himself particularly to *Mr. Knox* in these words: ' Brother, ye shall not be offended, albeit I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all these that are here present; which is this. In the name of GOD, and of his Son *Jesus Christ*, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this holy vocation; but, as ye tender the glory of GOD, the increase of *Christ's* kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of men, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid GOD's heavy displeasure, and desire

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that

‘that he should multiply his graces with you.’ Then directing his speech to the audience, he said, ‘Was not this your charge to me, and do ye not approve this vocation?’ They answered, ‘It was, and we approve it.’ At which Mr. *Knox* abashed, burst forth into tears, and withdrew into his chamber. His countenance and behavior from that day, to the day he was forced to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart: For no man saw any sign of mirth in him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days afterwards.

But on the *Sunday* appointed, ascending the pulpit, he preached a sermon from *Dan. vii. 23—28.* when he proved to the satisfaction of his auditors, that the pope was antichrist, and that the doctrine of the *Roman* church was contrary to the doctrine of *Christ* and his apostles. He likewise gave the notes both of the true church, and of the antichristian church, &c. of which he gives a full account in his history; and also of a public disputation which he then had with the dean of *St. Andrew’s* upon popery, at the end of which the people unanimously called on him to let them hear the same doctrine from the preaching place; which call he accordingly obeyed. This sermon made a great noise, and the popish clergy being much incensed by it, the abbot of *Paisley*, lately nominated to the see of *St. Andrew’s*, and not yet consecrated, wrote a letter to the sub-prior, who, *sede vacante*, was vicar-general, expressing great surprize, that such heretical and schismatical doctrines were suffered to be taught without opposition. Upon this rebuke, the sub-prior called a convention of grey and black-friars, to meet in *St. Leonard’s-Yard*; where, both our preachers being convened, they were charged with several offences*. The articles of the charge

- * The following are the articles exhibited against them. 1. ‘No mortal man can be the head of the church. 2. The pope is an antichrist, and so is no member of Christ’s mystical bodie. 3. Man may nether mak nor devyse a religioun, that is acceptabill to God; bot man is bound to observe and keip the religioun, that fra God is ressavit, without chopping or chainging thair of. 4. The sacramentis of the N. Testament aucht to be ministrat, as they war instituted by Christ Jesus, and practisit by his apostles; nothing aucht to be addit unto thame, nothing aucht to be diminished frome thame. 5. The mass is abominabill idolatrie, blasphemous to the deyth of Christ, and a prophanation of the Lord’s supper. 6. Thair is no purgatorie, in the whiche the soullis of men can nether be pyned or purged efter this lyif. But hevin restis to the faithfull, and hell to the reprobate and unfaithfull. 7. Praying for the deid is vaine, and

charge being read, the sub-prior entered into a conference with Mr. *Knox*, who, after that, disputed with one of the friars upon several controverted points between the Papists and Protestants. Popery sensibly lost ground by the dispute; and the supporters of it found themselves obliged to take another method to maintain its reputation. An order was passed, obliging every learned person in the abbey and university, to preach in the parish-church by turns on *Sundays*, and, in their sermons, not to touch upon any of the controverted points. But Mr. *Knox* rendered this caution ineffectual, by preaching on the week-days; when he took occasion to praise GOD that *Jesus Christ* was preached, and nothing said publicly against the doctrine he had taught them: Protesting withal, that if in his absence they should speak any thing which they forbore while he was present, that his hearers should suspend their judgment till it should please GOD they should hear him again. And he was so successful in his work, that all the people in the castle, and a great number in the town, openly professed the Protestant doctrine, and testified it by partaking of the Lord's supper, in the same manner as it was administered in the church of *Scotland*, after the Protestant religion was established by law, in the year 1560. And this, in the year 1547, was, perhaps, the first time that the sacrament was administered in *Scotland* in the way of the Reformed churches. Mr. *Knox* continued thus in the diligent discharge of his ministerial work, till *July* that year, when the castle was surrendered to the *French*, upon terms, that all in the garrison should be carried safe to *France*; and, in case they were not satisfied with the conditions of their liberty there, they should be conveyed at the expence of that king wherever they pleased, *Scotland* excepted. Mr. *Knox* with the rest was carried to *France*, and, from an attentive perusal of this part of his life, in his history of the Reformation in *Scotland*, printed in 1732, it appears that he remained a prisoner on board the gallies till the latter end of the year 1549; when, being set at liberty, he passed to *England*; and going to *London*, was there licensed, and appointed preacher, first at *Berwick* and next at *Newcastle*. During this employ, he received a summons, in the year 1551, to appear before *Cuthbert Tenstal* bishop of *Durham*, for preaching against the mass.

* to the deid is idolatrie. 8. Thair is no bischopis, except they preiche
 * evin by thamefelvis, without ony substitute. 9. The teindis [tenths]
 * by Godis law, do not apertein of necessitie to the kirkmen.'

In the same year, he was appointed chaplain to K. *Edward VI.* * and, the ensuing year, he had the grant of an annuity of forty pounds, payable quarterly out of the augmentation office, till some benefice in the church should be conferred on him. And from some of Mr. *Knox's* original letters, in the hands of the reverend Mr. *Woodrow*, minister of *Eastwood*, it appears, that he enjoyed this annuity of forty pounds till the beginning of *Q. Mary's* reign. In a letter to Mrs. *Bowes* his mother-in-law, dated 1553, he tells her, that he was obliged to abscond by reason of the fury of the Papists, and adds, "I will not make you privy how rich I am, but off *London* I departed with less money than ten groats: But GOD hath since provided, and will, I doubt not, abundantly for this life. Either the queen's majesty, or some treasurer, will be forty pounds richer by me, for so meickle lack I of duty of my patent; but that little troubles me." The same year, viz. 1551, he came into some trouble, on account of a bold sermon preached at *Newcastle* on *Christmas-day*, against the obstinacy of the Papists†. And, about the latter end of the year, 1551, he returned to *London*; and being well esteemed by his majesty and some of the court, for his zealous preaching against the errors of the *Romish* church, he was appointed to preach before the king and council at *Westminster*, a little before his majesty's departure thence. In this sermon he had several piercing glances against some great ones, who were secretly well-wishers to the popish re-

* In the month of *December*, 1551, it was thought fit that the king should retain six chaplains in ordinary, who should not only wait on him, but be itineraries, and preach the gospel all the nation over; two of these six to be always present at court, and four absent abroad in preaching; one year, two in *Wales*, two in *Lancashire* and *Derby*; next year, two in the *Marches* of *Scotland*, and two in *Yorkshire*; the third year, two in *Devonshire*, and two in *Hampshire*; the fourth year, two in *Norfolk* and *Essex*, and two in *Kent* and *Suffex*; and these six to be *Bill, Harley, Pern, Grindal, Eradford*, the sixth was dashed out of the king's journal, from whence this is taken, which probably was *Knox*; for he was one of the preachers of the *North* at *Newcastle* and elsewhere, and had a salary paid him out of the exchequer. But the number was reduced to four, *Bradford* also being left out, who were styled the king's ordinary chaplains. *Strype's Memorials*, Vol. II.

† In this sermon he affirmed, that, whosoever in his heart was an enemy to *Christ's* doctrine and gospel, which was then preached within the realm, was an enemy to GOD, and secret traitor also to the crown and commonwealth of *England*, and that, as such, thirsted after nothing more than the king's death, which their iniquities would procure. He said, they regarded not who should reign over them, so that their idolatry might be erected again.

ligion, though they outwardly submitted to the then present establishment *. But notwithstanding it must have been about this time, that the council sent to *Cranmer*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, to bestow the living of *Allhallows*, *Bread-Street*, in *London*, upon him, which accordingly was offered him; but he refused it, not caring to conform to the *English* liturgy as it then stood †. However,

* *Strype* says, particularly the earl of *Northumberland* and the marquis of *Winchester* were both present at the sermon, in character of *Achitophel* the counsellor, *Judas* the purse-bearer, and *Shebna* the scribe, comptroller and treasurer.

† We have the following account of this matter by *Strype*, taken from a letter of Mr. *Knox*. 'April 14, 1552-3, *Knox* was called before the council, who demanded of him three questions, 1. 'Why he refused the benefice provided for him in *London*?' To which he answered, that "his conscience did witness, that he might profit more in some other place than in *London*, and therefore had no pleasure to accept any office there." 2. 'Whether he thought, that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministration, according to the rites and laws of the realm of *England*?' To which he said, that "many things at that time were worthy of reformation in the ministers of *England*, without the reformation whereof, no minister did or could discharge his conscience before GOD; for no ministers in *England* had authority to separate the lepers from the heal," [that is, they had not the full power of excommunication,] "which, he said, was a chief point of his office." 3. They asked him, 'If kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent?' He answered, that "*Christ's* action was most perfect, and it was done without kneeling; and it was most sure to follow his example, and that kneeling was man's addition and invention." About this question there was great contention between the lords of the council and him. There were then present the archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Cranmer*; the bishop of *Ely*, *Goodrick*; lord chancellor; lord treasurer; the earls of *Bedford*, *Northampton*, *Shrewsbury*; the lord chamberlain, and both the secretaries. After long reasoning it was said to him, that he was not called of any ill meaning, and that they were sorry to know him of a contrary mind to the common order. He answered, he "was sorry the common order was contrary to *Christ's* institution." He was dismissed with some gentle speeches, and they willed him to advise with himself, whether he would communicate according to that order.'

It is affirmed by several writers of good authority, that, besides the living of *Allhallows*, Mr. *Knox* had the offer of a bishopric made to him in *Edward VIth's* reign, and that he refused it. *Melchior Adam* says, 'At that time in *England* reigned *Edward VI.* who observing *Knox's* piety, had a singular kindness for the man, and he was offered a bishopric by the king's command; but he refused it with indignation, vehemently condemning those titles, as favouring of the kingdom of antichrist.' Mr. *Calderwood* confirms the above passage, by saying, 'Mr. *Knox* being then resident in *St. Andrew's*, and preaching on the Lord's day, *February 10, 1572*, the earl of *Mar* being present, refused to inaugurate the bishop; yea, in open audience of many then present, he denounced anathema to the giver and anathema to the receiver, as I find in a certain manuscript.'

ever, he still held his place as itinerary-preacher; and, in the discharge of that office, going to *Buckinghamshire*, was much pleased with his reception at some towns, particularly at *Amersham*, in that county; and he continued to preach there, and at other places, some time after *Q. Mary's* accession to the throne. But that year, viz. in *February 1553*, he left *England*, as appears from two MS. papers in the hands of the Rev. Mr. *Woodrow*; one, addressed to Mrs. *Bowes*, his mother-in-law, concludes thus, "upon the very point of my journey, the last of "*January, 1553*. Watch and pra. Your son with "*sorrowful heart, J. K.*" The other bears this title, "*John Knox, to the faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick, &c.*" and ends thus; "From a fair troublit "*hairt, upon my departure from Diepe, 1553*, gulhiddel "*God knawis, John Knox.*" Having crossed the sea to *Dieppe* in *France*, he went from thence to *Geneva*; where he had not been long, when he was called by the congregation of the *English* refugees, then established at *Frankfort*, to be preacher to them. This call he obeyed (though unwillingly) at the instance of *Calvin*.

Mr. *Knox* continued at *Frankfort*, till some of the principal persons of his congregation, (particularly Dr. *R. Cox*, *K. Edward VIth's* preceptor) finding it impossible to persuade him to use the *English* liturgy, resolved to effect his removal from the place. In that view, they accused him to the magistrates of treason, committed both against their sovereign, the emperor of *Germany*, and also against their own sovereign in *England*, *Q. Mary*. Upon which, the magistrates not having it in their power to save him, if he should be required either by the emperor, or in his name by *Q. Mary*, gave him private notice of it; which he no sooner received, than he set out for *Geneva*; where he arrived *March 26, 1555*, but staid there only till *August* following; when, resolving after so long an absence to make a visit to his native country, he went to *Scotland*. Upon his arrival there, which was in the end

And the same writer further observes, that, "when Mr. *John Rutherford*, provost of the Old College, alledged Mr. *Knox's* repining proceeded from male-contentment [because he was not made bishop himself], Mr. *Knox* purged himself the next Lord's day, saying, "I have refused a greater bishopric than ever it was, which I might have had with the favour of greater men than he hath his; I did "and do repine for the discharge of my conscience." Mr. *Petrie* gives the same account, with this addition, that Mr. *Knox* said, "I "did and do repine for the discharge of my conscience, that the church "of *Scotland* be not subject to that order."

of harvest, finding the professors of the Reformed religion much increased in number, and formed into a society under the inspection of the following teachers; *William Harlow*, *John Willock*, *Paul Maffy* or *Meibuen*, and *John Erskine* of *Dun*, he associated himself with them, and preached to them. Presently after this, he accompanied one of them, the laird of *Dun*, to his seat in the north; where he stayed a month, teaching and preaching daily to considerable numbers who resorted thither, among whom were the chief gentlemen in that country. From thence returning to *Lothian*, he resided for the most part in the house of *Calder* with *Sir James Sandilands*, a man of great prudence and worth, where he met with many persons of the first rank; viz. the maister of *Erskine*, afterwards earl of *Mar*; the lord *Lorn*, afterwards earl of *Argyle*; lord *James Stewart*, prior of *St. Andrews*, afterwards earl of *Murray*, and regent of *Scotland*. With these noble personages he conversed familiarly, and confirmed them in the truth of the Protestant doctrine.

In the winter of 1555, he taught, for the most part, in *Edinburgh*; about *Christmas* 1556, he went to the West of *Scotland* at the desire of some Protestant gentlemen, as *John Lockhart* of *Bar*, *Robert Campbell* of *Kinzeancleugh*, and others, and preached in many places in *Kyle*, viz. the houses of *Bar*, *Carnal*, *Uchiltree*, *Gathgirth*, and the town of *Air*. In his sermons he insisted much upon the unlawfulness of being present at mass, which he maintained to be an idolatrous worship. In some of these places he celebrated the Lord's supper after the manner of the Reformed churches. He visited likewise the earl of *Glencairn*, at *Fynlaiston* in the county of *Renfrew*, and administered the sacrament to his lordship's family. From these western parts he returned to the east, and resided some time in *Calder*, where many resorted to him both for doctrine and the benefit of the sacraments. From thence he went a second time to the laird of *Dun*'s house, in the county of *Mearns*, where he preached more publicly than before, and administered the sacrament to many persons of note at their desire. The popish clergy being alarmed at this success of *Mr. Knox*, in promoting the Protestant cause, summoned him to appear before them in the church of *Blackfriars* in *Edinburgh*, on the fifteenth of *May*, 1556. Several gentlemen of distinction, among whom the laird of *Dun* was none of the least considerable, resolving to stand by him, he determined to obey the summons. But the prosecution was dropped, upon some informality of the summons, as
was

was pretended, when the bishops perceived such a considerable party appearing in his behalf. However, he went to *Edinburgh* on the day to which he was cited, where he preached to a greater audience than ever he had done before; in the bishop of *Dunkeld's* great house he taught, both before and after noon, to a great number for ten days.

At this time the earl of *Glencairn* prevailed with the earl *Marischal*, and his trustee *Henry Drummond*, to hear one of Mr. *Knox's* sermons. They were extremely well satisfied with his discourse, and proposed to him to write to the queen regent an earnest letter, to persuade her, if possible, to hear the Protestant doctrine. He complied with their desire, and wrote to her in *May*, 1556. The letter was delivered by the earl of *Glencairn*; the queen read it, and gave it to *James Beaton*, archbishop of *Glasgow*, with this sarcasm: 'Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil.' This gave occasion to Mr. *Knox* to make some additions to his letter, which he printed afterwards with the additions at *Geneva*, in the year 1558.

While our Reformer was thus occupied in *Scotland*, he received letters from the *English* congregation at *Geneva*, earnestly intreating him to come thither: For after his expulsion from *Frankfort*, several of the congregation went to *Geneva*. Having seriously considered this invitation, he determined to return to that people, who had so great a regard for him. Accordingly, in *July* 1556, he left *Scotland*, and having first sent his mother-in-law *Elizabeth Bowes*, and her daughter *Margery* his wife, to *Dieppe* in *France*, he followed after, and from thence they went to *Geneva*. He had no sooner turned his back, than the bishops summoned him to appear before them; and, upon his non-appearance, they passed a sentence of death against him for heresy, and burnt him in effigy at the cross of *Edinburgh*. Against this sentence he formed, and afterwards printed at *Geneva*, in the year 1558, his "Appellation from the cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of *Scotland*; with his Supplication to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonalty of the said Realm."

On the tenth of *March*, 1556, the earl of *Glencairn*, lord *Lorn*, *John Erskine* of *Dun*, (for lord *Erskine* had not yet joined himself to this party), and *James Stewart*, afterwards earl of *Murray*, the chief promoters of the Reformation at that time in *Scotland*, judging their affairs to be in a pretty good posture, and being sensible of the usefulness

fulness of Mr. *Knox* for the purpose, sent him an express, earnestly desiring him to return home*. This letter coming to his hands in *May*, 1557, he immediately communicated it to his congregation, who were very unwilling to part with him; but having consulted with *Calvin* and other worthy ministers, they gave it as their opinion, that he could not refuse such a plain call, unless he would declare himself rebellious to GOD and unmerciful to his country. The congregation upon this yielded to his return to *Scotland*, and he wrote back by the messengers who brought the letter, that he would return to them with all reasonable expedition. Accordingly, having provided for his congregation at *Geneva*, he left them in the end of *September*, and came to *Dieppe*, in his way to *Scotland*, on the twenty-fourth of *October*. But there he unexpectedly met with letters from thence, contrary to the former, informing him, that new consultations were entered into, and advising him to stay at *Dieppe* till the final conclusion of them. This was further also explained in another letter, directed to a friend of Mr. *Knox*, in which he was told, that many of those who had before joined in this invitation, were becoming inconstant, and began to draw back. Upon the receipt of these advices, Mr. *Knox* wrote an expostulatory letter to the lords who invited him, concerning their rashness; in which he denounced judgements against such as should be inconstant in the religion they now professed. Besides this, he wrote several other letters from *Dieppe*, both to the nobility and professors of the Reformed religion of an inferior degree, exhorting them to constancy in their profession, and giving some useful cautions against the errors of sectaries, which grew up about this time both in *Germany* and *England*.

Mr. *Knox* exciting them in these letters to a greater degree of zeal for the doctrine they had espoused, they came at last to this resolution, that 'They would follow forth their purpose, and commit themselves, and whatsoever GOD had given them, into his hands, rather than suffer idolatry to reign, and the subjects be defrauded of the only food of their souls;' and that every one might be assured the more of one another, a common bond or covenant was made and entered into by them, dated at *Edinburgh*, *December* 3, 1557†.

Mr.

* This letter is printed in his history, p. 97, 98. and is dated *Stirling*, *March* 10, 1556. to which, on account of its length, we are obliged to refer the curious Reader.

† The covenant run thus: 'We perceive how sathan in his memories,

Mr. *Knox* returned to *Geneva* in the beginning of the year 1558, and the same year he printed there his treatise, entitled, "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women." Mr. *D. Calderwood* takes notice that the cruel and bloody government of *Q. Mary of England*, and the endeavors of *Mary of Lorraine*, queen regent of *Scotland*, to break through the legal constitution, and introduce tyrannical government, and the domination of the *French*, were the chief motives which induced Mr. *Knox* to write and publish this piece; that writer adds, that in it he shews his erudition and variety of reading, more than in any other of his treatises. However, it is certain it made a great noise, and was the occasion of much obloquy and reproach against him. Yet it was much approved by several of the exiled Protestants, though disliked by others. Mr. *Strype* observes, that, 'After the death of *K. Edward*, though *Q. Mary* was acknowledged by the far greater part of the Protestants ' in

'beris, the antichristis of our tyme cruellie doeth rage, seeking to downthring and to destroy the evangell of Christ and his congregation, aucht, according to our boundin dewtie, to stryve in our maisteris cause, evin unto the deith, being certane of the victorie in him: The quhilk our dewtie, being weill considerit, we do promeis befoir the majestie of God and his congregation, That we be is grace, fall with all diligence continuallie applie our haill power, substance, and our very lyves to manteine, set forward, and establish the most blissit word of God, and his congregation: And fall labour at our possibilitie to have faythful ministeris, puirle and trewlie to minister Christis evangel and sacraments to his pepill. We fall mantein thame, nurische thame, and defend thame, the haill congregation of Christ, and everye member theirot at our haill poweris, and wairing of our lyves, against sathan and all wicked power that dois intend tirranie or trublie against the foirford congregation. Unto the quhilk holie word and congregation we do join us; and also dois renunce and foirsaik the congregation of sathan with all the superstitiounis, abominatiounis and idolatrie thereof. And mairover fall declair our selfis manifestlie enemies thairto, be this our faythfull promeis befoir God, testified to his congregation, be our subscription at thir prefens.

' At *Edinburge* the third day of *December*, 1557 yeirs.

' God callit to witnes.

' *Sic subscribitur.*

' *A. erle of Argyll.*

' *Glencairne.*

' *Mortoun.*

' *Archibald lord of Lorne.*

' *John Erskin of Dun,* &c.

Our biographer informs us, that, from this bond, those who separated from popery, were called *The Congregation*; because in it they oblige themselves to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word and his congregation; and the nobility who adopted the Reformed interest were called 'the lords of the congregation.'

in *England*, yet some few of them appeared for lady *Jane Grey*; and Mr. *Goodman*, with some others, declared against the lawfulness of the government of women, an opinion not peculiar to them, but adopted by several learned men, and maintained by the whole kingdom of *France*. The Protestants in *England*, who were of this opinion, are accounted Mr. *Knox*'s disciples. Mr. *Strype* also informs us, that *Fox* the martyrologist had expostulated with *Knox* about the matter of "The Blast," and that Mr. *Knox* returned him an answer in a letter, dated at *Geneva*, March 18, 1558; in which he makes a modest apology for writing this book, not excusing any vehement or rash expressions he had used in it, but still affirmed, that he was persuaded of the truth of the positions laid down in it. He designed to have written a subsequent piece, which was to have been called "The Second Blast." But *Q. Mary* of *England* dying soon after "The First Blast" was published, and he having a great esteem for *Q. Elizabeth*, and entertaining great hopes of signal advantages to the Protestant cause from her government, whom he looked upon as an instrument raised up by the good providence of GOD for the good of his people, he went no farther.

In a letter to secretary *Cecil*, dated April 10, 1559, Mr. *Knox* writes thus concerning "The Blast." "It is bruted, that my book is, or shall be written against. If so be, Sir, I greatly fear, that flatterers shall rather hurt than help the matter, which they would seem to maintain; for except my error be plainly shewn and confuted by better authority, than by such laws as from year to year may and do change, I dare not promise silence in so weighty a business, lest in so doing I should appear to betray the verity, which is not subject to the mutability of the time. And if any think me either enemy to the person, or yet to the regiment, of her whom GOD hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived of me. For the miraculous work of GOD comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel I do acknowledge, and the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy, to suppress such as fight against his glory) I will obey, albeit, that both nature and GOD's most perfect ordinance repugn to such regiment: More plainly to speak, if *Q. Elizabeth* shall confess, that the extraordinary dispensation of GOD's great mercy, maketh lawful unto her, which both nature and GOD's law doth deny unto all women; then

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“ shall none in *England* be more willing to maintain her
 “ lawful authority than I shall be; but if (GOD’s won-
 “ derous Work set aside) she ground (as GOD forbid)
 “ the justness of her title, upon consuetude, laws, or or-
 “ dinances of men, then I am assured, that as such fool-
 “ ish presumption doth highly offend GOD’s supreme
 “ Majesty, so do I greatly fear that her ingratitude shall
 “ not long want punishment. And this, in the name of
 “ the eternal GOD, and of his Son *Jesus Christ* (before
 “ whom both you and I shall stand to make account of all
 “ counsel we give) I require you signify unto her grace
 “ in my name; adding, that only humility and dejection
 “ of herself before GOD shall be the firmity and stabi-
 “ lity of her throne, which I know shall be assaulted
 “ more ways than one.” He wrote also in the same strain
 to Q. *Elizabeth* herself. “ If thus, (says he) in GOD’s
 “ presence you humble yourself, as in my heart I glorify
 “ GOD for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within
 “ *England*, under you a weak instrument; so will I, with
 “ tongue and pen justify your authority and regiment, as
 “ the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in *Deborah*, that
 “ blessed mother in *Israel*. But if the premises (as GOD
 “ forbid) neglected, you shall begin to brag of your birth,
 “ and to build your authority and regiment upon your
 “ own law, (flatter you who so list) your felicity shall
 “ be short.” There was this year, 1559, printed at *Stras-*
burg, an answer to it, written by *John Aylmer* an exile,
 formerly archdeacon of *Stowe*, and preceptor to lady *Jane*
Grey, and afterwards made bishop of *London*, by Q. *Eli-*
zabeth. The title of it is, ‘ An Harbrough for faithful
 and true Subjects, against the late blown Blast concern-
 ing the Government of Women; wherein are confuted
 all such Reasons, as a Stranger of late made in that be-
 half, with an Exhortation to Obedience.’ With all de-
 ference, we conceive, that with questions of this kind our
 Reformers had nothing to do. The kingdom of *Christ* is
 not of this world, and his people are chosen expressly out
 of the world. Let the potshers of the earth strive—but the
 servants of the Lord must NOT strive. They are pilgrims
 and strangers upon earth, and as such walk, or should
 walk, in a very different spirit from the men of the world.
 Earthly rule and dominion stand or fall according to the
 designs of Providence; but true believers belong to a king-
 dom which cannot be shaken. The whole frame of it is
 peace and joy in the Holy Ghost; and, generally, the way
 to it, is the way of peace. While, therefore, we gladly
 present

present our Readers with all that is excellent in good men, we must beg them to consider, that they were *but men*, and that we do not mean to defend or propose for examples their failings and infirmities along with their gifts and graces.

We will only add, that *Strype*, in his life of *Aylmer*, gives a summary of the controversy, which was handled by *Aylmer* with great decency and respect to *Knox*, and with the fairer advantage of the argument. This is the more remarkable, as *Aylmer* was naturally of a warm temper; and therefore this conduct may well be imputed to his great regard for his opponent. Indeed, he says himself, that he believes *Knox* would not be offended on his proving the truth to be against him. ‘For, (adds he) I have that opinion of the man’s honesty and godliness, that he will not disdain to hear better reasons, nor be lothe to be taught in any thing he misseeth; knowing that no man’s judgement is so sound, no man’s wit so ripe, no man’s learning so perfect, but he may sometimes miss the question, and fall into error.’ *STRYPE’S Life of Aylmer*, p. 238.

In April 1559, he determined to return to his native country; and having a strong desire in his way thither to visit those in *England*, to whom he had formerly preached the gospel, he applied to Sir *William Cecil*, his old acquaintance, to procure leave for that purpose. But this petition was so far from being granted, that the messenger, whom he sent to solicit that favor, very narrowly escaped imprisonment. Upon this he made the best of his way to *Scotland*, where he arrived on the second day of *May*, 1559, and was very active in promoting the Reformation there, as appears from the second book of his history, which contains a full account of his conduct, till the Protestants were obliged to apply to *England*. For carrying on which transaction, in *July* this year, he was pitched upon to meet Sir *William Cecil*, incognito at *Stamford**; but his journey being retarded by the danger of passing near the *French*, who lay at *Dunbar*, he was afterwards sent in company with Mr. *Robert Hamilton*, another Protestant minister, to negotiate these affairs between the Protestants in *Scotland* and *Q. Elizabeth*. When they came to *Berwick*, they remained some days with Sir *James Crofts* the governor, who undertook to manage their busi-

* Sir *William Cecil*’s letter desiring that meeting, is dated at *Oxford*, *July* 14th, 1559, and printed in *Knox’s History*, p. 212, 213.

ness for them, and advised them to return home; which they did. Secretary *Cecil* sent also an answer to the Protestant nobility and gentry, concerning their proposals to *Q. Elizabeth*; which was so general, that they were very near resolving to break off the negotiation, had not Mr. *Knox* interposed with so much earnestness, that they allowed him once more to write to the secretary.

To *Knox's* letter there was quickly sent an answer, desiring that some persons of credit might be sent to confer with the *English* at *Berwick*; and the same letter informed them, that there was a sum of money ready to be delivered for carrying on the common cause, assuring them, that if the lords of the congregation were willing to enter into a league with *Q. Elizabeth* upon honorable terms, they should want neither men nor money. Upon this answer, Mr. *Henry Balnaveis*, a man well respected in both kingdoms, was sent to *Berwick*, who soon returned with a sum of money, which defrayed the public expence till *November*; when *John Cockburne* of *Ormiston* being sent for the second support, received it, but fell into the hands of *Earl Bothwell*, who took the money from him. In the interim, Mr. *Knox* was chosen minister of *Edinburgh* in *July*; but being obliged to attend the lords, while the agreement was in dependence, Mr. *Willock* was left in *Edinburgh* to officiate in his room. The effect of these negotiations was the sending of an army under the command of the duke of *Norfolk*; which being joined by almost all the great men in *Scotland*, at last a peace was procured and concluded between the two kingdoms, on the eighth of *July* in the year 1560.

Mr. *Knox*, and the rest who had formed themselves into congregations, being freed by this peace from any disturbance, made several regulations for the farther propagating and establishing the Protestant religion; and in order to have the Reformed doctrine preached through the kingdom, a division was made of it into twelve districts (for the whole number of the Reformed ministers at this time was only twelve,) and the district of *Edinburgh* was assigned to Mr. *Knox*. These twelve ministers also composed a confession of faith, which was afterwards ratified by parliament; they also compiled the first books of discipline for that church.

In *December* this year, Mr. *Knox* buried his first wife *Margery Bowes*, an *English* woman, for whose loss he was much grieved. In *January* the following year, viz. 1561, we find our Author engaged in a dispute concerning the

controverted points of religion, against Mr. *Alexander Anderson*, sub-principal of the *King's-college* at *Aberdeen*, and Mr. *John Leslie*, parson of *Une*, afterwards bishop of *Ross*.

In *March* 1567, Mr. *John Spottiswood* was admitted superintendant of *Lothian* by Mr. *Knox*. And the same year, *August* 20th, 1561, the queen arrived at *Leith* from *France*. From her first arrival, her majesty set up a private mass in her own chapel, which afterwards, by her protection and countenance, was much more frequented: This excited the zeal of Mr. *Knox*, who expressed himself with great warmth against allowing it; and an act of the privy-council being proclaimed at the market-cross of *Edinburgh*, forbidding any disturbance to be given to this practice under pain of death, on the twenty-fifth of that month, Mr. *Knox* openly in his sermon the Sunday following declared, that "one mass was more frightful to him, than ten thousand armed enemies, landed in any part of the realm." This freedom of speech gave great offence to the court, and the queen herself had a long conference with him upon that and other subjects. In this conference her majesty having charged him with writing the "*Blast*," he avows it, and then proceeds thus: "I hear that an *Englishman* hath written against it, but I have not read him. If he hath sufficiently improved my reasons, and established his contrary propositions with as evident testimonies as I have done mine, I shall not be obstinate, but shall confess my error and ignorance. But to this hour I have thought, and yet think myself alone to be more able to sustain the things affirmed in that my *WORK*, than any ten in *Europe* shall be able to confute it." The queen likewise charged him with denying her just authority: To which he pleads the privilege of the learned in all ages, and cites *Plato* in particular, who had publicly taught doctrines contrary to the common opinion without disturbing the society, bearing with patience the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. "Even so," (says he,) madame, am I content to do in uprightness of heart; and with the testimony of a good conscience I have communicate my judgement to the world; if the realme finds no inconveniency in the regiment of a woman, that which they approve shall I not farther disallow than within my own breast, but shall be as well content to live under your grace as *Paul* was to live under *Nero*; and my hope is, (concludes he,) that
"so

“ so long as ye defile not your hands with the blood of
 “ the saints of GOD, that neither I nor the book shall
 “ either hurt you or your authority; for, in very deed,
 “ Madame, that book was written most especially against
 “ that wicked *Jezebel of England*.” What part he bore
 in the affairs of the church, during the remainder of this
 year, 1561, may be seen in his History, to which we refer
 the curious Reader.

In the year 1562, we find him employed in reconciling
 the earls of *Bothwell* and *Arran*, which is an evidence
 how much he was regarded by the most eminent persons
 of the kingdom, and how much interest he had with them.
 The same year, the queen being informed that her uncles
 were like to recover their former interests at the court of
France, received the news with great joy: Mr. *Knox* hear-
 ing of her behavior, and apprehending that the power
 of the queen’s relations would produce dismal effects, in
 prejudice of the Reformed interest in these parts, thought
 fit to preach a sermon, wherein “ he taxed the ignorance,
 “ vanity, and despite of princes, against all virtue, and
 “ against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of
 “ virtue appeared.” This and other expressions, in re-
 proof of dancing for joy at the displeasure taken against
 GOD’s people, coming to the ears of the queen, her
 majesty sent for him, and had a second conference with
 him. The message was brought by *Alexander Cockburne*,
 who had been formerly his scholar, and the conference
 ended with the queen’s declaring, she had been misin-
 formed. This year he was appointed, by the general
 assembly, commissioner to the counties of *Kyle* and *Galloway*;
 and, by his influence, several of the most eminent
 gentlemen of *Kyle*, *Cunningham*, and *Carrick*, entered into
 a bond or covenant at *Air*, either the same or one similar
 to that entered into at *Edinburgh*, in the year 1557, which
 was subscribed *September* the fourteenth, one thousand
 seven hundred and sixty-two.

Mr. *Knox* went from the shire of *Air* to *Nithsdale* and
Galloway, and had several conferences about matters of
 great importance with the master of *Maxwell*; and from
 this county he wrote to the duke of *Chatelherault*, giving
 him cautions both against the bishop of *St. Andrews* and
 the earl of *Huntley*, whose counsels he judged might prove
 prejudicial to the Reformed interest. At this time he ac-
 cepted a challenge made by an eminent person among the
 Papists, a Mr. *Quintin Kennedy*, a son of the house of
Cassils, to a public dispute about the mass, which was
 held

held in the village of *Maybole*, in *Carrick*, and continued for the space of three days, and was afterwards printed.

In the beginning of the queen's first parliament, in *May*, 1563, Mr. *Knox* endeavored to excite the earl of *Murray* to appear with zeal and courage, to get the articles of *Leith* established by law; but finding him cooler than he expected, there followed a breach between them, which continued for a year and a half. And after the bill was rejected, the parliament not being dissolved, he preached a sermon before a great many of the members, in which he expressed his sense of that matter with vehemency, and at the close declared his abhorrency of the queen's marrying a Papist. This gave great offence to the court; and her majesty, sending for him, expressed much passion and thought to have punished him, but was prevailed upon to desist at that time.

The ensuing year, Lord *Darnley* being married to the queen, was advised by the Protestants about court to hear Mr. *Knox* preach, as thinking it would contribute much to procure the good-will of the people. At their desire he went, on the nineteenth of *August*, to the high-church, but was so much offended at the sermon, that he complained to the council, who immediately ordered Mr. *Knox* before them, and forbad him to preach for several days. His text was in *Isaiah* xxvi. 13—17. *O Lord our GOD, other lords than thou have reigned over us, &c.* From these words he took occasion to speak of the government of wicked princes, who for the sins of the people are sent as tyrants and scourges to plague them. And amongst other things, he said, "that GOD sets in that room, (for the offences and ingratitude of the people,) boys and women." There were also some other words uttered by him which gave great offence to the king, as, "that GOD justly punished *Ahab* and his posterity, because he would not take order with that harlot *Jezabel*." These words the council told him had given great offence to his majesty, and they desired him to abstain from preaching fifteen or twenty days, and let Mr. *Craig* supply the place. He answered, that he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey so far as the word of GOD would permit him. The publisher of Mr. *Knox*'s history in 4to adds in the margin, that in answering he said more than he had preached; for he added, "that as the king had for pleasure of the queen gone to mass, and dishonoured the Lord GOD, so should GOD in his justice make her an instrument
" of

“ of his ruin;” and so it fell out in a very short time; but the queen being incensed at these words, fell into tears, and to please her, *John Knox* must abstain from preaching for a time.

The general assembly, which met in *December* this year in their fourth session, appointed *Mr. Knox* to draw up a consolatory letter in their name, to encourage ministers, exhorters and readers, to continue in their vocations, which many were under great temptation to leave for want of subsistence, and to exhort the professors of the realm to supply their necessities. He was also appointed by this assembly to visit, preach, and plant, the kirks of the south, till the next assembly, and to remain as long as he could at that work.

Mr. Knox requested the general assembly, which met at *Edinburgh* in *December*, 1566, that he might have leave to go to *England* to visit two of his sons, probably then at school, and for necessary affairs in that kingdom. Before he set out, he had ample testimonials from the assembly of his life, doctrine and usefulness, and was by them recommended to all to whom he should come. The assembly limited his abode in *England* to the meeting of the next general assembly, to be held in *June* following. The general assembly being informed, that some worthy and learned divines in *England* were prosecuted by the bishops, because they refused to use the habits appointed by law for church-men, caused a letter to be written and sent by *Mr. Knox*, in which with great earnestness they intreated, that they might deal gently with such ministers as scrupled the use of those vestments. As this letter is too long for our insertion, we must refer those that are curious to read it, either to bishop *Spottiswood's* History of the Troubles at *Frankfort*, or to *Mr. Strype's* Life of Archbishop *Parker*.

In the year 1567, *Mr. Knox* preached a sermon at the coronation of *K. James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and afterwards the First of *Great Britain*. This sermon is much commended by *Buchanan* in his History of *Scotland*. This year is very remarkable in *Scotland*, upon account of the great turn of affairs there by *Q. Mary's* resigning the government, and by the appointment of the earl of *Murray* to be regent. The first parliament which was called by the earl met on the fifteenth of *December*. It was a very numerous convention of all the estates, and *Mr. Knox* preached a very zealous sermon at the opening of it; and he was extremely afflicted at the regent's death in 1569.

We

We are told that he apprehended the interest of religion would be exposed to the utmost danger by the earl of *Murray* or regent's fall; and, on that account, expressed himself with great concern both in public and private.

In the year 1571, the *Hamiltons* and others, who had entered into a combination against the earl of *Lenox*, then regent, began to fortify the town of *Edinburgh*. While they were thus employed, a council was held by them in the castle on the fourth of *May*, where the laird of *Grainge*, captain of the castle, proposed that they might give security for the person of Mr. *Knox*, which was also much desired by the town's-people. The *Hamiltons* answered, that they could not promise him security upon their honor, because there were many in the town who loved him not, besides other disorderly people, that might do him harm without their knowledge. Upon this answer, which plainly shewed no good intention to Mr. *Knox*, his friends in the town, with Mr. *Craig* his colleague at their head, intreated him to leave the place, by reason of the impending danger to him, and to them too upon his account, in defending him from the attempts of the contrary party; which, being also the strongest, would most probably be able to execute their designs against him. Accordingly, leaving *Edinburgh* on the fifth of *May*, he went first to *Abbotshall* in *Fife*, and thence to *St. Andrews*, where he remained till the twenty-third of *August*, in the year 1572.

That year there was a convention of the ministers at *Leith*, where it was agreed, that a certain kind of episcopacy should be introduced into the church, which was zealously opposed by our Reformer. The matter stood thus: The courtiers had got the far greater part of the revenues of the bishoprics, but they could not get a colorable title to these rents, as the law then stood, except they had a conveyance from those who had the title of bishops; for this reason it was thought a good expedient by the great ones, who had a longing mind to enjoy the profits of the bishoprics, that this sort of bishops should be brought into the church, and indeed all of them, by certain pactions, conveyed the far greater part of the revenues to their patrons, reserving a very small part to themselves. Among the rest, the archbishopric of *St. Andrews* coming to the share of the earl of *Morton*, that nobleman designed Mr. *John Douglass*, rector of the university there, in whom his lordship had an entire confidence, to be elected to that see: For this purpose the

electors were convened *February* 8th, 1572, where, after some opposition, he was elected archbishop. Mr. *Knox* being then in *St. Andrews*, was much displeased with this election; and the next Lord's-day, being to preach in the forenoon where the earl of *Morton* was present, he not only peremptorily refused to inaugurate and receive the new-elected bishop, but publicly denounced an anathema both to the giver and receiver of this bishopric. Notwithstanding this opposition, Mr. *Douglasi* was admitted archbishop according to the order for admitting superintendants and ministers; for they had not as yet framed any particular form for admitting bishops. Mr. *J. Rutherford*, provost of the *Old-college* of *St. Andrews*, and messieurs *Arch.* and *John Hamilton*, professors in the *New-college*, spread a report next week, that Mr. *Knox's* opposition to the bishops proceeded from a pique that he was not elected himself. This coming to his ears, he vindicated himself from the pulpit next Lord's-day in words to the following purpose: "I have refused a far greater bishopric than ever it was, which I might have had with the favour of greater men than ever he had his; I did and do repine, not from malecontent, but for the discharge of my conscience, that the kirk of *Scotland* be not subject to that order." This seems to refer to the offer that we have observed was made him of a bishopric in *England* in *Edward VIth's* time.

The troubles of the country being much abated, and the people of *Edinburgh*, who had been obliged to leave it, being returned, they sent two of their number, viz. *Nicol. Edward* and *John Johnston*, scribe, to *St. Andrews*, to invite Mr. *Knox* to return to them, and to ask his advice about the choice of another minister to assist him during the time of the troubles: For they were exceedingly displeased with the conduct of Mr. *Graig* during the times of the troubles, he having made too great compliance, as they thought, with those who appeared against the authority of the young king and his regents, and were unwilling any longer to submit to his ministers. With their commissioners they sent a letter, inviting him to return.

The superintendant of *Lothian* was with them, when they presented the letter; which, when Mr. *Knox* had perused, he consented to return upon this condition, that he should not be desired in any sort to cease speaking against the treasonable dealings of those who held out the castle of *Edinburgh*; and this he desired them to signify

to the whole of the brethren, lest they should repent afterwards of his austerity against those in the castle, or fear to be treated the worse on his account; and after his return, he repeated these words more than once to his friends there, before he entered the pulpit; they answered, that they never meant to put a bridle on his tongue, but desired him to speak according to his conscience, as in former times. They also requested his advice in the choice of a minister; and, after some debates, they agreed upon Mr. *James Lawson*, sub-principal of the King's-college at *Aberdeen*. Mr. *Knox* left *St. Andrews*, *August* 17th, and came to *Leith* on the twenty-third. Upon the last day of that month, he preached in the great kirk; but his voice was become very weak, and therefore he desired another place to teach in, where his voice might be heard, if it were but to a hundred persons; which was granted. Immediately after this agreement commissioners were sent, by whom Mr. *Knox* sent the following letter.

"DEAR BROTHER,
 "SEEING GOD of his mercy, far above my expectation, hath called me once again to *Edinburgh*, and yet I feel nature so decayed, and daily to decay, that I look not for a long continuance of my battle, I would gladly once discharge my conscience, unto your bosom, and unto the bosom of others, in whom I think the fear of GOD remaineth. If I had the ability of body, I should not have put you to the pains to which I require you now, that is, once to visit me, that we may confer together of heavenly things, for in earth there is no stability except the kirk of *Jesus Christ*, ever fighting under the cross, to whose protection I heartily commit you.

"From *Edinburgh*, seventh of *September*, 1572.

"*Accelere, mi frater, alioqui serò venies.*"

Mr. *Lawson* came to *Edinburgh* *September* 15th, and preached on the Friday after, to the great satisfaction of the people, and continued preaching, till he was admitted to the charge of the ministry at *Edinburgh*. Mr. *Knox* preached in the *Tolbooth* as long as he had strength of body; but his health was greatly impaired by the news of the massacre of the Protestants at *Paris* about this time. It was brought to *Edinburgh* about the twelfth of *September*, by Mr. *Killigrew*, ambassador from *Q. Elizabeth*. However, he introduced it into his next sermon, with his usual denunciation of GOD's vengeance thereon, which

he desired the *French* ambassador, monsieur *La Croque*, might be acquainted with. The denunciation was to this purport, "Sentence is pronounced in *Scotland* against that murderer the king of *France*, and GOD's vengeance shall never depart from him nor his house; but his name shall remain an execration to posterity; and none, that shall come of his loins, shall enjoy that kingdom in peace and quietness, unless repentance prevent GOD's judgement." The ambassador being told it, applied to the regent and council, and complained that his master was called a traitor and murderer of his subjects, under a promise and trust; and desired that an edict might be published, prohibiting the subjects of *Scotland* to speak any thing to the dishonor of his master, especially the ministers in their sermons. This was waved by the council, and the ambassador was told, that they could not hinder the ministers from speaking even against themselves.

On Sunday, *November* the ninth, in the year 1572, he admitted Mr. *Lawson*, a minister of *Edinburgh*. But his voice was so weak, that very few could hear him; he declared the mutual duty between a minister and his flock; he praised GOD, who had given them one in his room, who was now unable to teach, and desired that GOD might augment his graces to him a thousand fold above that which he had, if it were his pleasure, and ended with pronouncing the blessing. From this day he hastened to his end. Upon the eleventh, he was seized with a violent cough and great pains of the body; breathing, continually, with more and more difficulty, till he breathed his last. When his friends advised him to send for some physicians, he smilingly consented; saying, "I would not either despise, or neglect, ordinary means; but of this I am certain, that GOD will shortly put an end to my warfare below."

The day after, he ordered his servants to be paid their wages; whom, at the same time, he earnestly exhorted, "to walk in the fear of the Lord; and to live so, as became Christians educated in that family." His disorder growing worse and worse, he was forced to prætermitt his ordinary method of reading; which used to be, every day, some chapters of the New Testament, and in the Old, particularly the *Psalms*; and some useful portions of ecclesiastical history. In the mean while, he requested his wife (*Margaret Stewart*, a devout woman, and a most affectionate partner of his faith and cares), and *Richard Ballantine*,

Ballantine, his servant, who was always very dear to him for his remarkable piety, that they would take care to read to him, every day while he lived, the seventeenth chapter of *St. John's* gospel, one or other of the chapters of the epistle to the *Ephesians*, and the fifty-third chapter of *Isaiah*: Which injunction they never once omitted.

He was always peculiarly fond of the book of *Psalms*, GOD having greatly blessed them to his soul. With some select portions of those admirable compositions, he was much comforted in life, and strengthened in death.

The day following, he rose from his bed by seven o'clock: And being asked, "Why, when he was so weak and sick, he would not rather chuse to rest himself?" he answered, "I have been this whole night taken up with the meditation of the resurrection of *Jesus Christ* my Lord; and would with joy get into the pulpit, that I might communicate, to others, the comfort I have inwardly enjoyed from reflecting on that blessed subject." So intent was he on the work of the Lord, even to his last breath; and when, for want of strength, he could scarce be lifted out of bed by the assistance of two servants!

A few days after, he sent for all the ministers of the several churches in *Edinburgh*, to whom, being assembled round his bed, he thus addressed himself: "That day is now at hand, which I have so often and intensely longed for; in which, having finished my labours, and gone through my various sorrows, I shall be dissolved, and be with *Christ*. And I appeal to GOD, whom I have served in the Spirit in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrines of his word: Having made this my main view, through the whole course of my ministry, to instruct the ignorant; to edify and comfort believers; lift up and confirm, with the promises of grace, those who were weak, fearful, and doubting, through the fear of wrath and consciousness of sin; and to beat down haughty rebellious sinners, with the threatenings and terrors of the Lord. And although many have frequently complained of my harshness in preaching, yet, GOD knows, that I did not thus deal out thunders and severity, from hatred to the persons of any: Though this I will acknowledge, that the sins, in which they indulged themselves, were the objects of my keenest hatred and resentment; and, in my whole ministry, this was my single aim, if I might by any means gain over their souls to the Lord. My motive, for speaking freely and plainly,

" what-

“ whatever the Lord gave me to say, without respect of
 “ persons, was nothing but reverence to that GOD, who
 “ called me by his grace, and made me the dispenser of
 “ his divine mysteries: Before whose tribunal I knew I
 “ must one day stand, to give account for my discharge
 “ of that embassy and commission wherewith he had in-
 “ vested me. Wherefore I profess, before GOD and his
 “ holy angels, that I have never knowingly *adulterated*
 “ his sacred word, *held back* any of his counsel from my
 “ people, studied to *please* men, or given way to my own
 “ or others corrupt *affections* or secular *interest*; but have
 “ faithfully expended the talents committed to me, for
 “ the good of the church over whom I was in the Lord.
 “ To the truth of this, my conscience beareth testimony;
 “ which is a comfort to me, notwithstanding the various
 “ slanders which some have made it their business to cast
 “ upon me. And do ye, my dearest brethren in the faith
 “ and labour of *Jesus*, persist in the everlasting truths of
 “ his gospel: Look diligently to the flocks, with whose
 “ oversight GOD hath intrusted you; and which he hath
 “ redeemed to himself by the blood of his Son. And
 “ do you, my brother *Lawson*, fight the good fight, and
 “ finish the work of GOD, to which you are called, with
 “ alacrity and faithfulness. May GOD shower down
 “ his blessing from on high, upon you and your several
 “ charges in this city! which, so long as they continue
 “ to hold fast those doctrines of truth, which they have
 “ heard of me, the gates of hell shall never be able to
 “ prevail against. And beware of those, who have not
 “ only opposed the royal government, but even forsaken
 “ the truth which they once professed: Against whom I
 “ denounce, that, unless they sincerely repent, and re-
 “ turn to the good way which they have left, they shall
 “ one day miserably perish in soul and body. I would
 “ say more; but cannot, as I am scarce able to draw my
 “ breath.” With these words he dismissed them: And
 afterwards spoke in private to those who attended him, to
 admonish one *Grange*; on whom that judgement after-
 wards fell, which *Knox* had prædicted. He was then visited
 by the chief nobility of the town, among whom was lord
Morton, afterwards viceroy of the kingdom; as also by
 some godly ladies of the first quality: None of whom he
 suffered to depart, without a word of comfort or exhor-
 tation, as their separate cases required.

Perceiving death to approach nearer and nearer, he gave
 orders for his coffin to be made: After which, he burst
 forth

forth to this effect: "Lord *Jesus*, sweetest Saviour, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Look, I beseech thee, with favour, upon this church which thou hast redeemed, and restore peace to this afflicted commonwealth. Raise up pastors after thine own heart, who may take care of thy church; and grant that we may learn, as well from the blessings as from the chastisements of thy providence, to abhor sin, and love thee with full purpose of heart." Then, turning to those about him, he said, "O wait on the Lord with fear, and death will not be terrible: Yea, blessed and holy will their death be, who are interested in the death of the Son of GOD." Being asked, by an intimate friend, whether he felt much pain? he replied, "I cannot look upon that as pain, which brings on the end of mortality and trouble, and is the beginning of life." Having then ordered those passages of scripture, above-mentioned, to be distinctly read to him, he repeated the Lord's prayer and the apostles' creed; enlarging, as he went on, most sweetly and spiritually, upon each of the separate petitions and articles, to the great comfort and edification of them that were by. Afterwards, lifting up his hands toward heaven, he cried out, "To thee, Lord, do I commit myself. Thou knowest, how intense my pains are; but I do not complain: Yea, Lord, if such be thy will concerning me, I could be content to bear these pains for many years together: Only do thou continue to enlighten my mind through *Christ Jesus*." He passed that night, with more ease and complacency, than usual; the fifteenth chapter of 1 *Cor.* being frequently read to him, at his own desire: Which being done, he would cry out, "O what sweet and heavenly consolations does my Lord afford me, from this blessed chapter!" But, when one of his eyes grew blind, and his speech began to fail, he cried, faintly, "Turn to the seventeenth of St. *John*, and read it carefully; for there I cast my first anchor." When that was read, he rested a little: But soon began to utter very heavy groans and deep sighs; so that the by-standers plainly perceived, he was grappling with some very great temptation. There were, at this time, present in the room, one *John Johnson*, a holy man, and *Robert Campbell*, a great friend to the gospel; *Mrs. Knox*, and others; who, observing his agonies, thought him to be in the pains of death. At length, however, contrary to their expectation, he recovered, like one awaked from sleep: And, being

being asked how he did, answered, "Many have been
 " my conflicts with satan, in the course of my frail life,
 " and many the assaults which I have sustained: But that
 " roaring lion never beset me, so furiously and forcibly,
 " as now. Often has he set my sins in array before
 " me; often has he tempted me to despair; and often
 " strove to ensnare me with the enticements of the world:
 " But, I being enabled to hew his snares in pieces with
 " the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of GOD,
 " he was not able to prevail against me. But now he
 " has found out a *new* way. That crafty serpent has
 " endeavoured to persuade me, that, because I have faith-
 " fully and successfully discharged my ministerial office,
 " I am on that account *deserving* of eternal life and an
 " happy immortality. But GOD was pleased to make
 " me triumphant over this temptation also, by power-
 " fully suggesting to my memory those texts, *What hast*
 " *thou, that thou didst not receive?* and, *By the grace of*
 " *GOD, I am what I am:* And, *Not I, but the grace of*
 " *GOD which was with me:* And others, with which I
 " foiled the enemy, and quenched his fiery darts. I thank
 " my GOD, therefore, through *Christ*, who has vouch-
 " safed me the victory; and I have a certain persuasion
 " in my own breast, that satan shall not be permitted to
 " return, or molest me any more, in my passage to glory:
 " But that I shall, without any pain of body, or agony
 " of soul, sweetly and peacefully exchange this wretched
 " life for that blessed and immortal one, which is through
 " *Christ Jesus.*" Then evening prayers were said; and
 being asked, whether he could hear them distinctly? he
 answered, "Would to GOD you all heard with such ears,
 " and perceived with the same mind, as I am enabled to
 " do! And now, Lord *Jesus*, receive my spirit!" Where-
 upon, certain symptoms of immediate death appearing,
 he was desired to give some sign, whereby they might
 know, that he died in the steadfast belief and enjoyment
 of those gospel truths, which he had taught when living;
 and, likewise, of his comfortable assurance of a blissful
 immortality through *Christ*. On which, as if he had re-
 ceived fresh strength, he triumphantly lifted his hand to-
 ward heaven, and continued waving it, for a considerable
 time: And then quietly departed to the rest which remain-
 eth for the people of GOD, on *November 24, 1572*, about
 eleven o'clock at night.

He was interred on the twenty-sixth, in the kirk-yard
 of *St. Giles's*, the corpse being attended by several lords
 who

who were then at *Edinburgh*, and particularly the earl of *Morton*, that day chosen regent, who, as soon as he was laid in the grave, said, ‘ There lies a man, who in his life never feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For he had GOD’s providence watching over him in a special manner, when his very life was sought.’ The following among many other instances is very remarkable: It was his custom to sit at the table-head in his own house with his back to a window; yet, on a certain night he would neither sit there in his own chair, nor allow any other person to sit in it; but sat in another chair with his back to the table, when a bullet was shot in at the window purposely to kill him; but the conspirators missed him, and the bullet grazed on the chair in which he used to sit, and lighted on the candlestick, and made a hole in the foot of it, which is yet to be seen: And I am assured the identical chair is now in the hall of the trustees of the widow’s scheme, in *Edinburgh*.

Mr. *Knox* was twice married, first, to *Margery Bowes*, an *Englishwoman*, whose mother, *Mrs. Bowes*, was a person of great knowledge and singular piety; by *Margery* he had two sons, *Nathaniel* and *Eliezer*, and one daughter, who was married to Mr. *Robert Pont*, minister of *St. Cuthbert’s* in *Edinburgh*, and for some time lord of session. His sons were both educated at the university of *Cambridge*, and admitted of *St. John’s-college*, *December 2, 1572*, presently after the death of their father. *Nathaniel* took his first degree in arts in the year 1576, and the following year was admitted fellow of the college. He proceeded master of arts in 1580, and died in that year. The second son, *Eliezer*, took the degree of bachelor of arts in 1577, was admitted fellow of his college, *March 22, 1579*, commenced master of arts in 1581, was appointed university-preacher in 1582, made vicar of *Clacton-magna*, *May 17, 1587*, and proceeded B. D. the following year. He died in the year 1591, and was buried in the chapel of *St. John’s-college*.

For his second wife, Mr. *Knox* married *Margaret Stewart*, daughter to *Andrew* lord *Ochiltrie*, a zealous promoter of the Reformation, and sister to *James* earl of *Arran*. This lady surviving Mr. *Knox*, was afterwards married to Sir *Andrew Ker* of *Foudonside*. She brought Mr. *Knox* three daughters, to whom, with their mother, in the year 1573, was granted the following pension; viz. five

hundred marks in money, two chalders of wheat, six chalders of bear, [barley] and four chalders of oats. This favor is said to be granted on account of Mr. Knox's long and fruitful travels in the kirk, and for the education and support of his wife and children. One of these daughters was married to Mr. *John Welsh*, minister at *Air*; and another to Mr. *James Fleming*, also a minister, and grandfather by another wife to the excellent Mr. *Robert Fleming*.

An account of his WRITINGS.

"1. A faithful Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel of *Christ* within the Kingdom of *England*, 1554. It was reprinted at the end of his history in 1644 and 1732. 2. A Letter to *Mary*, Q. Regent of *Scotland*, 1556, printed with additions in 1558; and again at the end of his history. 3. The Appellation of *John Knox*, from the cruel and unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of *Scotland*, with a Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonality of the same Realm, 1558; and again, at the end of his history, where is subjoined, An Admonition to *England* and *Scotland* to call them to Repentance, by *Anthony Gilbie*; as also Mr. *Knox's* Advertisement, concerning the Second Blast of the Trumpet. 4. The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women, 1558, 8vo. reprinted with his history in 1732, fol. 5. A brief Exhortation to *England* for the speedy embracing of *Christ's* Gospel, heretofore by the Tyranny of *Mary* suppressed and banished, 1559; and again, with his history in 1644 and 1732. 6. An Answer to a great Number of blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and Adversary of GOD's eternal Predestination, by *John Knox*, Minister of GOD's Word in *Scotland*, *Geneva*, 1560. 7. The Confession of Faith, ratified by the Parliament of *Scotland*, 1560; as also the First Book of Discipline, the Form and Order for admitting Superintendants and Ministers, and of Excommunication and Fasting, all approved in the G. Assembly, were composed chiefly by our Author. 8. A Reply to the Abbot of *Croftregal* [or *Croftregal*] Faith, or Catechism; as also an Account of his Conference with that Abbot in 1562. A Sermon before the King [*Henry Darnley*] on *Isaiah* xxvi. 13—17. in 1566. 9. An Answer to a Letter written by *James Tyria*, a Jesuit, *Edinburgh*, 1568. Mr. *Knox's* Answer was published in 1571. These were published in our Author's life-time."

After

After Mr. *Knox*'s death came out his famous History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of *Scotland*, &c. probably first printed in *London*, 1586, 8vo; again at *London* in 1644, fol. and the same year at *Edinburgh*, in 4to, and a fourth time at *Edinburgh*, 1732, fol. This edition is printed from a MS. in the library of the college at *Glasgow*, an account of which, and of three others is given by the editor, in our Author's life prefixed to it. Besides his printed works, there were also, in 1732, some MSS. of his in the hands of Mr. *Robert Woodrow*, minister of *Eastwood*, and others are preserved in Mr. *David Calderwood*'s large history of the church of *Scotland*. Those in the hands of Mr. *Woodrow* are;

I. A volume in folio, in an old hand fairly written, and seems to have been copied by *John Gray*, scribe to the G. Assembly, for the use of *Margaret Stewart*, Mr. *Knox*'s widow, both their names being written upon it. The contents of it are, A Preparation to Prayer, four sheets. 2. The sixth Psalm of *David* godly expounded, ten sheets, written in 1553, when our Author was leaving *England*. 3. The Epistle sent to several Congregations in *England*, shawand the Plaigs, which fall schortlie cum upon that Realm, for refusing God's Worde, and imbrassing Idolatrie, *John Knox*. 4. To the Faithful in *London*, *Newcastle*, and *Berwick*.

II. A volume in 4to, containing 518 pages. Upon the title-page is written, The Epistles of Mr. *John Knox*, worthy to be read, &c. And in another hand are the following words: This book belonged some time to *Margaret Stewart*, widow to Mr. *Knox*, afterwards married to the Knight of *Fadounside*, Sister she was to *James* earl of *Arran*. The contents are, 1. Mr. *Knox*'s Confession before the Bishop of *Durham*, April 4, 1550. 2. His Declaration in a Sum concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. 3. A Declaration what true Prayer is, by *John Knox*. This is distinct from the treatise in the other volume, and consists of four sheets. 4. The Exposition upon the sixth Psalm, the same with that in the other volume. 5. *John Knox* to the Faithful in *London*, &c. *ibid*. 6. *Knox*'s Admonition to the Professors in *England*. This is printed. 7. Certain Epistles and Letters of the Servant of GOD, *John Knox*, to and from divers Places to his Friends in *Jesus Christ*. These epistles are forty-six in number, written from the year 1553 to 1557.

HENRY BULLINGER.

THIS excellent divine was born the eighteenth of July, 1504, at *Bremgarten*, a small town on the frontiers of the canton of *Zurick*, in *Switzerland*. His father was a man of considerable fortune; but brought up his children as if he had been in indigent circumstances. He sent this son, at twelve years of age, to a good school at *Emmeric*, in the duchy of *Cleves*, where he studied the classics under *Mosellanus*. His father only gave him a suit of cloaths, when he sent him to this school, where he continued three years, and maintained himself by what he got in singing from door to door. He was put to such streights by his father, to make him one day more sensible of the prayers of the poor.

Bullinger had a mind to turn *Carthusian* when he went to *Emmeric*. *Teissier* says, he resolved to turn *Carthusian*, when he had made an end of his studies. He would have been of that order, but his elder brother dissuaded him from it.

At fifteen years of age he was sent to *Cologne*, where he applied himself more earnestly to classical learning, because he began to perceive the barbarous manner in which philosophy was then taught. In 1520, he even wrote five dialogues against the school-divines. The two first attacked those divines directly: The two following were an apology for *Reuchlin* against *Pipericorne*, a converted Jew: And the title of the fifth was *Promorotes*: But they were not printed.

Bullinger continued at *Cologne* till 1522, and the nature of his studies there disposed him to forsake the *Romish* communion, as soon as occasion offered. He is said to have been converted by the writings of *Melancthon*. In 1523, he passed some months at his father's house, and was invited by the abbot of *Cappel* to teach in his convent. It was an abbey of the *Cistercian* order near *Zurick*; and that order was founded, in 1098, by *Robert*, abbot of *Citeaux* in *France*. *Bullinger* discharged his duty with great reputation, till 1527, at this convent, when he became the chief instrument of establishing the Reformation



From an Original Engraving published under the Inspection of Beza.



of *Zuinglius* there. It does not appear, that *Bullinger* was a clergyman in the communion of the see of *Rome*: And it is expressly remarked, that he performed no manner of Roman-catholic function in the abbey of *La Cappel*. 'His religion was entirely pure; nor had he any share in the monastic vows, or order, habit, singing, choir, or any other popish superstition.'

Zuinglius, assisted by *Oecolampadius* and *Bucer*, had established the doctrine of *evangelical truth*, at *Zurick*, in 1523. *Bullinger* attended the lectures of *Zuinglius* at *Zurick*, five months, in 1527; which occasioned him to renew his study of the *Greek* language, and to begin that of the *Hebrew*. He preached publickly by a mission from the synod; and, in 1528, he accompanied *Zuinglius* at the famous dispute that was held at *Bern*.

In 1529, when he was in the twenty-fifth year of his age, he was made pastor of the Reformed at *Bremgarten*. He was scarce quietly settled in his church, with regard to those of the *Romish* communion, when he was engaged in disputes with the Anabaptists: But he disputed publicly against them, and wrote several books in which he confuted their erroneous opinions. The same year, he married *Anne Adlischwiler*, by whom he had many children.

The victory obtained by the Catholic cantons over the Reformed, in 1531, obliged *Bullinger* to forsake his country, together with his father, brother, and colleague. He retired to *Zurick*, and there had the honor to fill the place vacant by the death of *Zuinglius*.

Bullinger has been rudely called an apostate, and a married priest; which is false, and *Simler* has shewn the contrary. He edified the church of *Zurick*, by his preaching and writings. He was obliged to refute the boasts and impertinencies of *John Faber*, who had been the principal antagonist of *Zuinglius*: But *Bullinger* shewed him, that the goodness of a religion was not to be judged of by the good or bad success of a battle.

From that time, *Bullinger* was employed in several ecclesiastical negotiations, by which *Bucer* labored to reconcile the *Zuinglians* and the *Lutherans*. *Bullinger* conducted himself in such a manner, that no suspicion was entertained of him; and, in 1536, he shewed, that the love of concord should never bring him to promote a *formulary*, that was captious and contrary to sound words.

In 1538, the magistrates of *Zurick*, by his persuasion, erected a new college; and he also prevailed with them to build, in a place that had formerly been a nunnery, a new school,

school, in which fifteen youths were trained up under an able master, and supplied with all necessaries.

It has been observed, that *Erasmus* may be justly censured, ' for his weakness in flattering a party, whose ' sentiments and conduct he in many things disapproved ; ' and in finding fault with those, whom upon the whole ' he resembled much more than he did their adversaries. ' But he died in a friendly and charitable disposition towards *Pellicanus* and *Bullinger*, two Protestant divines.' He had been at variance with the former : But he makes honorable mention of the latter. We are told this by *Rodolph Hospinian*, one of the greatest Authors of *Switzerland*, who, in 1576, formed the history of the errors of Popery, to shew the Romanists that they vainly boast of the conformity of their doctrines with antiquity.

Bullinger wrote some books every year, and particularly one against *Luther* in 1545. The *Switz* churches had kept a long silence, notwithstanding *Luther* wrote in a very passionate manner against their doctrine concerning the Sacrament : At last it was thought fit to answer him in his life-time, lest, if it was deferred till after his death, occasion might be given to some disadvantageous surmises. Besides, it was thought, that a very vigorous answer would make *Luther* more moderate for the future, and prevent his abusing that respect which was shewn him. *Bullinger*, who advised silence, was the man charged with the business of answering him, and he acquitted himself worthily : For the *Switzers* thought, that though *Luther* had deserved exceeding well of the church, he wanted moderation in his writings. But it is an idle tale, that *Luther*, who died about this time, should break his heart with vexation, because he could not answer *Bullinger's* apology. The landgrave of *Hesse*, who knew that people complained of the church of *Zurick* on account of these insults, informed *Bullinger* of it, who wrote an apologetic letter to him in the name of his colleagues. In 1549, *Bullinger* and *Calvin* drew up a formulary of the conformity of faith between the church of *Zurick*, and that of *Geneva*.

Bullinger's Decads were held in high estimation by the Reformed. Archbishop *Whitgift*, in full convocation, 1586, procured an order to be made, that every minister of a certain standing should procure a copy of them, read one of the sermons contained in them every week, and make notes of the principal matter contained in the course of reading. A greater testimony of the excellence and utility

utility of any man's work can scarcely be conceived. *Zanchius*, in a letter to *Bullinger*, mentions with high commendation *Bullinger's* book *De origine erroris*, and relates an anecdote of *Montallinus* a monk, who was burnt at *Rome* for the cause of truth, that the said good man, before *Zanchius* had seen the tract, persuaded him earnestly to peruse it; adding, that, if it could not be had upon other terms, he might esteem it a good bargain, to pluck out his right eye for the purchase, and to read it with his left. I soon bought the book, says *Zanchius*, without losing my eyes; and found it the delight of my soul.

The same year *Bullinger* alledged so many reasons against renewing the alliance to which *Henry II.* of *France* courted the *Switz*, that the proposition was rejected. One of his reasons was, "That it was not just for a man to let himself to hire, to kill those who have done him no injury." "I shall not examine, (says *Bayle*) whether *Bullinger* was in the wrong or no, as to the republic of *Switzerland*: I shall only say, that I do not see what answer can be made him, as to private persons who enlist themselves voluntarily to kill the allies of their country.' The *Switz* cantons sacrifice the lives of their subjects in the quarrels of other nations, and hire their troops to both parties, one of which must have an unjust cause. It may agree with state policy; but it is contradictory to moral honesty. The government of this country, which in many cantons lodges the supreme power in the hands of men of little understanding and small experience, is calculated entirely for mutual defence and union, and unequal to any great undertaking. The difference of religion is another obstacle to the extending their dominions. Besides, every canton and ally are in some sort constitutionally an independent state; from whence it is obvious, that the councils of the republic must be weak, slow, and divided. And to this it may be imputed, that, although the *Swiss* are numerous and brave, they have made little other use of their valor, than to let it out to foreign princes and states. The *Switzers*, as at this day, preserved their liberty without attempting the oppression of any. They sold their troops to their most opulent neighbors. They were themselves poor, ignorant of the sciences, and of all the arts which luxury introduces; but they were wise and happy. *Zuinglius*, and the other Reformers of that country, had the same scruples as *Bullinger*.

In 1551, *Bullinger* wrote a book to shew that the council of *Trent* had no other design than to oppress the truth; and that no regard should be had to the pope's invitation to the cantons, to send deputies there. In 1553, he wrote to *Calvin* about *Servetus*, and said, "the Lord has given the magistrates of *Geneva* a fair opportunity of clearing themselves and the church from heresy, by delivering *Servetus* into their hands." And in 1555, he proved a very good friend to *Bernard Ochinus*, who subscribed the confession of faith of the church of *Zurich*, and was called to be minister of the *Italian* church that was formed there, where he officiated till 1563, when he was expelled for publishing some dialogues which favored polygamy. Most of the arguments, which have been since used on this subject, have been taken from him. *Ochinus* was unsound in the faith respecting other things, and easily fell into a scheme, which favors the lust and licentiousness of fallen nature. *Beza* answered him; and the Elder *Spanheim* has concisely confuted *Ochinus's* opinion in his *Dubia Evangelica*.

This good man was a great friend to the *English* refugees in the time of *Q. Mary*, for which we find many of them expressing their most grateful acknowledgements. *Bullinger* afterwards diligently employed himself in defending the Reformation for several years; and, in 1561, his dispute began with *Brentius*, about the doctrine of ubiquity. *Bullinger* published a book, wherein he shewed, that *Jesus Christ*, as to his human nature, is no where but in heaven, at the right-hand of GOD. *Brentius* answered it, like a zealous Ubiquitarian; and the contest continued two years.

He also opposed, in the same year, the blasphemies of *Blandrata* against the divinity of *Christ*. "If *Christ* (says he, in a letter to prince *Radzivil*) be not co-equal and co-eternal with the Father, he is not *Jehovah*; and, in that case, cannot be the head, nor saviour, nor high-priest of the church for eternity. Thus our faith would be vain, and we should have a worse hope than either *Turks* or *Jews*."

In 1564, *Bullinger* lost his wife, by whom he had six sons, and five daughters. She died of the plague; as also did three of their daughters, who were all married to ministers of *Zurich*; to *Hulric Zuinglius*, son of the Reformer *Zuinglius*; to *Lewis Lavator*; and to *Jesias Simler*: The second died the same year as her mother, and the other two in 1565. As for the sons, three of them died

young; two were ministers; and another died in *France*, in the troops of the prince of *Orange*, in 1569. Their father would never marry a second wife, for which he was blamed. He was sixty years of age when his wife died: Was not that a sufficient excuse for not marrying again? He made no doubt that GOD permitted the ministers of the gospel to marry a second time; but he always said the first was still living in his heart.

In 1571, *Bullinger* wrote against the last will and testament of *Brentius*, which was published at *Wittenberg*, for the purpose of forewarning all states not to allow the *Zuinglians* a toleration. The same year, the national synod of *Rachel* condemned those, who rejected the words *substance*, and *substantially*, in speaking of the Eucharist. The ministers of *Zurick* were of opinion, that *they* were condemned by that canon; and they wrote to *Beza* concerning it, who answered, by order of the synod, that it did not point at them. However, *Bullinger* represented to *Beza*, that the expressions of the decree ought to be so altered, that no one might think there was any difference of opinion between the churches. That letter of *Bullinger* was effectual; for, in 1572, the synod of *Nismes* gave all the explications that the church of *Zurick* could require. The ministers of *Zurick* took upon them what concerned the fundamentals of doctrine, and left *Bullinger* only the trouble of answering what related to himself. His last work was an answer, which he made in 1575, to the apology for the will of *Brentius*, composed by *James Andrews*. He exceeded his usual bounds in this piece, and severely ridiculed his adversary. As that was the last piece of his works, this was the last year of his life.

In 1575, he relapsed into a severe disease, which had attacked him for three months in the year before; but, though his pains were excruciating, he never appeared impatient or unresigned, either by word or gesture, but prayed the more fervently. In the intervals of ease, he discoursed very pleasantly with his friends. He said, at one time, "If the Lord will make any farther use of me
 "and of my ministry in his church, I shall willingly
 "obey him; but if he shall please (as I much desire) to
 "take me out of this miserable life, I shall exceedingly
 "rejoice; as I shall be delivered from a wretched age,
 "to go to my Saviour *Christ*. *Socrates* was glad when
 "his death approached; because, as he thought, he
 "should go to *Homer*, *Hesiod*, and other learned men,
 "whom he supposed he should meet with in the other
 Vol. II. Z " world.

“ world. How much more do I rejoice, who am sure that
 “ I shall see my Saviour *Christ*, the saints, patriarchs,
 “ prophets, apostles, and all the holy men, who have
 “ lived from the beginning of the world? Since, I say,
 “ I am sure to see them, and to partake of their joys;
 “ why should not I willingly die, to be a sharer in their
 “ eternal society and glory?” He took his leave of the
 ministers and other friends with tears, which, he said, pro-
 ceeded not from fear of death, but as *Paul’s*, from his
 great love to them; having made before them a declara-
 tion of his faith. He desired the magistrates, whom he
 thanked for all their kindness to him, to appoint *Ralph*
Gualter to be his successor. On the day he died he was
 much in prayer, repeating the fifty-first, the sixteenth,
 and forty-second *Psalms*. He departed on the seventeenth
 of *September*, 1575. He was seventy-one years of age at
 his death, and had exercised his ministry during forty-
 three years. His funeral oration was made by *John Stuc-*
cius: His life was wrote by *Josias Simler*: And his me-
 mory was celebrated, in different kinds of verse, by se-
 veral hands. He was beloved by all good men, and par-
 ticularly by doctor *Hooper*, bishop of *Gloucester*, who was
 martyred in 1555.

Bullinger was Author of a great many books: His printed
 WORKS make ten volumes: And he wrote several others
 that are preserved in manuscript.

- “ 1. A Catechism for the Tigurine Schoolmasters. 2.
 An Epitome of Christian Religion, in ten Books. 3.
 Sermons on the Heads of Christian Religion. 4. A Con-
 fession and Exposition of the Orthodox Faith. 5. A De-
 claration proving the Protestant Churches to be neither
 Heretical or Schismatical. 6. A Compendium of the Po-
 pish and Protestant Tenets. 7. The old Faith and Reli-
 gion. 8. Of GOD’s eternal Covenant. 9. An Assertion
 of the two Natures in *Christ*. 10. Institution of Christian
 Matrimony. 11. Instructions for the Sick. 12. Decla-
 rations of GOD’s Benefits unto the *Switzers*. 13. Ex-
 hortations to Repentance. 14. A Treatise of the Sabbath,
 and of Christian Feasts. 15. Of the Office of Magistrates,
 and of an Oath. 16. Of Repentance. 17. Of Conver-
 sion unto GOD. 18. An Explanation of *Daniel’s* Pro-
 phecies. 19. Of the Office Prophetical. 20. An Exhor-
 tation unto Ministers to leave off Controversies. 21. Of
 the Original of Mahometanism. 22. Of the Persecu-
 tions of the Church. 23. A Preface to the *Latin Bible*.
 24. Sixty-six Homilies on *Daniel*. 25. Epitome of the
 Times





From an Original Painting in Lambeth Palace.

Times from the Creation to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. 26. Homilies on *Isaiah*. 27. Sermons on *Jeremiah*. 28. An Exposition on the *Lamentation*. 29. Commentaries on *Matthew, Mark, Luke, John*. 30. On the *Acts* of the Apostles. 31. A Series of Times and Actions of the Apostles. 32. Commentaries on the *Epistles* of St. *Paul*. 33. Sermons on the *Revelation*. 34. A Demonstration of Christian Perfection to *Henry II.* king of *France*. 35. Of the Authority of the Scripture. 36. Of the Institution of Bishops".

MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OUR excellent prelate was the second Protestant archbishop of *Canterbury*, and was born *August 6, 1504*, in the parish of *St. Stephen's*, in the city of *Norwich*. He had the misfortune to lose his father when he was only twelve years of age; but his mother took a very particular care of his education. In *September, 1520*, he was admitted into *Corpus-Christi*, or *Bennet-college*, in *Cambridge*; of which house he was chosen scholar, or bible-clerk, the twentieth of *March* following: And applying himself closely to his studies, took the degree of bachelor of arts in *1523*; but, according to others, in *1524*. In *April, 1527*, he was ordained deacon; in *June*, priest; and in *September*, created master of arts, and chosen fellow of his college. By this time he had rendered himself so conspicuous for learning, that he was one of those eminent scholars who were invited from *Cambridge*, to the magnificent foundation of cardinal *Wolsey's* [now *Christ's-Church*] college, in *Oxford*: But by the persuasion of his friends he stayed where he was, diligently following his studies. And having, within five or six years, read over the fathers and councils, and rendered himself an accomplished divine, he became a licensed, and frequent preacher, at court, at *St. Paul's-cross*, and other public places and occasions. In *1533*, or *1534*, he was made chaplain to *Q. Anne Bolein*; who had so much regard and esteem for him, (he being a zealous promoter of the Reformation) that, a little before

her death, she gave him a particular charge, to take care of her daughter *Elizabeth*, that she might not want his pious and wise counsel.

July 14, 1534, he commenced bachelor in divinity. And being presented, on the fourth of *November* following, by the favor of the queen his mistress, to the deanery of *Stoke*, near *Clare* in *Suffolk*, he was installed the thirteenth of the same month. At this place he founded a grammar-school, and made new statutes for the college. *March 1, 1537*, after the queen's death, *K. Henry* took him into his own service, and made him one of his chaplains: As he was afterwards to *K. Edward* the sixth. During the rebellion that broke out that year, he preached at *Clare*, against popish superstitions, for which he was articulated against by some of his neighbors; but his own vindication was so satisfactory to the lord chancellor *Audeley*, that he bid him go on, and not fear such enemies. On the first of *July, 1538*, he was created doctor in divinity: And, *October 28, 1541*, installed prebendary of the second stall in the cathedral of *Ely*, having been nominated thereto by *K. Henry* the eighth, in his new charter for that cathedral. In *1542*, he was presented by the chapter of *Stoke* to the rectory of *Aspen* in *Essex*, conveniently situated both for *Cambridge* and *Stoke*. He held this living not full two years, but resigned it *April 30, 1544*, and the next day was presented to the rectory of *Birlingham All-saints* in his own county of *Norfolk*; which he resigned *October 1, 1550*. *December 4, 1544*, upon the king's letters commendatory to the college, dated *November 30*, he was chosen master of *Corpus-Christi*, or *Bennet-college*, to which he afterwards became a special benefactor, and compiled for it a new book of statutes. *January 25, 1544*, he was elected vice-chancellor of the university, which office he discharged afterwards in the year *1549*. The twenty-second of *September, 1545*, he was presented by his college of *Corpus-Christi*, to the rectory of *Landbeach*, in *Cambridgeshire*, to which he was admitted *December 1st*. Notwithstanding all his endeavors to the contrary, he lost his deanery of *Stoke* by the dissolution of that college, *April 1, 1547*; but, in consideration of his merit, he had a yearly pension of forty pounds settled on him, in lieu of it, and a promise of the deanery of *Lincoln*. In the same year, on the twenty-fourth of *June*, he married Mrs. *Margaret Harlestone*, daughter of *Robert Harlestone* of *Mattishal* in *Norfolk*, gent. Happening to be in *Norfolk*, in *1549*, during *Ket's* rebellion, he had the resolution to go

to the rebels camp; and, preaching to them out of the "Oak of Reformation," took an opportunity to exhort them to temperance, moderation, and submission to the king. In *January 1551*, he was put into a commission for correcting and punishing some Anabaptists, newly sprung up in the kingdom. Mr. *Strype* gives us this account of their opinions: 'They would not baptize their children; held as the Arians in the doctrine of the God-head, and as *Pelagius* in the doctrine of free-will and predestination: All these came under the denomination of Anabaptists. Many also administered the sacraments in other manner than was prescribed by the book of Common-Prayer.' The *February* following, he preached a funeral sermon for doctor *Martin Bucer*, regius professor of divinity in *Cambridge*. *June 1, 1552*, he was presented by *K. Edward VI.* to the prebend of *Coringham*, or *Coldingham*, in the cathedral church of *Lincoln*; and being nominated, a few days after, by his majesty, to the deanery of the same church, he was elected *July 30*, and installed the seventh of *October* following.

Thus he lived in great reputation under *K. Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* But, upon *Q. Mary's* coming to the crown, he was reduced to low circumstances, and suffered much; though still contented and chearful: For, in the second year of her reign, he was deprived of all his preferments, of which the pretence was his being married. According to his own account, "In *December 1553*, He resigned his mastership of *Corpus-Christi-college* to *Laurence Moptye*, whom in a kind of necessity he chose his successor. *April 2, 1554*, he was deprived of his prebend of *Ely*, and rectory of *Landbeach*. *May 21*, so he was of his deanery and prebend of *Lincoln*."— "After that, (adds he) I lived privately; so joyful in my conscience before GOD; and so neither ashamed nor dejected, that the most sweet leisure for study, to which the good providence of GOD recalled me, gave me much greater and more solid pleasures, than that former busy and dangerous kind of life ever afforded me." He had so heartily espoused the Reformation, which rendered him obnoxious, that he was fain to abscond, and to retire privately into *Norfolk*, among his friends, with his wife and family. He was often and diligently sought for, yet by shifting from place to place, without, however, going out of the kingdom, he escaped those bloody times, and was reserved for better days. One time, narrow search being made in order to take him; he receiving notice of it,

it, fled in the night in great distress, and got so dangerous a fall from his horse, that he never recovered it. During this retirement, he turned the book of *Psalms* into *English* verse; and wrote a defence of the marriage of priests. Q. *Elizabeth's* accession, in 1559, made a great change in his condition: For, he not only became free from all fear and danger, but was exalted to the highest station in the *English* church, to the archbishopric of *Canterbury*. A station for which he was looked upon as the fittest man; his great prudence, courage, conduct, learning, and experience, being wanting and necessary, for the Reformation that was now to be set on foot, and carried on with the utmost vigour. He was so far from seeking that high dignity, that it seems he earnestly avoided it. In the mean time, he was appointed one of the visitors of the university of *Cambridge*. And he privately addressed the queen, to dissuade her from exchanging the temporal revenues of bishoprics for impropriations, as she was empowered to do by act of parliament, upon a vacancy; which was a very unequal exchange. He likewise advised her to remove crucifixes and lighted tapers out of churches, particularly out of her own chapel.

Having been elected archbishop *August* 1, 1559, by the dean and chapter of *Canterbury*, he was confirmed, *December* 9, in the church of *St. Mary le Bow*; and consecrated, the seventeenth of the same month, in *Lambeth-chapel*, by *William Barlow*, late bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and then elect of *Chichester*, *John Scory*, late bishop of *Chichester*, and then elect of *Hereford*, *Miles Coverdale* late bishop of *Exeter*, and *John Hodgkin* suffragan bishop of *Bedford*. The Romanists invented afterwards a tale, that he had been consecrated at the *Nag's-head* inn, or tavern, in *Cheapside*: But that story hath been so thoroughly confuted by our *English* authors and others, and withal disproved by many Catholics; that, to believe it now-a-days, requires more even than the faith of a Papist. Archbishop *Parker* being thus constituted primate and metropolitan of the church of *England*, took care to have the several sees filled with learned and worthy men, and well affected to the Reformation: And soon after performed his metropolitanical visitation of the several dioceses. It has been observed, that in the space of fifteen years and five months (during which he was metropolitan) he either consecrated or confirmed the bishops of all the dioceses throughout the kingdom: A circumstance, which has occurred to him alone of all the archbishops of *Canterbury*. In 1560, he and the bishops of

of *London* and *Ely* addressed the queen, to enter into the blessed state of wedlock; but she chose to reign alone. He likewise, and some other bishops, exhorted her to remove images entirely out of churches, which she inclined to retain. By his encouragement it was, that a free-school was founded, in 1563, at *Sandwich* in *Kent*; and he likewise recovered the stipend of the school-master of *Stoke* near *Clare*. In 1564 he completed the reparation and building of his palace at *Canterbury*, the expence whereof amounted to above one thousand four hundred pounds; and, about the same time, founded a free-school at *Rochdale* in *Lancashire*. One of his main designs and endeavors, was to introduce into this church an uniformity both in habits and ceremonies; but he met therein with great opposition from that wicked great man the earl of *Leicester*, and some other courtiers; and from the whole bulk of the Puritans, who have severely treated him upon that account. June 24, 1567, he founded three grammar-scholarships, or exhibitions, in *Bennet-college*. And again, in May 1569, he founded five more scholarships; and, the August following, two other scholarships, and two fellowships, in the same college. And, in July 1568, obtained also of the queen, for that college, the advowson of *St. Mary Ab-church* in *London*; for which he gave in exchange the rectory of *Penshurst* in *Kent*. This last-mentioned year, came out the great *English* bible, commonly called "The Bishops Bible;" which was put out chiefly through the archbishop's procurement and care.

His heart was much set upon this great work, from the many defects which appeared in the bibles then in use. He was the great spring which set this business in motion. He distributed the book in parts to several learned bishops and other divines, and revised the whole for the press. *Edwin Sandys*, then bishop of *Worcester*; *Guest*, bishop of *Rochester*, who had the *Psalms*; *Parkhurst*, bishop of *Norwich*; *Davies*, bishop of *St. David's*; *Cox*, bishop of *Ely*; and other eminent men; were employed in this translation. *Strype* says, ' So highly pleased was this good prelate, when he saw an end put to this great work, that he seemed to be in the same spirit with old *Simeon*, using his very words, *Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!* This was that which was commonly called the Bishops Bible, because the archbishops and the bishops had the chief hand in correcting, reviewing, and publishing it. *Lawrence*, a man very famous for his knowledge in *Greek*,
' had

“ had the care of the New Testament.” The second edition of this bible was published in 1572, much improved and embellished.

In 1570, he repaired the great hall at *Lambeth*, covering it with shingles; and made the long bridge into the *Thames* near the palace. He also made the regent-walk, leading from the west of *St. Mary's* church in *Cambridge* to the public schools, paving it, and building a brick wall on each side. In 1571, he gave handsome presents of plate, and other benefactions, to several colleges in that university, and in particular founded one scholarship in *Trinity-hall*, for the study of the law. The seventh day of *September*, 1573, he magnificently entertained *Q. Elizabeth* at *Canterbury*, as he had entertained her several times before. Taking umbrage at the prophesyings set up in several dioceses, particularly in that of *Norwich*, he endeavored to suppress them, which exposed him to fresh censures from some warm Puritans: And made them use their utmost efforts to ruin him at court. Towards the end of the year 1574, he gave a hundred volumes to the library of the university of *Cambridge*; whereof twenty-five were valuable manuscripts: And added further benefactions to his favorite college of *Corpus-Christi*. At length being arrived to the seventy-second year of his age, and finding himself in a declining condition; *April* 5, 1575, he signed his will, wherein he bequeathed legacies and gifts to several persons and places. He died the seventeenth of *May* following, of the stone and strangury; and was buried with great solemnity, in his own private chapel, within his palace at *Lambeth*.

His magnificent, as well as generous, and charitable disposition, is sufficiently manifest from what hath been said of him in this article. As to his other virtues; he was pious, sober, temperate; modest even to a fault, being upon many occasions over-bashful; unmovable in the distribution of justice; a great patron, and zealous defender, of the church of *England*, against the attacks both of Puritans and Papists; in which he acted with great stoutness and resolution, it being his rule “ in a good cause “ to fear no body;” notwithstanding he is for that censured by some, as having too much roughness, and want of courtship. Among his other valuable episcopal qualities, he was a frequent preacher; and given to hospitality without profusion or offence; his family and entertainments, though large, being conducted with the utmost decency, elegance, regularity, and sobriety. Of his learning, the
several

several books published by him are a sufficient evidence. Particularly, he was a great lover and preserver of manuscripts, and other antiquities; and a hearty encourager, if not the first reviver, of the study of the *Saxon* tongue in this kingdom. He recovered many books in that language, which would otherwise have been inevitably lost; and some of them were published by himself, or by his direction. The best antiquarians in his time, had the honor of standing in the number of his most intimate friends and acquaintance.

His WORKS were as follow: "1. A Defence of Priests Marriages, established by the Imperial Lawes of the Realm of *England*: Against a Civilian naming himself *Thomas Martin*, Doctor of the Civil Lawes, going about to disprove the said Marriages, lawful by the eternal Word of GOD, and by the High Court of Parliament: Only forbid by foreign Lawes, and Canons of the Pope, coloured with a Visor of the Church. Which Laws and Canons were extinguished by the Parliament, and so abrogated by the Convocation in their Synod by their Subscriptions. Printed in 1562, without his name. 2. *Ælfric*, [Abbot of St. *Albans* about the year 996] his *Saxon* Translation of a Latin Homily, entitled, A Sermon of the Paschal Lamb, and of the Sacramental Bodie and Blood of *Christ*, written in the old *Saxon* tongue before the Conquest, and appointed in the reign of the *Saxons* to be spoken unto the People at *Easter*, before they should receive the Communion. Or, A Testimony of Antiquity, shewing the Antient Faith of the Church of *England*, touching the Sacrament of the Bodie and Blood of the Lord, here publickly preached, and also received, in the *Saxons* time, above 700 years ago. With Two Epistles of *Ælfric*. 3. The world is also obliged to him, for the publication of four of our best *English* historians; *Matthew of Westminster*, *Matthew Paris*, *Asser's* Life of King *Ælfred*, and *Thomas Walsingham*.—*Matthew of Westminster* he published in 1570, fol. under this title, *Flores Historiarum per Matthæum Westmonasteriensem collecti, præcipuè de rebus Britannicis ab exordio mundi usque ad Annum Domini, 1307*. With a large preface. 4. *Matthew Paris* was published by him in 1571, fol. and entitled, *Matthæi Paris Monachi Albanensis Angli Historia major*. 5. And the Life of K. *Ælfred*, by *John Asser* bishop of *Sherbourn*, came out in 1574, entitled, *Alfredi Regis res gestæ ab Asserio Shireburnensi Episcopo conscriptæ*: Printed in *Saxon* letters, the same as the original manuscript was written in; on pur-

pose to bring gentlemen to the knowledge and study of the Saxon tongue. To which is subjoined, *Historia brevis Thomæ Walsingham ab Edwardo primo ad Henricum quintum*; with his *Upodeigma Neustriæ vel Normanniæ*. i. e. "The History of Thomas Walsingham from Edward I. to Henry V. with his Account of Normandy." 6. It was through his advice and encouragement, that the learned John Fox published K. *Ælfred's Saxon Translation of the Gospels*; and *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, 1571, 4to. 7. Another considerable work of his, was, The Lives of his Predecessors Archbishops of Canterbury, entitled, *De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ & Privilegiis Ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, cum Archiepiscopis ejusdem LXX*. London, 1572, fol." Though London is put in the title-page, it is said to have been printed at Lambeth, where the archbishop had workmen of all sorts. He caused only a few copies to be printed, which he occasionally distributed amongst his friends. It is very remarkable, that there are hardly any two copies alike; and most of them want the account of his own life, he having, out of modesty, caused it to be suppressed, whilst he lived. Mr. *Strype* has therefore inserted it in the appendix to our archbishop's life.—A wretched edition of that book was printed again at Hanaw in 1605, full of faults and imperfections. But, a very beautiful and elegant one was at length reprinted at London, in 1729, folio, by Samuel Drake, D.D. fellow of St. John's-college, Cambridge; adorned with the figures of the several archbishops monuments, and other sculptures, exquisitely performed. Some have ascribed this work to John Fosceline, our archbishop's secretary, or chaplain, a very learned antiquarian. But what share Fosceline had in it, was only this, that he made collections for it out of antient historians: And the digester and compiler of them was the archbishop himself. This is undeniable from two letters of the archbishop published by Dr. Drake, and Mr. Strype; wherein he calls that work, "MY BOOK of my Canterbury predecessors—my small Travels—my pore collection, &c."

P E T E R V I R E T.

AS *Farel* was a 'son of thunder,' and stood distinguished for his vehemence in the cause of GOD and truth; so his very intimate friend *Viret* was as remarkable for the meekness and gentleness of his carriage, and for the moderation of his language and temper. Both were eminent for their success in converting souls, not merely from Popery to Protestantism, (which may be done, and the men be as worldly and carnal as they were before) but from the dominion of Satan unto GOD. They were both instruments of grace to effect the same work; and they did it with all their might. When one considers the learning and the labors of such men as these, and of others treated of in these volumes; it gives a regret upon the comparison of them with many drones in the present day, who either study but little, or little to the purpose of their profession. Modern times have discovered *politer studies* than that of the holy scriptures; and modern confidence (as is usual with shallowness in all sciences) has affected to despise the theological erudition of worthies, who had no time to spare for the idle amusements of the world, or for those attentions by which it is become the fashion to rise in it. With respect to divinity, we are run backwards instead of forwards; and (omitting the generality of frothy publications at present in vogue upon religious subjects) there needs no other proof of it, than that melancholy one, the increased irreligion and infidelity of the times.

This excellent man was born at a little town in the district of *Bern*, near *Burgundy* in *France*, and educated at *Paris*, where he first became acquainted with *Farel*. From *Paris* he went to *Lausanne*, and was chosen pastor there, where he spent many years of his time with great success in preaching and writing. But when *Calvin* was sent to the conference at *Worms*, in the year 1541, and from thence to *Ratisbon*, he obtained of the senate of *Lausanne* that *Viret* should supply his place at *Geneva* till his return. *Calvin* was so well satisfied with *Viret's* abilities and conduct during his absence, that he turned every stone

to get him to continue with him at *Geneva*, declaring how much he thought the church there would be benefited by his labors; but he could not prevail upon him; for *Viret* was resolved to return to *Lausanne* his former charge. Notwithstanding afterwards, the *French* churches earnestly entreated him, with better success than *Calvin*, to go to *Lyons*; where, in the midst of civil wars, and the pestilence which followed, he, with his colleagues, presided over that church with great prudence. But at length the jesuits obtained a proclamation to be made in the year 1563, that none but such as were natives of *France* should be preachers in the Protestant churches. *Viret*, being obliged to leave *Lyons* in consequence of the above proclamation, took up his residence at a small town near the *Pyrenean* mountains, which divide *France* and *Spain*, at the request of the pious queen of *Navarre*, where he continued to the time of his death, which was in 1571, and in the sixtieth year of his age.

His death was much regretted by all good men. He was of a weakly constitution, which received additional injury by the poison which a priest gave him at *Geneva*, with a design to destroy him; and likewise by the stabs with a knife that another priest gave him afterwards, leaving him for dead. He was of a most amiable disposition, very learned, and so engaging in his public speaking, that many became his hearers, who were no friends to the doctrines he taught. His auditory in general were so charmed with his eloquence, that they always wished he would preach longer. When he was at *Lyons*, a populous city, he used to preach abroad, in the open air, in so powerful and successful a manner, that some thousands were apparently converted to the faith of *Christ*. And many, who were occasionally passing by, have been so fixed by his preaching, that they could not leave the spot, till he had finished his discourse. It seems to have been, in some places, the usage to preach *sub dio*, without cover, as it was in *England*, particularly at *Paul's Cross* and before the court. The place, however, is of less importance than the doctrine. In the one case, convenience may be considered; but, in the other, nothing but faithfulness and truth.

It has been remarked by *Beza* and others, that the Protestant church in *France* was exceedingly happy in its three great ministers at one time, viz. *Calvin*, *Farel*, and *Viret*. The first was admired for his profound erudition, the second for his zeal and vehemence, and the last for his enchanting eloquence. And it is also admirable, that they

they were all three most cordial friends to each other, properly esteeming those talents and grace, which GOD had bestowed upon each of them.

He wrote many books of great use to the faithful of his time, in preserving them from popish superstitions, and in furnishing them with arguments against their adversaries. *Melchior Adam* has preserved a long list of his principal publications, to which we must refer the learned Reader, who wishes to know more of them.

EDWARD DEERING.

WE can find but little more concerning the birth and education of this good man, than that he was descended from a very antient family in *Kent*, became a fellow of *Christ's-college* in *Cambridge*, and was a very famous preacher. His printed discourses are full of divine learning and consolation. Though, content with his fellowship, he sought not preferment, he was appointed a preacher at *St. Paul's* in *London*; and he filled up that appointment with a series of faithful labors in the work of the Gospel.

In his last sickness, perceiving his approaching dissolution, he said to some friends who were on a visit to him; "The good Lord pardon my great negligence, that while I had time, I used not the precious gift more for the advancement of his glory, as I might have done: Yet, I bless GOD, I have not abused the gift, on ambition, and vain studies. When I am dead, my enemies will be reconciled to me; except they be such, as either knew me not, or have no sense of the truth; for I have faithfully, and with a good conscience, served the Lord my GOD."

A minister, standing by, said unto him, It is a great blessing to you, that you shall depart in peace, and be taken from many troubles that your brethren shall behold and suffer. To whom he answered, "If the Lord hath appointed that his saints shall sup together in heaven; why do I not go to them? but if there be any doubt or hesitation resting on my spirit, the Lord will reveal the truth unto me."

After

After he had laid still a while, a friend of his who then attended him, having said, that he hoped his mind had been employed in holy meditation while he lay so silent, he replied in the following manner:—"A poor wretch, and miserable man, as I am, the least of all saints, and the greatest of all sinners; yet I trust in, and, by the eye of faith, I look upon *Christ* my Saviour. Yet a little while, and we shall see our hope. The end of the world is come upon us; and we shall quickly receive the end of our hope, which we have so much looked for. Afflictions, diseases, sickness, and grief, are but parts of that portion which GOD hath allotted to us in this world. 'Tis not enough to continue for a little while; we must persevere in the fear of the Lord all the days of our lives; for in a moment we shall be taken away. Take heed therefore, that you do not make a pastime of, nor lightly esteem the word of GOD. Blessed are they, who, while they have tongues, use them for GOD's glory."

He was very near his death, when being set up in his bed, some of his friends requested him to speak something to them that might be for their edification and comfort; whereupon he took occasion from the sun, which then shone in his face, to speak in the following manner:—"As there is but one sun in the world, so there is but one righteousness, and one communion of saints. If I were the most excellent of all creatures in the world, equal in righteousness to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, yet would I confess myself to be a sinner, and that I expected salvation only in the righteousness of *Jesus Christ*; for we all stand in need of the grace of GOD. As for my death, I bless God, I find and feel so much comfort and joy in my soul, that if I were put to my choice, whether to die or live, I would a thousand times rather choose death than life, if it may stand with the holy will of GOD."—Accordingly soon afterwards this excellent man sweetly fell asleep in the Lord, in the year 1576.

A prayer, which Mr. *Deering* used before his lectures.

"O Lord GOD, who hast left unto us thy holy word
 "to be a lantern unto our feet, and a light unto our
 "steps, give unto us all thy holy Spirit; that, out of the
 "same word, we may learn what is thy eternal will,
 "and frame our lives in all holy obedience to the same,
 "to

“to thy honour and glory, and increase of our faith,
“through *Jesus Christ* our Lord, Amen.”

His WRITINGS have been collected and printed in one volume, small 4to, containing, “1. Certaine godly and comfortable Letters, full of Christian Consolation: Written by Mr. *Ed. Deering*, unto sundry of his Friends: And now published, for the Profit of the Church of GOD. London, printed 1614. 2. Twenty-seven Lectures, or Readings, upon part of the Epistle written to the *Hebrues*. Made by Maister *Ed. Deering*, B. D. London, 1614. 3. A brieft and necessarie Catechisme or Instruction, very needfull to be known of all Housholders: Whereby they may teach and instruct their family in such poynts of Christian Religion as is most meete: With certaine Prayers and Thanksgivings to the same adioyning. *ibid.* 4. A Sermon preached before the Queen’s Majesty the 25th day of *February*, from *Psalme lxxviii.* 70. with a preface to her Majesty: By Maister *Ed. Deering*, 1569. *ibid.* 5. A Sermon preached at the Tower of London. *ibid.*”

R I C H A R D C O X.

B I S H O P O F E L Y.

THIS venerable bishop was born at *Whaddon*, in *Buckinghamshire*, of mean parentage, in the year 1499. He had, probably, his first education in the small priory of *Snelsball* in the parish of *Whaddon*: But being afterwards sent to *Eton* school, he was thence elected into a scholarship at *King’s-college* in *Cambridge*, of which he became fellow in the year 1519. Having the same year taken his bachelor of arts degree, and being eminent for his piety and learning, he was one of those bright scholars who were invited to *Oxford* by cardinal *Wolsey*, to fill up his new foundation. He was accordingly preferred to be one of the junior canons of *Cardinal-college*; and on the seventh of *December*, 1525, incorporated bachelor of arts at *Oxford*, as he stood at *Cambridge*. Soon after, performing his exercises, he was, on the eighth of *February* following, licensed to proceed in arts, in which he took the degree of master, *July* 2, 1526. He was reputed one of the greatest scholars of his age; and his poetical compositions

positions were in great esteem among the best judges. His piety and virtue were not inferior to his learning, and commanded the respect of all impartial persons. But shewing himself averse to many of the popish superstitions, and declaring freely for some of *Luther's* opinions, he incurred the displeasure of the governors of the university, who stripped him of his preferment, and threw him into prison on suspicion of heresy. When he was released from his confinement, he left *Oxford*; and, some time after, was chosen master of *Eton* school, which was observed remarkably to flourish under his vigilant and industrious care. In 1537, he commenced doctor in divinity at *Cambridge*: And on the fourth of *December*, 1540, was made archdeacon of *Ely*; as he was also appointed, in 1541, the first prebendary in the first stall of the same cathedral, upon the new founding of it by *K. Henry VIII.* on the tenth of *September*, 1541. He was likewise, the third of *June*, 1542, presented by the same king to the prebend of *Sutton* with *Buckingham*, in the church of *Lincoln*, and installed the eleventh of that month. But this he surrendered up in 1547.

In the year 1543, he supplicated the university of *Oxford*, that he might take place among the doctors of divinity there, which was unusual, because he was not then incorporated into that university, as doctor in divinity; nor was he so till *June*, 1545. When a design was formed, of converting the collegiate church of *Southwell* into a bishopric, *Dr. Cox* was nominated bishop of it. On the eighth of *January*, 1541, he was made the second dean of the new-erected cathedral of *Osney* near *Oxford*; and in 1546, when that see was translated to *Christ-church*, he was also made dean there. These promotions he obtained by the interest of archbishop *Cranmer* and bishop *Goodrich*, to the last of whom he had been chaplain: And, by their recommendation, he was chosen tutor to the young prince *Edward*, whom he instructed with great care in the true principles of religion, and formed his tender mind to an early sense of his duty, both as a Christian and a king. On that prince's accession to the throne, he became a great favorite at court, and was made a privy-counsellor, and the king's almoner. The twenty-first of *May*, 1547, he was elected chancellor of the university of *Oxford*; installed *July* 16, 1548, canon of *Windso*; and, the next year, made dean of *Westminster*. About the same time he was appointed one of the commissioners to visit the university of *Oxford*, in which he is accused of having much abused his commission. In 1550, he was ordered to go down

down into *Suffex*, and endeavor, by his learned and affecting sermons, to quiet the minds of the people, who had been disturbed by the factious preaching of *Day*, bishop of *Chichester*, a violent Papist. And when the noble design of reforming the canon law was in agitation, he was appointed one of the commissioners. Both in this and the former reign, when an act passed for giving all chantries, colleges, &c. to the king, through *Dr. Cox's* powerful intercession, the colleges in both universities were excepted out of that act.

Soon after *Q. Mary's* accession to the crown, he was stripped of his preferments; and on the fifteenth of *August*, 1553, committed to the *Marshalsea*. He was indeed soon discharged from this confinement; but foreseeing the inhuman persecution likely to ensue, he resolved to quit the realm, and withdraw to some place, where he might enjoy the free exercise of his religion, according to the form established in the reign of *K. Edward*. He went first to *Straßburg* in *Germany*, where he heard with great concern of the rash proceedings of some of the *English* exiles at *Frankfort*, who had thrown aside the *English* liturgy, and set up a form of their own, framed after the *French* and *Geneva* models; of which we have this account, 'After having perused the *English* liturgy, it was concluded amongst them, that the answering aloud after the minister should not be used; the litany, surplice, and many other things also omitted, because in the Reformed churches abroad such things would seem more than strange. It was farther agreed upon, that the minister, in the room of the *English* confession, should use another, both of more effect, and also framed, according to the state and time. And the same ended, the people to sing a psalm in metre in a plain tune, as was and is accustomed in the *French*, *Dutch*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *Scottish* churches: That done, the minister to pray for the assistance of *GOD's* holy Spirit, and so to proceed to the sermon. After the sermon, a general prayer for all estates, and for *England*, was also devised: At the end of which prayer was joined the Lord's prayer, and a rehearsal of the articles of the belief; which ended, the people to sing another psalm as afore. Then the minister pronouncing this blessing, The peace of *GOD*, &c. or some other of like effect, the people to depart. And as touching the ministrations of the sacraments, sundry things were also by common consent omitted, as superstitious and superfluous.' On

the thirteenth of *March*, 1555, he came to *Frankfort* in order to oppose this innovation, and to have the Common-prayer book settled among the *English* congregation there, which he had the satisfaction to accomplish. Then he returned to *Straßburg* for the sake of conversing with *Peter Martyr*, with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship at *Oxford*, and whom he loved and honored for his great learning and moderation. After the death of *Q. Mary* he returned to *England*; and was one of those divines who were appointed to revise the liturgy. And when a disputation was to be held at *Westminster* between eight Papists and eight of the Reformed clergy, he was the chief champion on the Protestants side. He preached often before *Q. Elizabeth* in lent; and, in his sermon at the opening of her first parliament, exhorted them in most affecting terms, to restore religion to its primitive purity, and banish all the popish innovations and corruptions. These excellent discourses, and the great zeal he had shewn in support of the *English* liturgy at *Frankfort*, so effectually recommended him to the queen's esteem, that in *June* 1559, she nominated him to the bishopric of *Norwich*; but her mind altering, she preferred him to the see of *Ely*, in the room of *Dr. Thirlby*, who was deprived. His *congé d'elire* bore date *July* 15, 1559. He was elected the twenty-eighth day of the said month, had the royal assent *December* the eighteenth, was confirmed in the church of *St. Mary le Bow* the twentieth of the same month, consecrated at *Lambeth* the next day, and received the temporalities the twenty-third of *March* following. Before his consecration he joined with *Dr. Parker* elect archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the bishops elect of *London*, *Chichester*, and *Hereford*, in a petition to the queen, against an act lately passed, for the alienating and exchanging the lands and revenues of the bishops: And sent her several arguments from scripture and reason against the lawfulness of it; observing withal, the many evils and inconveniences both to church and state that would thence arise.

He enjoyed the episcopal dignity about twenty-one years and seven months, reckoning from the time of his consecration; and was, all that time, one of the chief pillars and ornaments of the church of *England*. Both to archbishop *Parker*, and his successor *Grindal*, he was very serviceable; and, by his prudence and industry, contributed to the restitution of our church in the same beauty and good order, it had enjoyed in king *Edward's* reign. He was indeed no great favorite of the queen; but that

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is to be imputed to his zealous opposition to her retaining the crucifix and light on the altar of the royal chapel, and his strenuous defence of the lawfulness of the marriage of the clergy, against which the queen had contracted a most inveterate and unaccountable prejudice. He scrupled for a great while to officiate there upon that account; and when he did it, it was with a trembling conscience, as he said. To excuse himself, and to give his humble advice to the queen, he wrote to her a most submissive letter; wherein he sets down certain considerations, why he could not yield to have images set up in churches. And concludes in these words, "yet my meaning is not hereby to enter into consideration of such as are otherwise minded, much less of your majesty, (GOD forbid), who I believe meaneth not to use the thing to any evil end.—Bear with me, most gracious sovereign; for the tender mercy of GOD, force not my conscience so sore." He was a great patron to all learned men, whom he found well affected to the church; and shewed a singular esteem for Dr. *Whitgift*, afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom he made his chaplain, and to whom he gave the rectory of *Teversham* in *Cambridgeshire*, and a prebend of *Ely*. He did his utmost to get a body of ecclesiastical laws, (which was drawn up by archbishop *Cranmer*, and other learned divines, of whom himself was one, in the latter end of K. *Edward's* reign) established by authority of parliament; but through the unreasonable opposition of some of the chief courtiers, this noble design miscarried a third time.

As he had, in his exile at *Frankfort*, been the chief champion against innovations, so he now continued, with the same vigor and resolution, to oppose all attempts, against the discipline and ceremonies of the established church. At first he tried to reclaim, or win them over, by gentle means: But finding, that, instead of behaving themselves with due moderation, they only grew more audacious, and reviled both church and bishops in scurrilous libels, he thought timely severities necessary. Therefore he wrote to archbishop *Parker*, to go on vigorously in reclaiming or punishing them, and not be disheartened at the frowns of those court favorites who protected them; assuring him, that he might expect the blessing of GOD on his pious labors, to free the church from their dangerous attempts, and to establish uniformity. And when the privy-council interposed in favor of the Puritans, and endeavored to screen them from punishment, he wrote a

bold letter to the lord treasurer *Burleigh*; wherein he warmly expostulated with the council, for meddling with the affairs of the church, which, as he said, ought to be left to the determination of the bishops; admonished them to keep within their own sphere; and told them he would appeal to the queen, if they continued to interpose in matters not belonging to them.

He is blamed by some for giving up several manors and other estates belonging to his see; but he rather, in some respects, deserves commendation, for his great firmness in resolving to part with no more, and for being proof against the strongest solicitations, and most violent attacks. Several he had to encounter, even from those which were most in favor at court, and were backed by royal command and authority. In the years 1574 and 1575, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, a noted favorite of the queen, endeavored to wrest *Ely-house* in *Holborn* from him; so that, in order to preserve it to his see, he was forced to have a long and chargeable suit in chancery, which was not determined in 1579. The lord *North* also attempted, in 1575, to oblige him to part with the manor of *Somersham*, in *Huntingdonshire*, one of the best belonging to his bishopric; and with *Downham Park*: Which he refusing to yield, that lord endeavored to stir up the queen's indignation against him, and do his utmost to have him deprived. For that purpose, *North*, and some others of the courtiers, examined and ransacked his whole conduct since his first coming to his see, and drew up a large body of articles against him, which he was to give answers to before the privy-council. But the bishop, in his replies, so fully vindicated himself from all aspersions, and so clearly confuted the groundless and malicious calumnies of his enemies, that the queen was forced to acknowledge his innocence; though the lord *North* boasted, he had found five *præmunire*'s against him. However, vexed and wearied with the implacable malice of the lord *North*, and other his adversaries, he desired, in 1577, leave to resign his bishopric, but the queen put him off. *North*, though disappointed in his former attempt, yet not discouraged thereby, brings three actions against the poor old bishop for felling of wood; whereupon the bishop offered again, in 1579, to resign; provided he had a yearly pension of two hundred pounds out of his see, and *Donnington*, (the least of five country houses belonging to *Ely* bishopric) for his residence during life. The lord treasurer *Burleigh*, at the bishop's earnest desire, obtained leave of the queen for him to resign; and
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in *February* 157²/₈₀, upon the bishop's repeated desires, forms of resignation were actually drawn up. But the court could not find any divine of note, who would take that bishopric on their terms, of surrendering up the best manors belonging thereto. The first offer of it was made to *Freak* bishop of *Norwich*; and, on his refusal, it was proffered to several others: But the conditions were so ignominious and base, that they all rejected it: By which means bishop *Cox* enjoyed it till his death, which happened on the twenty-second of *July*, 1581, in the eighty-second year of his age.

By his will he left several legacies, amounting in all to the sum of nine hundred and forty-five pounds; and died worth, in good debts, two thousand three hundred and twenty-two pounds. He had several children. His body was interred in *Ely* cathedral, near bishop *Goodrich's* monument, under a marble-stone, with an inscription; which having been defaced, there are only four verses of it now legible. Many things, of which he was author, have been published chiefly since his decease. As to his character; he was a man of sound judgement, and clear apprehension, and attained to great perfection in all polite and useful learning. He wanted no advantages of education, and improved them with such diligence and industry, that he soon became an excellent proficient both in divine and human literature. The holy scriptures were his chief study; and he was perfectly well versed in the original language of the New Testament. He was extremely zealous for the true interest of our Reformed church, and a constant and vigorous defender of it against all the open assaults of its popish adversaries, and, what he thought in some particulars, the no less dangerous designs of the Puritans. He is accused by some of having been a worldly and covetous person; and is said to have made a great havock and spoil of his woods and parks, feeding his family with powdered venison to save expences. Several complaints, and long accusations, were exhibited against him and his wife, in 1579, to *Q. Elizabeth*, upon those accounts, by some false and evil disposed persons; but the bishop fully vindicated himself, and shewed, that all those complaints were nothing but malicious calumnies, and groundless imputations. It is likewise said, that he appears to have been of a vindictive spirit, by reason of his prosecution of, and severity to, the deprived catholics in his custody; and especially by his complaints against *Dr. Feckenham* the last abbot of *Westminster*. But
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the bishop alledges in his own excuse, that the doctor was a very troublesome guest, and good for nothing: And that his endeavors to convert him, were by order of the court. It must be remembered of this bishop, that he was the first who brought a wife to live in a college; and that he procured a new body of statutes for St. *John's-college* in *Cambridge*, of which, as bishop of *Ely*, he was visitor.

His WORKS. They are, "1. An Oration at the beginning of the Disputation of Dr. *Tresham* and others with *Peter Martyr*. 2. An Oration at the conclusion of the same. These two orations, which are in Latin, were printed in 1549, 4to. and afterwards among *Peter Martyr's* works. The second is also printed in the appendix to the Memorials of archbishop *Cranmer*, by *J. Strype*. 3. He had a great hand in compiling the first Liturgy of the Church of *England*: And was one of the chief persons employed in the review of it in 1559. 4. He turned into verse the Lord's Prayer, commonly printed at the end of *Sternhold* and *Hopkins's* Psalms. 5. When a new translation of the Bible was made in the reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, now commonly known by the name of the 'Bishops Bible,' the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the *Romans*, were allotted to him, for his portion. 6. He writ Resolutions of some Questions concerning the Sacraments; in the collection of Records at the end of Dr. *Burnet's* History of the Reformation. 7. He had a hand, in the Declaration concerning the Functions and Divine Institution of Bishops and Priests: And in the Answers, to the Queries concerning some Abuses of the Mass. 8. Several Letters, and small pieces of his, have been published by the industrious Mr. *Strype*, in his *Annals of the Reformation*; namely, 1. A Letter to *Wolfgang Weidner* at *Wormes*, 20 May, 1559. 2. To the Queen, wherein, he excuses himself for refusing to minister in the Royal Chapel, on account of the Crucifix there. 3. To *Bullinger*, on occasion of his answer to the Pope's Bull against the Queen. 4. To the Queen, upon her requiring his house in *Holbourn* for Mr. *Hatton*. 5. To the same, upon her desiring him to surrender *Somerſham*. 6. Reasons sent to the lord *Burleigh* to tender the state of GOD's Ministers. 7. Answers to the accusations of the lord *North*, and others against him. 8. To the lord *Burleigh*, upon the Queen's having ordered Archbishop *Grindal* to be suspended. 9. Letter congratulatory to the Queen in her progress, and to excuse himself for not waiting upon her. 10. To the lord *Burleigh*, upon the Queen's

Queen's granting him leave to resign his Bishopric. 11. To the same, informing him he had received intelligence, that twelve thousand *Spaniards* were to be sent by the Pope and *Spaniard* against the realm, 1580. 12. Account of his conference with Dr. *Feckenam*. 13. To the lord *Burleigh*, of the ill state of St. *John's-college*, *Cambridge*, for want of Statutes. 14. Proofs and Evidences from ancient Grants, to shew, that his Manor and House in *Holbourn* is exempt from the jurisdiction of the city of *London*. He also had a hand in *Lily's Grammar*."

BERNARD GILPIN,

CALLED, THE NORTHERN APOSTLE.

THIS faithful and zealous pastor, usually distinguished in his time by the character of *Apostle of the North*, was born in the year 1517, about the middle of the reign of *Henry VIII*. His forefathers had been seated at *Kentmire-hall* in *Westmoreland* from the time of *K. John*; in whose reign this estate had been given by a baron of *Kendal* to *Richard Gilpin*, as a reward for some considerable services, alluding probably to the following, among others, as related by bishop *Carleton*, who says, 'This is that *Richard Gilpin*, who slew a wild boar, which, raging in the neighbouring mountains, like the boar of *Erymanthus*, brought great damage upon the country-people.' Hence it was, that his family afterwards gave a boar for their arms. From this gentleman the estate at *Kentmire* descended to *Bernard's* father, *Edwin Gilpin*, who became prematurely possessed of it by the death of an elder brother, killed at the battle of *Bosworth*, in the cause, most probably, of *Richard III*. whose studied behavior, and very popular government, had established him greatly in the esteem of the northern counties. *Edwin* had several children, of which *Bernard* was one of the youngest, who discovered an extraordinary genius and disposition in his childhood, and from his earliest youth was inclined to a contemplative life, thoughtful, reserved, and serious.

A begging friar came to his father's house, where, according to the custom of those times, he was received in
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a very hospitable manner. The plenty set before him was a temptation too strong for his virtue, of which it seems he had not sufficient to save appearances. The next morning, however, he ordered the bell to toll, and from the pulpit expressed himself with great vehemence against the debauchery of the times, and particularly against drunkenness. Young *Gilpin*, then a child by his mother's knee, seemed for some time exceedingly affected with the friar's discourse, and at length, with the utmost indignation, cried out, "Oh! mamma, do you hear how this fellow dares speak against drunkenness, and was drunk himself yesternight at our house?"

Instances of this kind soon discovered the seriousness of his disposition, and determined his parents to breed him to the church. He was first put to a grammar-school, and, after passing through all the classes with great approbation, was sent to *Oxford* and admitted a scholar on the foundation of *Queen's-college* in the year 1533. Here he stuck close to the academical studies of logic and philosophy, and became a distinguished disputant in the schools; at the same time he made himself master of *Erasmus's* works, which were then in vogue, and acquired a singular knowledge of the *Greek* and *Hebrew* tongues. In the last of these he was instructed by *Thomas Neale*, then fellow of *New-college*, who afterwards became *Hebrew* professor. On *March 21, 1541*, he proceeded master of arts, having taken his bachelor's degree at the usual term before. He was now also chosen fellow of his college, being much beloved for the sweetness of his disposition and unaffected sincerity of his manners. At the same time, his eminence for learning was such that he was made choice of for one of the first masters to supply *Christchurch-college*, after the completing of its foundation by *Henry VIII.*

In *July, 1549*, he commenced bachelor in divinity. And as he had been bred in the *Roman* catholic religion, so he continued hitherto steady to that church, and in defence of it, while he resided at *Oxford*, held a disputation against bishop *Hooper*, afterwards a martyr for the Protestant faith. But in *K. Edward VI's* time, being prevailed upon to hold a disputation with the famous *Peter Martyr*, against certain Protestant doctrines maintained by him in his divinity-lecture at *Oxford*, Mr. *Gilpin* soon found his adversary's arguments too strong for him, coming with all the force of scriptural authority; and publicly owned, that he could not maintain his ground,
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and determined to enter into no more controversies, till he had gained the full information he was in pursuit of. This ingenuous regard for truth was shewn in the more advantageous light by the bigotry of his fellow-disputants; whose inflamed zeal, and fierceness of temper, discovered little of the scholar, and less of the Christian. This difference of behavior *Peter Martyr* took notice of; and would frequently say, that 'As for *Chedsey, Morgan, Weston*, and the rest of those hot-headed zealots, he could not, in truth, be much concerned about them; but Mr. *Gilpin* seemed a man of such uprightness of intention, and of so much sincerity, both in his words and actions, that it went to his heart to see him still involved in prejudice and error. The rest, he thought, were only a trifling, light sort of men, led into an opposition more by vain-glory, and a desire to distinguish themselves, than through any better motives; but Mr. *Gilpin's* ingenuoufness of behaviour, and irreproachable life, left room for no such suspicion with regard to him; and he could not but own, he considered his espousing any cause as a very great credit to it.' He would often likewise tell his friends, 'It was the subject of his daily prayers, that GOD would be pleased at length to touch the heart of this pious Papist with the knowledge of true religion.' And he prayed not in vain; for Mr. *Gilpin*, from this time, became every day more inclined to the Reformation.

In this temper he applied for further instruction to *Cuthbert Tonstall*, bishop of *Durham*, who was his mother's uncle. That prelate told him, that, in the matter of transubstantiation pope *Innocent III.* had done unadvisedly in making it an article of faith, and confessed that the pope had also committed a great fault in taking no better care than he had done in the business of indulgences and other things. After this, Mr. *Gilpin* conferred with one Dr. *Redman*, whose virtue and learning he had a great opinion of; and this friend affirmed that the book of Common-prayer was a holy book and agreeable to the gospel. These things threw him into many distracting thoughts. Afterwards, one of the fellows of *Queen's-college* in *Oxford* told him, that he had heard Dr. *Chedsey*, one of our Author's old acquaintance, say among his friends, the Protestants and us must compound the matter, they must grant us the real presence, and we must give way to them in the point of transubstantiation. Dr. *Weston* also, another of his fellow students, made a long oration to shew that the

eucharist should be administered in both kinds, and Mr. *Morgan*, a third brother *Oxenian*, told him that Dr. *Ware*, a man most famous for life and learning, had affirmed to him, that the principal sacrifice of the church of GOD was the sacrifice of thanksgiving. Mr. *Gilpin* further observed, that the most learned bishops at that time confuted the primacy of the pope both in words and writing. And to conclude, one *Harding*, being newly returned home out of *Italy*, in a long and famous oration so plainly set out and painted to the life the friars and unlearned bishops, who had met at the council of *Trent* in their green gowns, that it abated in him, as well as in many others, a great deal of that opinion and confidence, which they had reposed in general councils.

Hence continuing his diligence in searching the scriptures and the fathers, he began to observe many great abuses, and some enormities in Popery, and to think Reformation necessary.

Whilst he was going on in this course, having taken holy orders from the bishop of *Oxford*, he was over-ruled by the persuasions of his friends to accept, against his will, of the vicarage of *Norton* in the diocese of *Durham*. This was in 1552, and being a grant from king *Edward VI.* before he went to reside, he was appointed to preach before his majesty, who was then at *Greenwich*. His sermon was greatly approved, and recommended him to the notice of many persons of the first rank, particularly to Sir *Francis Russel* and Sir *Robert Dudley*, afterwards earl of *Bedford* and *Leicester*, and to secretary *Cecil*, afterwards lord treasurer *Burleigh*, who obtained for him the king's licence for a general preacher during his majesty's life, which however happened to be not much above the space of half a year after. Thus honored he repaired to his parish, entered upon the duties of it, and, as occasion required, made use of the king's licence in other parts of the country. But here he soon grew uneasy: However resolved as he was against Popery, he was scarcely settled in some of his religious opinions; he found the country overspread with popish doctrines, the errors of which he was unable to oppose. In this unhappy state he applied to bishop *Tenstall* (then in the *Tower*.) That prelate advised him to provide a trusty curate for his parish, and spend a year or two abroad in conversing with some of the most eminent professors on both sides the question. The proposal was just Mr. *Gilpin's* own wish with regard to travelling abroad, which he therefore resolved upon, but,
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at the same time, determined to resign his living, as he accordingly did, to a person very deserving of it. This done, he set out for *London* to receive the bishop's last orders and embark.

His resignation gave his lordship much concern: It was done out of a scruple of conscience very uncommon, and which the bishop could see no foundation for, since he could have procured him a dispensation. However, after some words of advice to look better to his interest, he was reconciled, promised to support him abroad, and at parting put into his hands a treatise upon the Eucharist, which the times not suiting to be printed here, he desired might be done under his inspection at *Paris*. With this charge he embarked for *Holland*, and upon landing went immediately to *Malin* to visit his brother *George*, who was then a student there. But after a few weeks he went to *Louvain*, which he pitched on for his residence, proposing to make occasional excursions to *Antwerp*, *Ghent*, *Brussels*, and other places in the *Netherlands*. *Louvain* was then one of the chief places for students in divinity, some of the most eminent divines on both sides of the question resided there; and the most important topics of religion were discussed with great freedom. Our Author made the best use of his time, soon began to have juster notions of, and greater satisfaction in the doctrine of the Reformed; when he was alarmed with the news of *K. Edward's* death, and the accession of *Q. Mary* to the throne.

However this bad news came attended with an agreeable account of bishop *Tonstall's* release from the *Tower* and re-establishment in his bishopric. But the consequence of this was not so agreeable; for afterwards he received a letter from his brother *George*, inviting him to *Antwerp* upon a matter of great importance. Coming thither he found the business was a request of the bishop's to persuade our Author to accept of a living of considerable value, which was become vacant in his diocese. *George* used all his endeavors for the purpose, but in vain. *Bernard* was too well pleased with his present situation to think of a change, and excused himself to his patron on the same scruple of conscience as before, against taking the profits while another did the duty. "And whereas, (concludes he,) I know well your lordship is careful how I should live, if GOD should call your lordship, being now aged, I desire you let not that trouble you. For if I had no other shift I could get a lectureship I know shortly, either in this university, or at least in some

“ abbey hereby ; where I should not lose my time : And
 “ this kind of life, if GOD be pleased, I desire before
 “ any benefice.” This letter was dated *November 22,*
1554 : The bishop was not offended at it : The unaffected piety of it led him rather to admire a behavior in which the motives of conscience shewed themselves so superior to those of interest. In the mean time our Author was greatly affected with the misfortune of the *English* exiles from *Q. Mary's* persecution, and was not a little pleased to find that though unable personally to assist them, yet his large acquaintance in the country furnished him with the means of being useful to many of them by very serviceable recommendations.

He had been now two years in *Flanders* ; and had made himself perfect master of the controversy as it was there handled. He left *Louvain* therefore and went to *Paris*. Where his first care was printing his patron's book, which he performed entirely to his lordship's satisfaction this same year *1554*, and received his thanks for it. Here popery became quite his aversion, he saw more of its superstition and craft than he had yet seen, the former among the people, the latter among the priests, who scrupled not to avow, how little *truth* was their concern. In this city he met with his old acquaintance and *Hebrew* master, *Mr. Neal*, of *New-college* : He had always been a favorer of popery, and was now a bigot to it ; and he tried his strength upon his *quondam* pupil, but found him above his match. This was the same *Neal*, who was afterwards chaplain to bishop *Bonner*, and distinguished himself by being the sole voucher of the silly story of the *Nag's-head* consecration.

After three years absence, having satisfied his conscience in the general doctrines of the Reformation, *Mr. Gilpin* returned to *England* in *1556*, a little before the death of *Q. Mary*. As his return was probably at the bishop of *Durham's* request, so his lordship received him with great friendship, and in a very little time gave him the archdeaconry of *Durham*, to which the rectory of *Easington* was annexed. He immediately repaired to his parish, where, notwithstanding the persecution, which was then in its height, he preached boldly against the vices, errors, and corruptions of the times, especially in the clergy. This was an infallible way to draw vengeance upon himself ; and accordingly, a charge consisting of thirteen articles was drawn up against him, and presented in form to the bishop. But *Tonstall*, who was a prelate of great
 discernment

discernment as well as humanity, and being much practised in the world; easily found a method of dismissing the cause in such a manner, as to protect his nephew, without endangering himself. The malice of his enemies could not however rest; his character, at least, was in their power, and they created him so much trouble, that not able to undergo the fatigue of both his places, he begged leave of the bishop to resign either the archdeaconry or his parish, which his lordship thought fit; to which the bishop answered, that the income of the former was not a support without the latter, and that they could not be separated. In the mean time he managed a dispute against transubstantiation with the bishop's chaplains, and in his presence, with so much prudence as well as learning, as greatly pleased his lordship; and the rich living of *Houghton le Spring* becoming vacant he presented him to it, on his resignation of the archdeaconry, at his own request. This generous patron also, soon after urged him to accept of a stall then vacant, in the cathedral of *Durham*, telling him, there lay not the same objection to this as to the archdeaconry, that it was quite a sinecure, &c. But he urged in vain; our Author told the bishop, he had already more wealth than he was afraid he could give a good account of, and begged not to have an additional charge.

He now lived retired, and gave no immediate offence to the clergy; the experience he had of their temper, made him more cautious not to provoke them. Indeed, he was more cautious than he could afterwards approve, for in his future life he would often tax his behavior at this time with weakness and cowardice. But all his caution availed nothing. He was soon formally accused to the bishop a second time: And was again protected by his lordship; who, however, thought proper, perhaps in the view of his own safety, to shew his dislike of his nephew's conduct, by striking him out of his will, of which he had before made him the executor. This loss gave Mr. *Gilpin* no concern; he was at a great distance from all worldly mindedness; it was not less than he expected, nor more than he was well provided for. His enemies were not thus silenced: Enraged at this second defeat, they delated him to Dr. *Bonner*, bishop of *London*; and here they went the right way to work. *Bonner* was just the reverse of *Tonstall*, and immediately gave orders to apprehend him. Mr. *Gilpin* had no sooner notice of it, but, being no stranger to this prelate's burning zeal, he prepared

pared for martyrdom, and commanding his house-steward to provide him a long garment, that he might go the more comely to the stake, he set out for *London*. It is said, that he happened to break his leg in the journey, which delayed him; however that be, it is certain, that the news of *Q. Mary's* death met him on the road, which proved his delivery.

Upon his return to *Houghton*, he was received by his parishioners with the sincerest joy, and though he soon after lost his patron, bishop *Tonstall*, yet he quickly experienced, that worth like his could never be left friendless. When the popish bishops were deprived, the earl of *Bedford* recommended him to the queen for the bishopric of *Carlisle*, and took care that a *cong   d'elire*, should be sent down to the dean and chapter for that purpose. But Mr. *Gilpin* declined this promotion, on account of the particular inconvenience of it to himself, as having so many friends and acquaintances in that diocese, of whom he had not the best opinion, that he must either connive at many irregularities, or draw upon himself so much hatred, that he should be less able to do good there than any body else; declaring, that if he had been chosen in like manner to any bishopric elsewhere, he would not have refused it, in the view of being able to do more good in that station. But in this he was never tried; and indeed, he could not be a stranger to the court maxim, that he, who refuses the first kindness, forfeits all pretensions to a second. It is true, this refusal has been ascribed chiefly to lucrative motives by some, who have observed that *Houghton* was better than the bishopric. However that be, it is certain, he refused an offer the following year, which seems to have been more to his taste. *Q. Elizabeth*, at her accession to the throne, had procured one Dr. *Francis*, a Protestant physician, to be chosen provost of *Queen's-college*. This was complied to with great reluctance by the fellows, who were attached to popery: And the doctor finding his situation uneasy among them, determined to resign, and made an offer of the place to Mr. *Gilpin*. But though he loved the university well, and this college in particular, of which he had been fellow, and was assured likewise, that the present fellows had a very great respect and esteem for him; yet all was not able to move him from his parsonage.

It is true, the rectory of *Houghton* was of considerable value (four hundred pounds *per annum* at least), but the duty of it was proportionably laborious. It was so extensive,

tensive, that it contained no less than fourteen villages. But this he looked on as an ample field, opened for exercising his faculties and talents in the duties of a parish-priest; and he fulfilled them all. Upon taking possession, he found the parsonage-house gone so entirely to decay, that he could not reside in it; repairing of this was therefore his first business; part of it was fitted up as soon as possible for his reception; and he continued improving and enlarging it, till it became suitable to the hospitality he was resolved to keep in it. His house, (says bishop *Carleton*) was like a bishop's palace; superior, indeed, to most bishops' houses, with respect both to the largeness of the building, and the elegance of the situation. In this house, his hospitable manner of living soon became the admiration of the whole country. He spent in his family every fortnight forty bushels of corn, twenty bushels of malt, and a whole ox; besides a proportionable quantity of other kinds of provision. Every Thursday throughout the year, a very large quantity of meat was dressed wholly for the poor; and every day they had what quantity of broth they wanted. Twenty-four of the poorest were his constant pensioners. Four times in the year a dinner was provided for them, when they received from his steward a certain quantity of corn, and a sum of money: And at Christmas they had always an ox divided among them. Every Sunday from Michaelmas till Easter was a sort of public day with him. During this season, he expected to see all his parishioners and their families. For their reception he had three tables well covered; the first was for gentlemen, the second for husbandmen and farmers, and the third for day-laborers. This piece of hospitality he never omitted, even when losses, or a scarcity of provision, made its continuance rather difficult to him. Even when he was absent, no alteration was made in his family expences; the poor were fed, and his neighbors entertained as usual. Strangers and travellers found a chearful reception; all were welcome that came; and even their beasts had so much care taken of them, that it was humorously said, if a horse was turned loose in any part of the country, it would immediately make its way to the rector of *Houghton's*.

To any one who knows that hospitality was the boast of the *Romish* clergy before the Reformation; the prudence of this part of our Author's conduct will appear in its proper light. And the rest was of a piece with this. He set out with making it his endeavor to gain the affection

tion of his parishioners. To succeed in it, however, he used no servile compliances. His behavior was free without levity, obliging without meanness, insinuating without art. To this humanity and courtesy, he added an unwearied application to the immediate duties of his function. Not satisfied with the advice he gave in public, he used to instruct privately, and brought his parishioners to come to him with their doubts and difficulties; he laid himself out in forming the youth to godliness, suffering none to grow up in ignorance of their duty. He was very assiduous in preventing all law-suits, and his hall is said to have been often thronged with people, who came on that account; he shewed such a hearty concern for all under affliction, that he was considered as a good angel by all such.

He used to interpose, likewise, in all acts of oppression; and his authority was such, that it generally put a stop to them: For instance, after the rebellion raised by the earls of *Westmoreland* and *Northumberland* was quelled, though the rebels had forced him to withdraw, and in his absence had ravaged and plundered his house and grounds at *Houghton*; yet, when he saw too much severity used against them by the marshal, *Sir George Bowes*, he interceded for them so earnestly, that, either persuaded by what he said, or paying a deference to his character, the marshal grew more mild, and shewed many instances of mercy not expected from him.

The bishop once requiring him, upon his canonical obedience, to preach a visitation sermon, he found himself obliged to comply; though without any previous notice, and after the clergy were assembled. This prelate was a well meaning, but a weak man, and wholly in the hands of his chancellor, *Mr. Gilpin* thought this no unfavorable opportunity to open his lordship's eyes, and induce him to exert himself, where there was so great reason for it; private information had often been given him without success, *Mr. Gilpin* was now resolved, therefore, to venture upon a public application. In this spirit, before he concluded his sermon, turning towards the bishop, he thus addressed him: "My discourse now, reverend father, must be directed to you. GOD hath exalted you to be bishop of this diocese, and requireth an account of your government thereof. A reformation of all those matters, which are amiss in the church, is expected at your hands. And now, lest perhaps, while it is apparent, that so many enormities are committed

“ mitted every where, your lordship should make answer,
 “ that you had no notice of them given you, and that
 “ these things never came to your knowledge,” [for this,
 it seems, was the bishop’s common apology to all com-
 plainants]; “ behold, I bring these things to your know-
 “ ledge this day. Say not then, that these crimes have
 “ been committed by the fault of others, without your
 “ knowledge; for whatever either yourself should do in
 “ person, or suffer by your connivance to be done of
 “ others, is wholly your own. Therefore, in the pre-
 “ sence of GOD, his angels, and men, I pronounce
 “ you to be the author of all these evils: yea, and in
 “ that strict day of the general account, I will be a wit-
 “ ness to testify against you, that all these things have
 “ come to your knowledge by my means; and all these
 “ men shall bear witness thereof, who have heard me
 “ speak unto you this day.” This freedom alarmed every
 one; the bishop, they said, had now got that advantage
 over him, that had been long sought for. But when our
 Preacher, before he went home, went to pay his compli-
 ments to his lordship, ‘ Sir, (said the bishop), I purpose
 ‘ to wait upon you home myself.’ This he accordingly
 did; and as soon as Mr. *Gilpin* had carried him into a
 parlour, the bishop turned suddenly round, and seizing
 him eagerly by the hand, ‘ Father *Gilpin*, (says he), I
 ‘ acknowledge you are fitter to be bishop of *Durham*,
 ‘ than I am to be parson of this church of your’s.—I ask
 ‘ forgiveness for past injuries.—Forgive me, father.—I
 ‘ know you have enemies, but while I live bishop of *Dur-*
 ‘ *ham*, be secure; none of them shall cause you any far-
 ‘ ther trouble.’

Notwithstanding all this painful industry, and the large
 scope it had in so extended a parish, our Pastor thought
 the sphere of his benevolence yet too confined: It grieved
 him extremely, to see every where in the parishes round
 him so much ignorance and superstition, occasioned by
 the very great neglect of the pastoral care in the clergy of
 those parts*. These bad consequences induced him to

* The following instance shews how low preaching ran at this
 time; Mr. *Tavernour* of *Water-Eaton* in *Oxfordshire*, high-sheriff of
 the county, came, it is said, in pure charity, not out of ostentation,
 and gave the scholars at *Oxford* a sermon in *St. Mary’s church*, with
 his gold chain about his neck, and his sword by his side, and accosted
 them thus: ‘ Arriving at the mount of *St. Mary*, in the stony stage
 ‘ where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits baked in
 ‘ the oven of charity, and carefully conserved for the chickens of the
 ‘ church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salva-
 ‘ tion.’ *Fuller’s Church History.*

supply as far as he could, what was wanting in others. For this purpose, every year he used regularly to visit the most neglected parishes in *Northumberland*, *Yorkshire*, *Cheshire*, *Westmoreland* and *Cumberland*: And that his own parish in the mean time might not suffer, he was at the expence of a constant assistant. And as he had all the warmth of an enthusiast, though under the direction of a very calm judgement, he never wanted an audience, even in the wildest parts; where he roused many to a sense of religion, who had contracted the most inveterate habits of inattention to every thing of a serious nature. Wherever he came, he used to visit all the jails, and places of confinement, few in the kingdom at that time having an appointed minister; and by his labors, and affectionate manner of behaving, he is said to have reformed many very abandoned persons in those places. He would employ his interest, likewise, for such criminals, whose cases he thought attended with any hard circumstances, and often procured pardons for them.

There is a tract of country upon the borders of *Northumberland*, called *Reads-dale* and *Tine-dale*, of all barbarous places in the North, at that time, the most barbarous. Before the union, this place was called the debateable land, as subject by turns to *England* and *Scotland*, and the common theatre where the two nations were continually acting their bloody scenes. It was inhabited by a kind of desperate banditti, rendered fierce and active by constant alarms; they lived by theft, used to plunder on both sides of the barrier, and what they plundered on one, they exposed to sale on the other; by that means escaping justice. Such adepts were they in the art of thieving, that they could twist a cow's horn, or mark a horse, so as its owners could not know it, and so subtle, that no vigilance could guard against them. For these arts they were long afterwards famous. A person telling K. *James I.* a surprizing story of a cow, that had been driven from the north of *Scotland* into the south of *England*, and, escaping from the herd, had found her way home: 'The most surprizing part of the story, replied the king, you lay the least stress on, viz. that she passed unftolen through the debateable land.'

In this dreadful country, where no man would even travel that could help it*, Mr. *Gilpin* never failed to spend some

* Mr. Camden describing these places writes thus: 'Both these *Dales* breed notable bog-trotters, and have such boggy-topped mountains,

some part of every year: He generally chose the holidays of *Christmas* for this journey, because he found the people at that season most disengaged, and most easily assembled. He had set places for preaching, which were as regularly attended, as the assize town of a circuit. This was a very difficult and laborious employment on several accounts; the country was so poor, that what provision he could get, extremity only could make palatable; the badness of the weather, and the badness of the roads through a mountainous country, and at that season covered with snow, exposed him, likewise, very often to great hardships. The *Saxon* custom of deciding differences by the sword prevailed here. Nay, these wild *Northumbrians* went beyond the ferocity of their ancestors; they were not content with a duel: Each contending party used to muster what adherents he could, and commence a kind of petty war; so that a private grudge would often occasion much bloodshed.

It happened that a quarrel of this kind was on foot once when Mr. *Gilpin* was at *Rothbury*, in those parts; during the two or three first days of his preaching, the disputants observed some decorum, and never appeared at church together; at length, however, they met. One party had been early at church, and just as Mr. *Gilpin* began his sermon the other entered; they stood not long silent; inflamed at the sight of each other, they began to clash their weapons, for they were all armed with javelins and swords, and mutually approach. Awed, however, by the sacredness of the place, the tumult in some degree ceased: Mr. *Gilpin* proceeded; when again, the combatants began to brandish their weapons, and draw towards each other. As a fray seemed near, he stepped from the pulpit, went between them, and addressing the leaders, put an end to the quarrel for the present; but could not effect an entire reconciliation. They promised him, however, that till the sermon was over they would make no further disturbance. He then went again into the pulpit, and spent the

tains, as are not to be crossed by ordinary horsemen. We wonder to see so many heaps of stones in them, which the neighbourhood believe to be thrown together in memory of some persons there slain. There are also in both of them, many ruins of old forts. The *Umsfranvilles* held *Reads-dale*, as Dooms-day book informs us, in fee and knight's service, for guarding the *Dale* from robberies. All over these wastes you see, as it were, the antient *Nomades*, a martial people, who from *April* to *August* lie in little tents, which they call sheals or shealings, here and there dispersed among their flocks.

CAMDEN'S *Britannia*.

rest of the time, in endeavoring to make them ashamed of what they had done. His behavior and discourse affected them so much, that, at his farther intreaty, they promised to forbear all acts of hostility, while he continued in the country. And so much respected was he among them, that whoever was in fear of his enemy, used to resort where Mr. *Gilpin* was, esteeming his presence the best protection.

One Sunday morning coming to a church, before the people were assembled, he observed hanging up a man's glove; and being informed by the sexton, that it was meant as a challenge to any one that should take it down; upon the sexton refusing, he took it down himself, and put in his breast. In his sermon he took this occasion to rebuke them for these inhuman challenges. "I hear, (says he,) that one among you hath hanged up a glove even in this sacred place, threatening to fight any one who takes it down; see here, I have taken it down!" And holding it out to the congregation, he shewed how unsuitable such practices were to Christianity, and pressed them by the most affectionate persuasives to mutual love. The disinterested pains he thus took among these barbarous people, added to his good offices and charities to them, (which were so liberal, that though he set out on this journey with ten pounds in his purse, yet he returned twenty nobles in debt, which he always paid in a fortnight,) drew from them the sincerest expressions of gratitude. Of this we have one pregnant instance. By the carelessness of a servant, his horses were one day stolen. The news was quickly propagated, and every one expressed the highest indignation at it. The thief, however, was rejoicing over his prize, when, by the report of the country, he found whose horses he had taken. Terrified at what he had done, he instantly came trembling back, confessed the fact, returned the horses, and declared he believed the devil would have seized him directly, had he carried them off when he knew they belonged to Mr. *Gilpin*.

Such actions as these are not, it is confessed, the brilliant and striking part of his historical memoirs; but they certainly are not the least useful. Persons in high life can be examples only to few, in comparison of those who move in a lower sphere, and fill an inferior station; and among these, there is no character so amiable, nor which spreads its influence so extensively, as that of a worthy parish-priest. Such, undeniably, was Mr. *Gilpin's*, and that to such a degree too, as deserves to be distinguished by

by particular notice to the present age, as much as he was distinguished in his own, when he merited and obtained the desirable titles of the FATHER OF THE POOR, and THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH. But this character was not fully completed in him, by the particulars hitherto mentioned, extraordinary as they are. There is still another, which alone would have been sufficient to fill up the whole sphere of an ordinary activity, and which, therefore, neither justice to him, nor to the Reader, will suffer to be omitted.

We have already mentioned the first method taken by our Author, as being the most pressing and urgent to supply the want of able preachers. *Q. Elizabeth* was very sensible of this scarcity, and, among other ways of providing a relief, recommended to her council the founding seminaries of good learning. No good work ever went forward, which Mr. *Gilpin* did not promote as far as he was able. In this he joined to the utmost of his abilities, and, as was commonly indeed thought, beyond them. His manner of living was the most affluent and generous; his hospitality made daily a great demand upon him, and his bounty and charities a much larger. His acquaintance, therefore, could not but wonder to find him, amidst such great expences, entertain the design of building and endowing a grammar-school: A design, however, which his very exact œconomy soon enabled him to accomplish, though the expence of it amounted to upwards of five hundred pounds. The effects of this endowment were very quickly seen. His school was no sooner opened than it began to flourish, and to afford the agreeable prospect of a succeeding generation, rising above the ignorance and errors of their forefathers. That such might be its effects, no care on his part was wanting: He not only placed able masters in his school, whom he procured from *Oxford*, but himself, likewise, constantly inspected it; and, that encouragement might quicken the application of his boys, he always took particular notice of the most forward; he would call them his own scholars, and would send for them into his study, and there instruct them himself. There was so great a resort of young people to this school, that in a little time the town was not able to accommodate them. Seeing this, he fitted up a part of his own house for that purpose, where he seldom had fewer than twenty or thirty children; some were sons of persons of distinction, whom he boarded at easy rates: But the greater part were poor children, who could not so easily

easily get themselves boarded in the town, and whom he not only educated, but cloathed and maintained: He was at the expence, likewise, of boarding many others in town.

One method used by him to fill his school was a little singular. Whenever he met a poor boy upon the road, he would make trial of his capacity by a few questions, and if he found it such as pleased him, he would provide for his education*. Thus he used to bring several every year from the different parts where he preached, particularly *Reads-dale* and *Fine-dale*. Nor did his care end here; from his school he sent several to the universities, where he maintained them wholly at his own expence; for that end he yearly set apart sixty pounds; this sum he always laid out, often more: His common allowance to each scholar was about ten pounds a year, which, for a sober youth, was at that time a very sufficient maintenance; so that he never maintained fewer than six. To others, who were in circumstances to do something for themselves, he would give the farther assistance they needed. By which means, he induced many parents to allow their children a liberal education, who otherwise would not have done it. Our Author's care of them went still farther. He considered himself as their proper guardian, and seemed to think himself bound to the public for their usefulness. With this view he held a punctual correspondence with their tutors; and made the youths themselves frequently write to him; so solicitous, indeed, was he about them, that once every year he generally made a journey to the universities to inspect their behavior. Nor was this uncommon care unrewarded; few of his scholars miscarried, many of them, says *Carleton* bishop of *Chichester*, (who was one himself) became great ornaments to the church, and very exemplary instances of piety.

* It was in this manner that he first picked up, in his road to *Oxford*, the famous *Hugh Broughton*, whom he sent to *Cambridge* and supported there; among other studies applying himself principally to the Hebrew tongue, he became by far the most eminent person in his time, he not only spoke it fluently himself, but taught several others to do the same. See Dr. *Lightfoot's* article in *Biographia Britannica*. But he acted a most base and ungrateful part to his Benefactor. Insinuating himself into the bishop of *Durham's* [*Barnes*] favor, he found means to prejudice him against Mr. *Gilpin*, in the view of supplanting him at *Houghton*. But the bishop was reconciled, as has been mentioned in the text, and promised that his enemies should not hurt him, meaning particularly *Broughton*; who thereupon left *Durham*, and went to seek his fortune elsewhere. *Broughton*, though indeed a very great scholar, was one of the vainest men of his time.

The settlement of this school was the last business of a public nature, in which he was engaged. It answered his expectations so well, that when he grew old it became his chief concern. His infirmities obliged him now to relax a little from those very great fatigues, he had undergone abroad, and to draw his engagements nearer home. His school, situated near his house, afforded him when most infirm an employment, and he could hardly die in peace till he had settled it to his mind. What he had principally at heart, was to compose for it a set of good statutes, to provide it a better endowment, and fix all by a charter. As to the statutes, he was daily employed in improving his first draught. With regard to a better endowment, as it was not in his power to do any thing more himself, he applied to a neighboring gentleman, *John Heath, Esq. of Kerpier*, with whom he had lived many years in great intimacy, and prevailed with him to double the original endowment: This, with some other contributions, procured by him, raised the revenues answerable to his wishes. The last thing was to obtain a charter. For this, he applied to his friend the earl of *Bedford*, who easily procured it of the queen in *March, 1571*.

Towards the latter part of his life, *Mr. Gilpin* went through his duty with great difficulty; his health was much impaired; the extreme fatigue, he had during so many years undergone, had now quite broke his constitution, and while he was thus struggling with these difficulties, there happened an affair, which entirely destroyed his health. As he was crossing the market-place at *Durham*, an ox ran at him, and threw him down with such violence, that it was imagined he had received his death's wound. He lay long confined; and though he got abroad again, he never recovered even the little strength he had before, and continued lame as long as he lived. But sickness was not the only distress, which the declining years of this excellent man had to struggle with. As age and infirmity began to lessen that weight and influence he once had, the malice and opposition of his enemies of course prevailed more. He was charged by some with maintaining the unlawfulness of marriage in the clergy; others taxed him with hypocrisy; and a third, with refusing to pay his just debts: While chancellor *Barnes* laid aside all decency in oppressing him. Such a load of calumny, ingratitude, and ill usage, may justly be supposed to lay heavy upon him, already sinking under a weight

weight of years. Yet he bore it with great fortitude, strengthening himself with such consolations, as a Christian hath in reserve for all extremities. His resignation, however, was not long exercised.

About the beginning of *February*, 1683, he found himself so very weak, that he was sensible his end must be drawing near. He told his friends his apprehensions; and spoke of his death with the most happy composure. He was soon after confined to his chamber; but his senses continued perfect to the last. A few days before his death, he ordered his friends, acquaintance, and dependants to be called; and being raised in his bed, he made several most pathetic discourses; first, to the poor, next to his scholars, and then to his servants; after which sending for several persons, who had hitherto made no good use of his advice, he pressed it now again, in hopes that his dying words might prove more effectual: His speech began to falter, before he finished these last exhortations. The remaining hours of his life he spent in prayer, and in broken converse with some select friends; mentioning often the consolations of the gospel, declaring they were the only true ones, and that nothing else would bring a man peace at the last. He died upon the fourth of *March*, 1683, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and was interred in his own church.

As to his character. His person was tall and slender, in the ornament of which he was at no pains. He had a particular aversion to the fopperies of dress. In his diet he was very temperate, rather abstemious. His parts were very good; his imagination, memory, and judgement, were lively, retentive, and solid. His acquirements were as considerable: By an unwearied application he had amassed a great store of knowledge; and was ignorant of no part of learning at that time in esteem: In languages, history, and divinity he particularly excelled. He read poetry with a good taste; and was himself no mean poet. But he laid out little time in the pursuit of any study foreign to his profession. His temper was naturally warm; and in his youth there are instances of his giving way to passion; but in time, by grace, he got more command of himself, and at length was enabled to subdue that infirmity. His disposition was serious, yet among his particular friends he was commonly chearful, sometimes facetious. His general behavior was very affable; his severity had no object but himself; to others he was humble, candid, and indulgent. Extravagance with him was another word for injustice.

Injustice. Amidst all his business he found leisure to look into his affairs; well knowing that frugality is the support of charity. His intimacies were but few; it was his endeavor, as he thought the spirit of Christianity required, to dilate, rather than to contract his affections. Yet where he professed a particular friendship, he was a religious observer of its offices. He was a most candid interpreter of the words and actions of others; where he plainly saw failings, he would make every possible allowance for them. He used to express a particular indignation at slander; often saying, it more deserved the gallows than theft. For himself he was remarkably guarded, when he spoke of others; he considered common fame as the falsest medium, and a man's reputation as his most valuable property. His sincerity was such as became a Christian minister; and he had the strictest regard to truth, of which his whole life was a continual instance: All little arts, and sinister practices, those ingredients of worldly prudence, he disdained. His perseverance in so commendable a part, in whatever difficulties it might at first involve him, in the end raised his character above malice and envy, and gave him that weight and influence in every thing he undertook, which nothing but an approved sincerity can give. Whatever his other virtues were, their lustre was greatly increased by his humility. To conquer religious pride is one of the best effects of religion; an effect, which his religion in the most amiable manner produced. Thus far however he hath had many imitators. The principal recommendation of him, and the distinguishing parts of his character were his conscientious discharge of the duties of a faithful, laborious pastor; his extensive benevolence; and his exalted piety.

In his charitable distributions he had no measure but the bounds of his income; of which the least portion was always laid out on himself. Nor did he give as if he was granting a favor, but as if he was paying a debt; all obsequious service the generosity of his heart disdained. He was more particularly careful to give away in his lifetime whatever he could save for the poor, as he had often seen and regretted the abuse of posthumous charities. "It is my design, at my departure, (says he, writing to a friend,) to leave no more behind me, but to bury me, and pay my debts." What little he did leave, he left wholly to the poor, deducting a few slight tokens of remembrance that he bequeathed to his friends.

He was buried in his own church, but without any monument besides that of his example, which one would imagine had its influence upon the rectors of *Houghton*; for perhaps few parishes in *England* can boast of such a succession of worthy pastors, as that parish can since Mr. *Gilpin's* death. The late archbishop *Secker* was one of those pastors.

A sermon preached in the court at *Greenwich*, before *K. Edward VI.* the first Sunday after the Epiphany, in the year 1552, is the only revised composition of Mr. *Gilpin's* that survived him. He spent his time more actively than in literary avocations: Yet to what good purpose he might have employed it in his closet, this piece may convince us. It was thought in *K. Edward's* time a very pathetic strain of eloquence, well adapted to the irregularities then prevailing in the court of that prince. It hath since been taken notice of by most of the writers who treat of the ecclesiastical affairs of those times, and is mentioned by them as a remarkable instance of that commendable zeal and noble freedom, which the illustrious Reformers of our church exerted in the cause of the Protestant religion. But on account of its length, we must refer the curious Reader to the sermon itself, published by his Name-fake, from whom the name of *Gilpin* has received an additional honor.

EDMUND GRINDAL,

ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY.

THIS great and good man was born in the year 1519, at *Hinsingham*, in the parish of *St. Beg's*, in *Cowpland*, a small village in the county of *Cumberland*. After a suitable foundation of learning at school, he was sent to *Magdalen-college* in *Cambridge*, but removed from thence to *Christ's*, and afterwards to *Pembroke-hall*, where having taken his first degree in arts, he was chosen fellow



From an Original Picture in Lambeth Palace.



in the year 1538, and commenced A. M. in 1541; having served the office of junior burfar of his college the preceding year. In the year 1542, he was appointed proctor of the university, and is said to have often sat as assessor to the vice-chancellor in his courts. In 1549, he became president [vice-master] of his college, and being now B. D. was unanimously chosen lady *Margaret's* public preacher at *Cambridge*; as he was also one of the four disputants in a theological extraordinary act performed that year for the entertainment of 'K. *Edward's* visitors.

Thus distinguished in the university, his worth was observed by *Ridley*, bishop of *London*, who made him his chaplain in 1550, perhaps by the recommendation of *Bucer*, the king's professor of divinity of *Cambridge*, who soon after his removal to *London*, in a letter to that prelate, styles our divine a person "eminent for his learning" and piety, a chief member of *Christ*, and his associate "in the most sacred ministry of the word of GOD."

Thus a door being opened to him, he rose by quick advances into notice and esteem; his patron the bishop being so much pleased with him, that he designed him the prebend of *Cantrilles*, in *St. Paul's* church, and wrote to the council (some of whom had procured it for the furnishing the king's stables) for leave to give this living, as he says, to his well-deserving chaplain, who was without preferment, and to whom he would grant it, with all his heart, that so he might have him continually with him and in his diocese to preach, adding, that he was known to be both of virtue, honesty, discretion, wisdom and learning. What effect this address had, does not appear; but the chanter's place becoming vacant soon after, his lordship, *August* 24, 1551, collated him to that dignity, which was of much greater value, and likewise procured him to be made chaplain to his majesty (with the usual salary of forty pounds) in *December* the same year. *July* 2d, in the year 1552, he obtained a stall in *Westminster-Abby*; this, however, he afterwards resigned to *Dr. Benner*, whom he afterwards succeeded in the bishopric of *London*. In the mean time, there being a design, on the death of *Dr. Tonstall*, to divide the rich see of *Durham* into two, *Mr. Grindal* was nominated for one of these, and would have obtained it, had not one of the courtiers got the whole bishopric dissolved, and settled as a temporal estate upon himself.

In the year 1553, he fled from the persecution under Q. Mary into Germany, and settling at *Strasburg*, made himself master of the *German* tongue, in order to preach in the churches there: And in the disputes that happened at *Frankfort* about a new model of government and form of worship, varying from the last liturgy of K. Edward, he sided with Dr. Cox and others against *John Knox* and his followers.

One of *Grindal's* great businesses now was to collect together the writings and stories of the learned and pious sufferers in *England*, and to publish them: For which purpose he had a great correspondence here. In the year 1555, had come to his hands *Ridley's* Disputations at *Oxford*; also *Marcus Antonius Constantius's* Objections to archbishop *Cranmer's* book against *Stephen* bishop of *Winchester*, and the answers to those objections, which were either framed by the said archbishop, or *Ridley*, in prison: And a treatise in *English* against transubstantiation, which was *Ridley's*. This last, by the counsel of *Grindal* and others, was resolved to be put into *Latin*; and so it was. But these writings *Grindal* with his friends there made some stop to put in print as yet, lest it might irritate the enemies of those holy men then in captivity; and therefore reckoned it better to defer it for a while. And concerning this, *Grindal* being now at *Frankfort*, and having an opportunity here, sent a letter to the said bishop *Ridley*, to know his pleasure herein. And because in the letter are other matters relating to the present state of the exiles, I shall here insert it; and the rather, because the answer to it from *Ridley* is preserved in *Fox*, and mention only made of this letter.

‘*Gratiam & consolationem à Domino, & Servatore nostro
Jesu Christo.*’

“SIR, I have often been desirous to have written to
“you, and to have heard from you, but the iniquity of
“the times hath hitherto always put me forth of all hope
“and comfort. Now at this present GOD seemeth to
“offer some likelihood, that these might come to your
“hands, which I thought to use, referring the rest to
“GOD’s disposition. Your present state, not I only
“(who of all other am most bound) but also all other our
“brethren here, do most heartily lament, as joyned with
“the most miserable captivity that ever any church of
“*Christ* hath suffered. Notwithstanding, we geve GOD
“most

" most humble thanks, for that he hath so strenghtened
 " you and others, your concaptives, to profess a good
 " profession before so many witnesles. And I doubt no-
 " thing, but that he that hath called you and them not
 " only to believe upon hym, but also to suffer for hym,
 " doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable com-
 " fort, which he useth to minister abundantly to his in
 " the schole of the crosse. He graunte that his name may
 " be glorified in you, whether it be by life or death, as
 " may be most to his honour, and your everlasting con-
 " solation!

" Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partely of our
 " state in these partes. We be here disperfed in divers
 " and severall places. Certayne be at *Tigurye*, good stu-
 " dents of either university a number; very well en-
 " treated of maister *Bullinger*, of the other ministers, and
 " of the whole citee. Another number of us remayne at
 " *Argentine*, and take the commodity of maister *Martyr's*
 " lessons, who is a very notable father. Maister *Scory*,
 " and certayne other with hym be in *Frysland*, and have
 " an *English* church there, but not very frequent. The
 " greatest number is at *Frankford*, where I was at this
 " present by occasion; a very fayre city, the magistrates
 " favourable to our people, with so many other commo-
 " dities as exiles can well look for. Here is also a church;
 " and now (GOD be thanked) well quieted by the pru-
 " dency of maister *Coxe*, and other which met here for
 " that purpose. So that now we trust GOD hath pro-
 " vided, for such as will flye forth of *Babylon*, a resting
 " place, where they may truly serve hym, and hear the
 " voice of their true pastor. I suppose in one place and
 " other disperfed, there be well nigh an hundreth students
 " and ministers on this side the seas. Such a Lord is
 " GOD to work dyversly in his, according to his un-
 " searchable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in Man.

" We have also here certayne copies of your aunswers
 " in the disputation. Item *Antoniana Objecta cum Respon-*
 " *sione*: The treatise in *English* against transubstantia-
 " tion, which in tyme shall be translated into *Latine*. It
 " hath bene thought best not to print them till we see
 " what GOD will do with you, both for incensyng of
 " their malicious fury, and also for restraining you and
 " others from writing hereafter; which should be a
 " greater losse to the church of *Christ*, than forbearing of
 " these for a tyme. If I shall know your will to be other-
 " wise

“ wise in it, the same shall be followed. Thus much I
 “ thought good to let you understand concerning these
 “ matters, and concerning the poor state of men here.
 “ Who most earnestly and incessantly do cry unto GOD
 “ for the delivery of his church, to behold the causes of
 “ the afflicted, and to hear the groans of hys imprisoned:
 “ Knowing that you, who in this state have more familiar
 “ access unto GOD, do not forget us.
 “ GOD comfort you, ayd you and assist you with his
 “ Spirit and grace, to continue his unto the end, to the
 “ glory of his name, the edification of his church, and
 “ the subversion of antichrist’s kyngdom. Amen.”

From *Frankford*,
 the 6th of *May*, 1555.

E. G.

Whilst *Grindal* remained in these parts, he took occasion to visit some places of eminency in *Germany*, as did the other exiles commonly. One of those places which he saw was *Spires*; where he was courteously entertained and harbored by one *Leach* a *Scotchman*: To whom he afterwards shewed himself a true friend in his necessity, by interposing seasonably for him to the secretary of state, when by false witness he was in very great danger in *Ireland*.

The other great work our painful countryman labored in this time of his exile, in conjunction with Mr. *Fox*, was the History of the Persecutions of the Church of *Christ*, and especially in the latter times of it. Many accounts of the acts and disputations, of the sufferings and ends of the godly men under *Q. Mary*, came from time to time to *Grindal’s* hands; who had a correspondence with several in *England* for that end and purpose; and as they came to his hand, he conveyed them to *Fox*. Nor did he only do this; but withal frequently gave *Fox* his thoughts concerning them, and his instructions and counsels about them; always shewing a most tender regard to truth; and suspending upon common reports and relations brought over, till more satisfactory evidence came from good hands. And because a complete account of all particulars of those that suffered in that sharp persecution, could not so soon be procured, he advised *Fox*, for the present, to print separately the acts of some particular men, of whom any sure and authentic relations came to hand: And that a larger and completer history of these martyrs should be printed together afterwards,

wards, when he should be supplied with fuller accounts of the whole persecutions. And, finally, that his history might be both in *Latin* and *English*, for the more general benefit.

In short, by what appears from *Grindal's* and *Fox's* own letters, he was an earnest assistant in compiling *Fox's* Martyrology; both by his continual counsel, and by supplying him with materials for it; much whereof he sent him drawn up, and methodized by his own pen in *English*; and *Fox's* work was chiefly to translate into *Latin*. And by his advice also, *Fox* published there at *Basil* many examinations and histories of the *English* bishops and divines at sundry times in single pieces, soon after their respective martyrdoms. And it was his advice to *Fox*, to digest them altogether in a more large volume; but thought not convenient, that he should make too much haste to put it forth, till he could make the relations of the persecution more full and complete, and might obtain more certainty of truth to depend upon.

We will only add of *Grindal*, with respect to *Fox's* work; that he also supplied him with collections of matters, that happened before these times, of which one was so remarkable, that by setting *Grindal's* name under it, he might acknowledge whence he had the relation. The passage is concerning the death of the pious Mr. *Stafford*, reader of divinity in *Cambridge*, about 1528, when religion first began to shew itself there. The story was this: There was one there of great fame for his skill in the black art (as it was called), and therefore was commonly called Sir *Henry Conjuror*. This man at last fell sick of the plague; out of compassion to whose soul at this time, that good man ventured his own life by resorting to him; and there so effectually argued with him of his former wicked life and practices, that he brought him to repentance, and caused all his books upon the subject of divination to be burnt before his face. Thus he endeavored to save that man's soul, though he lost his own life by it: For he got the infection, went home and died. To this story are subjoined these words, *Ex Testimonio D. Ridley & Edmundi Episc. Lond.* The meaning whereof I suppose was, that *Ridley* might have told this to his chaplain *Grindal*, and he to *Fox*.

Grindal, returning to *England* on the accession of *Q. Elizabeth*, was employed, among others, in drawing up the new liturgy to be presented to the queen's first parliament,

ment, and was also one of the eight Protestant divines chosen to hold a public dispute with the popish prelates about that time. His talent for preaching was likewise very serviceable, and he was generally appointed to that duty before the queen, privy council, &c. on all public occasions. At the same time, he was appointed one of the commissioners in the *North*, on the royal visitation for restoring the supremacy of the crown, and the Protestant faith and worship.

This visitation extended also to *Cambridge*, where Dr. *Young* being removed, for refusing the oath of supremacy, from the mastership of *Pembroke-Hall*, Mr. *Grindal* was chosen by the fellows to succeed him, in 1559. Particularly he was for having the church there under the government of a single person superior to the rest, and not several, all of equal dignity and power; and for this purpose, he wrote to *Scory*, afterwards bishop of *Hereford*, then an exile at *Emden*, to go to *Frankfort* and govern the *English* church there.

In *July* the same year, he was nominated to the bishopric of *London*, vacant by the deposition of Dr. *Bonner*. The juncture was very critical, and the fate of the church's revenues depended upon the event. An act of parliament had lately passed, by which her majesty was empowered to exchange the antient episcopal manors and lordships for tithes and impropriations. This was extremely regretted by these first bishops, who scrupled whether they should comply in a point so injurious to the revenue of their respective sees, which must suffer considerably by these exchanges; and which too would cut off all hope of restoring the tithes, so long unjustly detained from the respective churches, for the maintenance of the incumbents. In this important point, our new nominated bishop consulted *Peter Martyr*, in a letter dated in *August* this year, nor did he accept of the bishopric till he had received his opinion in favor of it from that divine, to whom he also communicated his scruples concerning the habit, and some customs then used in the church. But before he received his answer to the whole, he was consecrated, *December* the first; when the exchange of lands with the queen not being fully settled, he could not compound for his first fruits, and consequently he was hindered from exercising his episcopal function, and was obliged to have the queen's express authority for that purpose.

It

It may gratify some of our Readers to insert *Peter Martyr's* answer to *Grindal's* inquiry. We will therefore lay it before them out of *Strype*. ' That reverend man, in the beginning of *November*, gave his answer. And first, as for impropriations, he thought *Grindal* needed not to be so solicitous. For that it was a thing lay not in his power, whence or how it pleased the queen to provide wages and food for her bishops and the parish ministers. And then, as for going in a cap, whether round or square, and in a gown, in ordinary conversation, when they were not employed about holy things, his judgement was, that they should not wrangle more than need was about them; since superstition seemed not properly to be concerned herein. But in the next place, as for the habits to be used in the ministry of holy things, since they carried an appearance of the mass, and were merely remainders of popery, it was, he said, the learned *Bullinger*, the chief minister of *Zurick*, his opinion, that they were to be refrained from by *Grindal*; lest, by his example, a thing that was scandalous should be confirmed. But *Martyr* said, that though he was always against the use of such ornaments, yet he saw the present danger, lest they should be put from the office of preaching; and that perhaps some hope might be, that as altars and images were already taken away, so also those appearances of the mass might in time be taken away too; if he and others, who had taken upon them episcopacy, earnestly laboured therein. But notwithstanding, if it came not to so good effect; yet, should he decline the office, another might succeed in his place, who would not care to have those relicks rejected, but perhaps would rather defend, cherish and maintain them. He was therefore, he said, more backward to advise him rather to refuse the bishoprick, than to submit to the use of those vestures. But because he saw scandals of that kind were altogether by all means to be avoided, therefore he more easily had yielded to *Bullinger's* opinion aforesaid. But if altars and images had been continued and preserved, then he did freely, as he had wrote in other letters, judge, that *Grindal* ought by no means to minister.

' In general, he advised him to do nothing against his conscience; he acknowledged the questions which he sent him had difficulty in them; and therefore he excused himself that he had no sooner imparted his counsel, since it could not so easily be given. He added,

‘ that when he was at *Oxford*, though he were a canon, yet he would never wear the surplice in the choir: He knew his example was no just confirmation of *Grindal*. But that which moved him then, and still did the same, might perhaps have some force with *Grindal*, namely, that that was not to be done, which might confirm the practice of what his conscience did not approve.’

And again, in a subsequent letter, he says: ‘ Of the square cap, and the external episcopal habits, he thought there was no need much to dispute, when the wearing thereof was without superstition, and especially when it might have a civil reason in this kingdom.

‘ Of the garments which they termed holy, he confessed they somewhat stuck with him: So that he wondered they should be so stiffly retained; and he wished all things, in the service of GOD, might be done in the most simple manner. Yet he subjoined, that in case peace might be obtained between the *Saxon* and *Helvetian* churches, as to doctrine, this sort of garments should never make a separation: For though they should not approve of them, yet they would bear them. Therefore he allowed, that *Grindal* might use that attire, either when he preached, or administered the sacraments: Yet so, as to continue to speak and teach against the use of them. But he added, that he could never advise, that when he preached or administered the *Lord's* supper, he should have the image of the crucifix upon the table.

‘ *Grindal* also desired to know this great divine's judgement, as to the state's dealing with obnoxious Papists; and what he advised as to the inflicting punishment upon them, in respect of the many advantages that might be taken against them for their irregular and lawless doings in the last reign. Likewise whether he thought advisable, that popish priests should be continued in their places, or that such should be admitted to livings. But *Peter Martyr* piously counselled, that for peace sake matters past should be forgotten; remembering that punishments in the church have sometimes been intermitted, and sometimes a total pardon granted: And that Heretics have been received with the continuance of their former honours and degrees, they subscribing to sound religion. But he advised withal, that care should be taken, that for the time to come, nothing should be admitted which was contrary to the religion now entertained. And as for such as should hereafter be presented from patrons to the bishops for spiritual livings,

that they should not be by them instituted, unless they should subscribe to the religion established.'

The good bishop, now above all, thought it highly needful to provide ministers to supply the vacancies, and to furnish the church with men of learning, honesty and good religion, in the room of such priests, as had either voluntarily relinquished their places, or were put out. Therefore the bishop, soon after his own consecration, proceeded to the ordination of ministers; of whom he ordained considerable numbers; consisting in a great measure, as it seems, of such young persons, as had left the universities in the late reign, and studied abroad at *Zurich*, *Strasbourg*, and other places.

In all this ordination none were ordained that were under twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, but most were upward of thirty. Some of the deacons were no scholars, or of any university, but men of sober conversation, and that could read *English* well; who nevertheless, in this present necessity, were ordained, that they might be readers in the churches, to read the Common Prayers and Homilies.

March 3. Our bishop preached again at *Paul's Cross* in his habit, i. e. in his rochet and chimere; and so continued to wear them, as often as he preached. There was then a large audience; for the people were greedy to hear the gospel. And sermon being ended, a psalm was set, and sung by all the congregation (for now it became commonly practised in churches) with the organ.

In the year 1560, he was made one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, in pursuance of an act of parliament to inspect into the manners of the clergy, and regulate all matters of the church; and the same year he joined with *Cox*, bishop of *Ely*, and *Parker*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, in a private letter to the queen, persuading her to marry. In 1561, he held his primary visitation. In 1563, he assisted the archbishop of *Canterbury*, together with some civilians, in preparing a book of statutes for *Christ-church*, *Oxford*, which as yet had no fixed statutes. This year he was also very serviceable, in procuring the *English* merchants, who were ill used at *Antwerp*, and other parts of the *Spanish Netherlands*, who had been very kind to the exiles in the late reign, a new settlement at *Embsen* in *East Friesland*; and the same year, by the request of Sir *William Cecil*, secretary of state, he wrote animadversions upon a treatise entitled, *Christiani Hominis Norma*, &c. 'The Rule of a Christian man,' the author whereof, one

Justus Velsius, a Dutch enthusiast, had imprudently, in some letters to the queen, used some menaces to her majesty, and being at last cited before the ecclesiastical commission, was charged to depart the kingdom*.

Towards the latter end of the year, I find our bishop much concerned about two clergymen in *London*, the one a very good man, and the other a very bad one; earnest for the preferring of the one, and as desirous of opposing the other. This latter was one *Barton*, parson of *Abchurch*, who had been guilty of some gross misdemeanor, and of so foul a nature, that the bishop was resolved to punish him, either by deprivation, or a long suspension: But intercession was made by a friend of this *Barton's* to Sir *William Cecil* in his behalf, and he got a supplication presented into his hand by that friend, signifying to the said *Cecil*, that the bishop did not sufficiently understand his case. But the bishop let *Cecil* know that he understood it but too well, and that though the act was not finished, yet the circumstances he said were so vile, that severity must be used, or else GOD would be offended, and

* He was a learned man, but hot-headed, and enthusiastical, and held peculiar opinions, and had some followers and admirers. And being very forward to discover himself, he drew up a certain summary of his religion under this title, *Christiani Hominis Norma*, &c. that is, The Rule of a Christian Man, according to which every one ought to try himself. It was composed by way of question and answer. The first question was, What is a Christian? To which the answer he framed was, One who by participation and grace is rendered, and to be rendered, that which *Christ* was, and is, of himself, and by nature. The next demand being, What *Christ* was and is of himself, and by nature? it is answered, God in man, and afterwards Man-God. He writ also in this *Norma*, That while the Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us, he brought down God from heaven to us, joined and united him to our passible nature. And that by his glorious resurrection the flesh was made the Word, and dwelt in God, and lifted up man to God. He spake of a double regeneration, one of the internal man, and the other of the external. And that the one made Christians God in man in this world; and the other made them men-gods in the world to come: And divers other such kind of odd and blasphemous expressions did his writing contain. And in the conclusion, he affirmed, That he knew no other rule for a Christian man but this: And that he, and all that would not deceive themselves, were to examine and try themselves by it. And that because out of true affection and charity he endeavoured to bring men to this rule, he was served as the psalmist speaks of himself, *They requited him evil for good, and hatred for his love*. But his beloved in *Christ* (some particular persons of his own sect and party) he diligently warned and exhorted, that they never put away this rule from the eyes of their minds, but to try and direct their whole life by it: For so alone they could be saved. And to this he subscribed his name. STRYPE.

and the mouths of the adversaries opened. This was in *July*; and in *December* following, *Cecil* seems to have mentioned *Barton's* case to the bishop with favor: But his fault was such, that he could obtain no favor at his hands; telling the secretary that *Barton* was *dedecus nostri ordinis*, i. e. the disgrace of the order, and slanderous to all good men, that knew his vile doings. And to *Lock*, his friend that stirred for him, he said, that he being of the secretary esteemed an honest man, should not have been so importunate for a man not honest.

His crime in truth was foul, as I find elsewhere: For this man having solicited a certain woman to have his pleasure of her, and tempting her with money, she pretended at length to comply with his suit, and a place in *Disstaff-Lane* was appointed, where they both met. But she had made her friends privy to it, who according to appointment stood in a secret place at hand: And when the unclean leacher had made himself unready, put off his gown and jacket, his hose being about his legs, they brake in on a sudden upon him in this shameful posture; took him and carried him away to *Bridewell*, with an hundred people at his heels. And which aggravated the rest, he was a preacher, and had a wife: But because the act was not done, he found it seems some friends, who had interest enough with the secretary himself, to prevail with him to intercede for some favor to be shewed to this scandalous man. But the circumstances being so heinous, and the crime so open, and reflecting upon the whole body of the clergy, the bishop would not be persuaded to remit any thing of the severest censure.

Old *Miles Coverdale*, D. D. formerly bishop of *Exon*, and an exile, famous for translating the bible into *English* in the reign of *K. Henry VIII.* and other good services to religion, had been hitherto without any place or preferment, living privately in and about *London*, and often preaching in the churches there. For this very reverend man, that had so well deserved of religion, our bishop had a great concern: And it troubled him much to see such an one, as it were, cast by, without that notice taken of him that was due: And once cried out about it, "I cannot excuse us bishops;" but somewhat, he said, he had to speak for himself, that he had offered him several things, which nevertheless he thought not meet for him to accept of. This man, notwithstanding his great years, had gotten the plague this year, and recovered; as though *GOD* had some more work for him to do in the church before his

his death. *Grindal* acquaints the secretary herewith: Telling him, that surely it was not well, that Father *Coverdale*, as he stiled him, *qui ante nos omnes fuit in Christo*; i. e. who was in *Christ* before us all, should be now in his age without stay of living. And therefore *Landaff* being void, he recommended him to the secretary for that see, if any competency of living might be made of it, after it had been so spoiled and stripped by the last incumbent: Putting him in mind here, that it would be well, if any means might be found, that things wickedly alienated from that see might be restored. But I suppose *Coverdale* cared not now to enter upon the charge of a bishopric, considering his own age, and his want of strength and activity, required to execute such an office. But in fine, in the month of *February*, our bishop collated *Coverdale* to the parish of *Saint Magnus*, at the *Bridge-foot*; and withal, sued to the secretary to obtain the favor of the queen to release him his first fruits, which came to sixty pounds and upwards. And the venerable man pleaded himself for this favor to be shewn him, for these reasons; viz. that he had been destitute ever since his bishopric had been taken away from him; (which was upon the death of *K. Edward*) and that he never had pension, annuity or stipend of it for ten years now past. And that he was unable either to pay the first fruits, or long to enjoy the same living: Not able to live over a year, and going upon his grave. And lastly, adding these words; 'That if poor old *Miles* might be thus provided for, he should think this enough to be as good as a feast.' And he enjoyed his request.

April 15, 1564, *Grindal* took the degree of D. D. at *Cambridge*, and the same year executed the queen's express command for exacting uniformity in the clergy; but proceeded so tenderly and slowly, that the archbishop thought fit to excite and quicken him; whence the Puritans thought him inclined to their party. However, he brought several nonconformists to comply, to which end he published a letter of *Henry Bullinger*, minister of *Zurick* in *Switzerland*, to prove the lawfulness thereof, which had a very great effect. The same year, *October* 3, on the celebration of the emperor *Ferdinand's* funeral, he preached the sermon at *St. Paul's*, which was afterwards printed. This sermon is very scarce, and there being only one other besides it ever printed on these occasions, Mr. *Strype* has given extracts from the most material passages of it.

Bishop *Grindal* was not wanting in his endeavors to bring over the dissenters to be satisfied with what was enjoined.

joined. And among other means in order to this end, he published, as was observed before, an excellent Christian letter of *Henry Bullinger*, sent to him and *Horn*, bishop of *Winton*, and *Parkhurst* of *Norwich*, concerning the lawfulness of wearing the habits; but drawn up for the satisfaction of *Sampson* and *Humfrey*, two *Oxford* divines, of great note there; the one dean of *Christ-church*, and the other president of *St. Magdalen's-college*. The letter was written with such a clearness of reason, such evidence from scripture, and in such a fatherly, compassionate style, that it had a very good effect upon many that before were ready to leave their ministry; but having read it, were satisfied. *Theodore Beza*, late assistant to *Calvin*, and now the chief minister of *Geneva*, made a present this year to bishop *Grindal*, of his Annotations upon the New Testament. And the same reverend father soon after sent him a letter, thanking him for the book, and withal, a gratification. What it was, I cannot tell; perhaps it was the bishop's picture, or his ring: But *Beza* called it, *Longè maximum gratissimumq; tui munusculum*, i. e. a very great, and most acceptable remembrance of himself, which he would keep for his sake. The bishop in his letter had much commended his Annotations, as accurate and learned; but *Beza* modestly declined the praise, and added, that then they might seem such as the bishop had characterized them, when they should be critically corrected by him, and such other learned men as he.

In the year 1567, our bishop had much trouble with the *Puritans*, some of whom (it must be owned) did not behave with much decency to him or to the supreme power. Many of them were doubtless good men, and, having been abroad at *Geneva*, *Straßburg*, and other places during *Q. Mary's* persecution, wished to see the Reformation proceed entirely upon the plan of *Calvin*, and the other foreign Reformers. They objected particularly to the clerical habits, and other indifferent matters, upon which they did not express themselves with common patience; and so to avoid what they thought idolatry, some of them approached perhaps too nearly to downright bigotry, for which *Beza*, *Bullinger*, and *Zanchius*, in their letters to *Grindal*, absolutely condemned them. They censured their furious attachment to these external matters, and separation upon account of them, when the Reformation required unity; even though themselves had no sort of partiality to the things in question.

These

These great and good men saw, that such affairs have very little to do with the essence of religion, and that, if men had indeed the grace of GOD, their souls would soar above such stupid, such nugatory contentions. Articles of faith make another matter in which Christians are to yield only to GOD; but there was no dispute (as we can find) of any moment here; the Reformed churches, at *that time*, nearly agreeing in the *substance* of religion.

In the mean time, *Grindal* was threatened, on the other hand, with a premunire by some of the clergy for raising a contribution upon them the preceding year for the persecuted Protestants abroad, without the queen's licence. But this did not discourage him, and having procured a commission from her majesty to visit the *Savoy*, the hospital appointed for the relief and entertainment of poor travellers, he deprived the master, who had almost ruined the charity by his abuses and mismanagement.

This was the last piece of service he did for his diocese, being translated *May* 1st the following year, 1570, to the see of *York*. He owed this promotion to secretary *Cecil* and archbishop *Parker*, who liked his removal from *London*, as not being resolute enough for the government there. Soon after his accession to this new province, he commenced a law-suit for a house belonging to it at *Battersea* in *Surry*, which he recovered, together with eighty acres of demesne land. The same year he wrote a letter to his patron *Cecil*, that *Cartwright*, the famous Nonconformist, might be silenced; and in 1571, at his metropolitanical visitation, the subsequent year, he shewed a hearty zeal, by his injunctions, for the discipline and strict government of the church. In 1572, he petitioned the queen to renew the ecclesiastical commission. In 1574, he held one for the purpose of proceeding against Papists, whose number daily diminished in his diocese, which he was particularly careful to provide with learned preachers, as being, in his opinion, the best method of attaining that end.

He rejected therefore such as came for institution to livings, if they were found deficient in learning, of which we have a remarkable instance in the case of one *William Ireland*, who came with a presentation to the rectory of *Harthill*, in which the archbishop's chaplain observing the words, *vestri humiles & obedientes*, required him to translate them; he did so, by expounding them, 'your humbleness and obedience.' He was then asked, who brought

brought the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; he answered, *K. Saul*: And to the question who was first circumcised, he could say nothing. Whereupon the archbishop rejected him, and procured the benefice for another person. In this policy the archbishop was encouraged by the queen, to whom it was entirely agreeable. But his intercession, the preceding year, for the clergy, does not seem to have been so well relished at court.

The gentlemen pensioners, having, it seems, obtained a grant of the penalties incurred by the clergy for concealing of lands, &c. given to superstitious uses, employed such deputies for the purpose as, according to our archbishop's complaint, practised great extortions; however his patron *Cecil*, then lord treasurer, intimated to him, that the affair was of too interesting a nature to meddle in.

This did not hinder the same patron from recommending him to the first chair in the church, when it became vacant by the death of *Dr. Matthew Parker*, whom our Author succeeded at *Canterbury*; in which see he was confirmed archbishop, on *February 15, 1573*: And a convocation of that province was held under him the same year. *May 6, 1576*, he began his metropolitical visitation, and took measures for the better regulation of his courts; but the same year he fell under her majesty's displeasure, by reason of the favor he shewed to what was called the 'Exercise of Prophecying.'

As this was the most remarkable incident in our Author's life, we shall give the following account of the matter. These prophecyings had been used for some time, the rules of which were, that the ministers of a particular division at a set time met together in some church of a market, or other large, town, and there each in their order explained, according to their abilities, some portion of Scripture allotted to them before: This done, a moderator made his observations on what had been said, and determined the true sense of the place, a certain space of time being fixed for dispatching the whole. The advantage was the improvement of the clergy, who hereby considerably profited themselves in the knowledge of the Scripture; but this mischief ensued, that at length there happened confusions and disturbances at those meetings, by an ostentation of superior parts in some, by advancing heterodox opinions, and by the intrusion of some of the silenced Separatists, who took this opportunity of declaiming against liturgy and hierarchy, and hence even

speaking against states and particular persons; the people also, of whom also there was always a great conflux, as hearers, fell to arguing and disputing themselves much about religion, and sometimes a lay-man would take upon himself to speak. In short, the exercises degenerated into factions, divisions and censurings.

Our Author labored to redress these irregularities by setting down rules and orders for the more useful management of these exercises. However, the queen still disapproved of them, as seeing probably how very apt they were to be abused. She did not like, that the laity should neglect their secular affairs by repairing to those meetings, which she thought might fill their heads with notions, and so occasion dissensions and disputes, and perhaps seditions in the state. And the archbishop being at court, she particularly declared herself offended at the number of preachers as well as the exercises, and ordered him to redress both, urging, that it was good for the church to have few preachers, that three or four might suffice for a county, and that the reading of the *Homilies* to the people was sufficient. She therefore required him to abridge the number of preachers, and put down the religious exercises. This did not a little afflict the archbishop. He thought the queen made some infringement upon his office, to whom the highest trust of the church of *England* next to herself was committed, especially as this command was peremptory and made without at all advising with him, and that in a matter so directly regarding religion: He wrote a letter to her majesty, declaring, that his conscience, for the reasons therein mentioned, would not suffer him to comply with her commands*.

This

* There is such a compound of faithfulness and meekness, of firm obedience to the will of GOD, and of humble deference to the commands of his prince, in this letter of *Grindal* to *Q. Elizabeth*; that we believe our Readers will be glad of the perusal.

“ To her MAJESTY, Decemb. 20, 1576.”

“ WITH most humble remembrance of my bounden duty to your majesty; That may please the same to be advertised, that the speeches which it hath pleased you to deliver unto me, when I last attended on your highness, concerning the abridging the number of preachers, and the utter suppression of all learned exercises and conferences among the ministers of the church, allowed by their bishops and ordinaries, have exceedingly dismayed and discomforted me. Not so much for that the said speeches sounded very hardly against mine own person, being but one particular man, and not much to be accounted of; but most of all
for

This refusal was dated *December 20, 1576.* The queen therefore having given him sufficient time to consider well his

for that the same might both tend to the publick harm of GOD's church, whereof your highness ought to be *Nutricia*, and also to the heavy burdening of your own conscience before GOD, if they should be put in strict execution. It was not your majesty's pleasure then, the time not serving thereto, to hear me at any length concerning the said two matters there propounded; I thought it therefore my duty, by writing, to declare some part of my mind unto your highness; beseeching the same, with patience, to read over this that I now send written with mine own rude scribbling hand; which seemeth to be of more length than it is indeed: For I say with *Ambrose*, *Scribo manu mea, quod sola legas*; i. e. I write with mine own hand, that you alone may read it."

"MADAME,

"First of all, I must and will, during my life, confess, that there is no earthly creature to whom I am so much bounden as to your majesty; who, notwithstanding mine insufficiency (which commendeth your grace the more) hath bestowed upon me so many and so great benefits as I could never hope for, much less deserve. I do therefore, according to my most bounden duty with all thanksgiving, bear towards your majesty a most humble, faithful, and thankful heart; and that knoweth He which knoweth all things. Neither do I ever intend to offend your majesty in any thing, unless, in the cause of GOD, or of his church, by necessity of office, and burden of conscience, I shall thereunto be enforced. And in those cases (which I trust in GOD shall never be urged upon me) if I should use dissembling or flattering silence, I should very evil requite your majesty's so many and so great benefits. For in so doing, both you might fall into peril towards GOD, and I myself into endless damnation.

"The prophet *Ezekiel* termeth us, ministers of the church, *speculatores*, i. e. watchmen; and not *adulatores*, i. e. flatterers. If we see the sword coming by reason of any offence towards GOD, we must of necessity give warning, or else the blood of those that perish will be required at our hands. I beseech your majesty thus to think of me, that I do not conceive any evil opinion of you, although I cannot assent to those two articles then propounded. I do, with the rest of all your good subjects, acknowledge, that we have received by your government many and most excellent benefits; as among others, freedom of conscience, suppressing of idolatry, sincere preaching of the gospel, with publick peace and tranquillity. I am also persuaded, that even in these matters, which you seem now to urge, your zeal and meaning is to the best. The like hath happened to many of the best princes that ever were; yet have they not refused afterwards to be better informed out of GOD's word. King *David*, so much commended in the scriptures, had no evil meaning, when he commanded the people to be numbered. He thought it good policy in so doing, to understand what forces he had in store to employ against GOD's enemies, if occasion so required. Yet afterward, (saith the scripture) his own heart stroke him; and GOD, by the prophet *Gad*, reprehended him for his offence, and gave him for the same choice of three very hard penances, that is to say, famine, war, and pestilence. Good *K. Ezechias*, of curtesie and good affection, shewed to the ambassa-

his resolution, and as he continued unalterable therein, he sent letters next year to the respective bishops to forbid

dors of the king of *Babylon*, the treasures of the house of *G O D*, and of his own house; and yet the prophet *Esay* told him, that *G O D* was therewith displeased. The godly *K. Jehosaphat*, for making league with his neighbour *K. Achab*, (of the like good meaning, no doubt) was likewise reprehended by *Jehu* the prophet, in this form of words, *Impio præbes auxilium, & his qui oderunt Dominum amicitia jungeris, &c.* *Ambrose* writing to *Theodosius* the emperor, useth these words, *Novi Pietatem tuam erga Deum, Lenitatem in Homines; obligatus sum beneficiis tuis, &c.* and yet for all that, the same *Ambrose* doth not forbear, in the same epistle, earnestly to persuade the said emperor to revoke an ungodly edict, wherein he had commanded a godly bishop to re-edify a *Jewish* synagogue pulled down by the Christian people.

"And so to come to the present case; I may very well use unto your highness the words of *Ambrose* above-written, *Novi Pietatem tuam, &c. i. e.* I know your piety Godward, and your gentleness towards men: I am bounden to you for your benefits, &c. But surely I cannot marvel enough, how this strange opinion should once enter into your mind, that it should be good for the church to have few preachers.

"Alas! Madam, Is the scripture more plain in any one thing, than that the Gospel of *Christ* should be plentifully preached; and that plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lord's harvest; which being great and large, standeth in need not of a few, but many workmen?

"There was appointed to the building of *Solomon's* material temple, an hundred and fifty thousand artificers and labourers, besides three thousand three hundred overseers: And shall we think that a few preachers may suffice to build and edify the spiritual temple of *Christ*, which is his church?

"*Christ*, when he sendeth forth his apostles, saith unto them, *Ite, prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ; i. e.* Go ye, preach the Gospel to every creature. But all *G O D's* creatures cannot be instructed in the Gospel, unless all possible means be used, to have multitude of preachers and teachers, to preach unto them.

"*Sermo Christi inhabitet in vobis opulente, i. e.* Let the word of *Christ* dwell among you richly, saith *St. Paul* to the *Colossians*; and to *Timothy*, *Prædica sermonem, inseasonem, inseasonem, argue, increpa, exhortare, i. e.* Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort; which things cannot be done without often and much preaching.

"To this agreeth the practice of *Christ's* apostles, *Qui constituebant per singulas Ecclesias Presbyteros, i. e.* Who appointed elders in every church. *St. Paul* likewise writing to *Titus*, writeth thus, *Hujus rei gratia reliqui te in Creta, ut quæ desunt pergas corrigere, & constituas oppidatim Presbyteros; i. e.* For this cause I left thee in *Crete*, that thou mayest go on to make up what is wanting, and appoint elders throughout every town. And afterwards describeth how the said Presbytery, *i. e.* elders, were to be qualified; not such as we are compelled to admit by mere necessity, (unless we should leave a great number of churches utterly desolate) but such indeed as were able to exhort *per sanam Doctrinam; & contradicentes convincere, i. e.* by sound doctrine to convince gainsayers. And in this place I beseech your majesty

bid all exercises and prophesyings, and all preachers and teachers not lawfully called, of which there was no small number;

jeſty to note one thing neceſſary to be noted; which is this: If the Holy Ghoſt preſcribe expreſly that preachers ſhould be placed *Oppidatim*, i. e. in every town or city, how can it well be thought that three or four preachers may ſuffice for a ſhire?

“Public and continual preaching of GOD’s word, is the ordinary mean and instrument of the ſalvation of mankind. St. *Paul* calleth it the *ministry of reconciliation* of man unto GOD. By preaching of GOD’s word, the glory of GOD is enlarged, faith is nourished, and charity is increaſed. By it the ignorant is inſtructed, the negligent exhorted and incited, the ſtubborn rebuked, the weak conſcience comforted, and to all thoſe that ſin of malicious wickedneſs, the wrath of GOD is threatened. By preaching, alſo, due obedience to Chriſtian princes and magiſtrates is planted in the hearts of ſubjects. For obedience proceedeth of conſcience; conſcience is grounded upon the word of GOD; the word GOD worketh his effect by preaching. So as generally where preaching wanteth, obedience faileth.

“No prince ever had more lively experience hereof than your majeſty hath had in your time, and may have daily. If your majeſty come to the city of *London* never ſo often, what gratulation, what joy, what concurrence of people is there to be ſeen? Yea, what acclamations and prayers to GOD for your long life, and other maniſeſt ſignifications of inward and unfained love, joined with moſt humble and hearty obedience, are there to be heard? Whereof cometh this, madam, but of the continual preaching of GOD’s word in that city? Whereby, that people hath been plentifully inſtructed in their duty towards GOD and your majeſty? On the contrary, What bred the rebellion in the North? Was it not papiſtry and ignorance of GOD’s word, through want of often preaching? And in the time of that rebellion, were not all men of all ſtates that made profeſſion of the goſpel, moſt ready to offer their lives for your defence? Inſomuch, that one poor pariſh in *Yorkſhire*, which by continual preaching had been better inſtructed than the reſt, (*Halifax* I mean) was ready to bring three or four thouſand able men into the field to ſerve you againſt the ſaid rebels. How can your majeſty have a more lively trial and experience of the contrary effects of much preaching, and of little or no preaching? The one working moſt faithful obedience, and the other moſt unnatural diſobedience and rebellion.

“But it is thought of ſome, that many are admitted to preach, and few be able to do it well. That unable preachers be removed is very requiſite, if ability and ſufficiency may be rightly weighed and judged: And therein I truſt as much is, and ſhall be done, as can be. For both I, for mine own part, (let it be ſpoken without any oſtentation) am very careful in allowing ſuch preachers only, as be able and ſufficient to be preachers, both for their knowledge in the ſcriptures, and alſo for teſtimony of their good life and converſation. And beſides that, I have given very great charge to the reſt of my brethren, the biſhops of this province, to do the like. We admit no man to the office, that either profeſſeth papiſtry or puritanism. Generally the graduates of the univerſity are only admitted to be preachers, unleſs it be ſome few which have excellent gifts of knowledge in the ſcriptures, joined with good utterance, and godly perſuaſion. I myſelf procured

above

number; and in *June*, the archbishop was sequestered from his office, and confined to his house by an order of the

above forty learned preachers and graduates within less than six years to be placed within the diocese of *York*, besides those I found there; and there I have left them. The fruits of whose travel in preaching, your majesty is like to reap daily, by most assured, dutiful obedience of your subjects in those parts.

“ But indeed this age judgeth very hardly, and nothing indifferently of the ability of preachers of our time; judging few or none in their opinion to be able. Which hard judgement groweth upon divers evil dispositions of men. *St. Paul* doth commend the preaching of *Christ* crucified, *absq; eminentia Sermonis*; i. e. without excellency of speech. But in our time, many have so delicate ears, that no preaching can satisfy them, unless it be sauced with much finess and exornation of speech: Which the same apostle utterly condemneth, and giveth this reason, *Nè evacuetur Crux Christi*; i. e. lest the cross of *Christ* be made of none effect.

“ Some there be also that are mislikers of the godly Reformation in religion now established; wishing indeed that there were no preachers at all; and so by depraving the ministers impugn religion, *Non aperto Marte, sed Cuniculis*; i. e. not by open opposition, but by secret undermining. Much like to the popish bishops in your father's time, who would have had the *English* translation of the bible called in, as evil translated: And the new translating thereof to have been committed to themselves; which they never intended to perform.

“ A number there is, (and that is exceeding great) whereof some are altogether worldly minded, and only bent covetously to gather worldly goods and possessions; serving mammon and not GOD. And another great sum have given over themselves to all carnal, vain, dissolute, and lascivious life, *Voluptatis amatores, magis quam Dei*; i. e. lovers of pleasure rather than GOD: *Et qui semetipsos dediderunt ad patrandum omnem Immunditiam cum aviditate*; i. e. and who have given over themselves to commit all uncleanness with greediness: And because the preaching of GOD's word, which to all Christian consciences is sweet and delectable, is to them, (having *Cauteriatas Conscientias*; i. e. consciences seared) bitter and grievous. For as *St. Ambrose* saith, *Quomodo possunt Verba Dei dulcia esse in faucibus tuis, in quibus est Amaritudo Nequitie*; i. e. how can the word of GOD be sweet in his mouth, in which is the bitterness of sin? Therefore they wish also, that there were no preachers at all. But because they dare not directly condemn the office of preaching, so expressly commanded by GOD's word, (for that were open blasphemy) they turn themselves altogether; and with the same meaning as the other do, to take exceptions against the persons of them that be admitted to preach.

“ But God forbid, madam, that you should open your ears to any of these wicked persuasions; or any way go about to diminish the preaching of *Christ*'s gospel: For that would ruin altogether at the length. *Quum defecerit Prophetia, dissipabitur Populus*; i. e. when prophesy shall fail, the people shall perish, saith *Solomon*.

“ Now where it is thought, that the reading of the godly homilies, set forth by public authority, may suffice, I continue of the same mind I was, when I attended last upon your majesty. The reading of the homilies hath his commodity; but is nothing comparable to the office

of

the court of star-chamber; in the latter end of *November*, his friend the lord treasurer wrote to him about making his

of preaching. The godly preacher is termed in the gospel, *Fidelis Servus & prudens, qui novit Famulatio Domini Cibum demensum dare in tempore*: i. e. a faithful servant, who knoweth how to give his Lord's family their apportioned food in season. Who can apply his speech according to the diversity of times, places, and hearers; which cannot be done in homilies: Exhortations, reprehensions, and persuasions are uttered with more affection, to the moving of the hearers, in sermons than in homilies. Besides, homilies were devised by the godly bishops in your brother's time, only to supply necessity, for want of preachers; and are by the statute not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons, whensoever they may be had; and were never thought in themselves alone to contain sufficient instruction for the church of *England*. For it was then found, as it is found now, that this church of *England* hath been by appropriations, and that not without sacrilege, spoiled of the livings, which at the first were appointed to the office of preaching and teaching. Which appropriations were first annexed to abbeys; and after came to the crown; and now are dispersed to private men's possessions, without hope to reduce the same to the original institution. So as at this day, in mine opinion, where one church is able to yield sufficient living for a learned preacher, there are at the least seven churches unable to do the same: And in many parishes of your realm, where there be seven or eight hundred souls, (the more is the pity) there are not eight pounds a year reserved for a minister. In such parishes, it is not possible to place able preachers, for want of convenient stipend. If every flock might have a preaching pastor, which is rather to be wished than hoped for, then were reading of homilies altogether unnecessary. But to supply that want of preaching of GOD's word, which is the food of the soul, growing upon the necessities afore-mentioned, both in your brother's time, and in your time, certain godly homilies have been devised, that the people should not be altogether destitute of instruction: For it is an old and true proverb, 'Better half a loaf than no bread.'

"Now for the second point, which is concerning the learned exercise and conference amongst the ministers of the church; I have consulted with divers of my brethren, the bishops, by letters; who think the same as I do, *viz.* a thing profitable to the church, and therefore expedient to be continued. And I trust your majesty will think the like, when your highness shall be informed of the manner and order thereof; what *authority* it hath of the scriptures; what *commodity* it bringeth with it; and what *incommodities* will follow, if it be clear taken away.

"The *authors* of this exercise, are the bishops of the dioceses where the same is used; who both by the law of GOD, and by the canons and constitutions of the church now in force, have authority to appoint exercises to their inferior ministers, for increase of learning and knowledge in the scriptures, as to them seemeth most expedient. For that pertaineth *ad disciplinam clericalem*; i. e. to the discipline of ministers. The times appointed for the assembly is once a month, or once in twelve or fifteen days, at the discretion of the ordinary. The time of the exercise is two hours. The place, the church of the town appointed for the assembly. The matter intreated of, is as followeth.

his submission, which he not thinking fit to comply with, his sequestration was continued, and in *January* following,

Some text of scripture, before appointed to be spoken of, is interpreted in this order: First, The occasion of the place is shewed. Secondly, The end. Thirdly, The proper sense of the place. Fourthly, The propriety of the words: And those that be learned in the tongues, shewing the diversities of interpretations. Fifthly, Where the like phrases are used in the scriptures. Sixthly, Places in the scriptures seeming to repunge, are reconciled. Seventhly, The arguments of the text are opened. Eighthly, It is also declared, what virtues and what vices are there touched; and to which of the commandments they pertain. Ninthly, How the text had been written by the adversaries, if occasion so require. Tenthly, and last of all, What doctrine of faith or manners the text doth contain. The conclusion is, with the prayer for your majesty and all estates, as is appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and a psalm.

“ These orders following, are also observed in the said exercise: First, Two or three of the gravest and best learned pastors are appointed of the bishop, to moderate in every assembly. No man may speak unless he be first allowed by the bishop, with this *proviso*, That no lay-man be suffered to speak at any time. No controversy of this present time and state shall be moved or dealt withal: If any attempt the contrary, he is put to silence by the moderator. None is suffered to glance openly or covertly at persons public or private; neither yet any one to confute another. If any man utter a wrong sense of the scripture, he is privately admonished thereof, and better instructed by the moderators, and other his fellow-ministers. If any man use immodest speech, or irreverend gesture or behaviour, or otherwise be suspected in life, he is likewise admonished, as before. If any wilfully do break these orders, he is presented to the bishop, to be by him corrected.

“ The ground of this, or like exercise, is of great and antient authority. For *Samuel* did practise such like exercises in his time, both at *Naioth* in *Ramatha*, and at *Bethel*: So did *Elizaeus* at *Jericbo*. Which studious persons in those days were called *fili prophetarum*, i. e. the sons of the prophets: That is to say, the disciples of the prophets, that being exercised in the study and knowledge of the scriptures, they might be able men to serve in GOD’s church, as that time required. St. *Paul* also doth make express mention, that the like in effect was used in the primitive church; and giveth rules for the order of the same. As namely, that two or three should speak, and the rest should keep silence.

“ That exercise of the church in those days, St. *Paul* calleth *prophetiam*, i. e. prophecy; and the speakers *prophetas*, i. e. prophets: Terms very odious in our days to some, because they are not rightly understood. For indeed *prophetia* in that, and like places of St. *Paul*, doth not, as it doth sometimes, signify prediction of things to come. Which gift is not now ordinary in the church of GOD, but signifieth there, by the consent of the best antient writers, the interpretation and exposition of the scriptures. And therefore doth St. *Paul* attribute unto those that be called *prophetae* in that chapter; *doctrinam, ad edificationem, exhortationem, & consolationem*, i. e. doctrine, to edification, exhortation and comfort.

“ This

ing, there were thoughts of depriving him, but that design was laid aside. In June, 1579, his confinement was either

" This gift of expounding and interpreting the scriptures, was in St. Paul's time given to many by special miracle, without study: So was also, by like miracle, the gift to speak with strange tongues, which they had never learned. But now, miracles ceasing, men must attain to the knowledge of the *Hebrew, Greek and Latin* tongues, &c. by travel and study, GOD giving the increase. So must men also attain, by like means, to the gift of expounding and interpreting the scriptures. And amongst other helps, nothing is so necessary as these above-named exercises and conferences amongst the ministers of the church: Which in effect are all one with the exercises of students in divinity in the universities, saving, that the first is done in a tongue understood, to the more edifying of the unlearned hearers.

" Howsoever report hath been made to your majesty concerning these exercises, yet I and others of your bishops, whose names are noted in the margin hereof, as they have testified unto me by their letters, having found by experience, that these profits and commodities following have ensued of them: First, The ministers of the church are more skilful and ready in the scriptures, and apter to teach their flocks. Secondly, It withdraweth them from idleness, wandering, gaming, &c. Thirdly, Some, afore suspected in doctrine, are brought hereby to open confession of the truth. Fourthly, Ignorant ministers are driven to studie, if not for conscience, yet for shame and fear of discipline. Fifthly, The opinion of lay-men, touching the idleness of the clergy, is hereby removed. Sixthly, Nothing by experience beateth down popery more than that ministers (as some of my brethren do certifie) grow to such a good knowledge, by means of these exercises, that where afore were not three able preachers, now are thirty, meet to preach at St. Paul's Cross; and forty or fifty besides, able to instruct their own cures. So as it is found by experience the best means to encrease knowledg in the simple, and to continue it in the learned. Only backward men in religion, and contemners of learning in the countries abroad, do fret against it: Which in truth doth the more commend it. The dissolution of it would breed triumph to the adversaries, and great sorrow and grief unto the favourers of religion. Contrary to the counsel of *Ezekiel*, who saith, *Cor justī non est contristandum*, i. e. the heart of the righteous must not be made sad. And although some few have abused this good and necessary exercise, there is no reason that the malice of a few should prejudice all.

" Abuses may be reformed, and that which is good may remain. Neither is there any just cause of offence to be taken, yf divers men make divers senses of one sentence of scripture; so that all the senses be good and agreeable to the analogie and proportion of faith: For otherwise we must needs condemn all the antient fathers and doctors of the church, who most commonly expound one and the same text of scripture diversely; and yet all to the good of the church. Therefore doth St. Basil compare the scripture to a well; out of which, the more a man draweth, the better and sweeter is the water.

" I trust, when your majesty hath considered, and well weighed the premises, you will rest satisfied, and judge that no such inconveniences can grow of these exercises, as you have been informed, but rather the clean contrary. And for my own part, because I am very

either taken off, or else he had leave for his health to retire to his house at *Croydon*, for we find him there consecrating

well assured, both by reasons and arguments taken out of the holy scriptures, and by experience, (the most certain seal of sure knowledge) that the said exercises, for the interpretation and exposition of the scriptures, and for exhortation and comfort drawn out of the same, are both profitable to encrease knowledge among the ministers, and tendeth to the edifying of the hearers; I am forced, with all humility, and yet plainly, to profess, that I cannot with safe conscience, and without the offence of the majesty of GOD, give my assent to the suppressing of the said exercises: Much less can I send out any injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say with St. Paul, *I have no power to destroy, but only to edify*; and with the same apostle, *I can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth*.

"If it be your majesty's pleasure for this, or any other cause, to remove me out of this place, I will, with all humility, yield thereunto, and render again to your majesty that I received of the same. I consider with myself, *quod horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis*; i. e. that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living GOD. I consider also, *quod qui facit contra conscientiam (divinitus juribus nixam) edificat ad gehennam*; i. e. that he who acts against his conscience (relying upon the laws of GOD) edifices to hell. And what should I win, if I gayned (I will not say a bishopric, but) the whole world, and lose mine own soul?

"Bear with me, I beseech you, madam, if I chuse rather to offend your earthly majesty, than to offend the heavenly majesty of GOD. And now being sorry, that I have been so long and tedious to your majesty, I will draw to an end, most humbly praying the same, well to consider these two short petitions following.

"The first is, that you would refer all these ecclesiastical matters which touch religion, or the doctrine and discipline of the church, unto the bishops and divines of your realm; according to the example of all godly Christian emperors and princes of all ages. For indeed they are things to be judged (as an ancient father writeth) *in ecclesia, seu synodo, non in palatio*, i. e. in the church, or a synod, not in a palace. When your majesty hath questions of the laws of your realm, you do not decide the same in your court, but send them to your judges, to be determined. Likewise for doubts in matters of doctrine or discipline of the church, the ordinary way is to refer the decision of the same to the bishops, and other head ministers of the church.

"Ambrose to Theodosius useth these words, *Si de causis pecuniariis comites tuos consulis, quanto magis in causa religionis sacerdotes Domini, æquum est consulas*; i. e. if in matters of money you consult with your earls, how much more is it fit, you consult with the Lord's priests in the cause of religion? And likewise the same father to the good emperor Valentinianus, *Si de fide conferendum est, sacerdotum debet esse ista collatio*; sicut factum est sub Constantino augustæ memoriæ principe: *Qui nullas leges antè præmisi, quàm liberum dedit judicium sacerdotibus*; i. e. if we confer about faith, the conference ought to be left to the priests; as it was done under Constantine, a prince of most honourable memory; who set forth no laws, before he had left them to the free judgement of the priests. And in the same place, the same father saith, that Constantius the emperor, son to the said Constantine the

"Great,

erating the bishop of *Exeter* in that year, and the bishops of *Winchester*, and *Litchfield* and *Coventry* the year following.

Great, began well, by reason he followed his father's steps at the first; but ended ill, because he took upon him, *de fide intra palatium judicare*; i. e. to judge of faith within the palace, (for so be the words of *Ambrose*) and thereby fell into Arianism; a terrible example.

"The said *Ambrose*, so much commended in all histories for a godly bushop, goeth yet farther, and writeth to the same emperor in this form, *Si docendus est episcopus à laico, quid sequatur? laicus, ergò disputet, & episcopus audiat; episcopus discat à laico*. At certè, si vel scripturarum seriem discernarum, vel vetera tempora retrahemus, quis est qui abnuat, in causa fidei, in causa, inquam, fidei, episcopos solere de imperatoribus Christianis, non imperatores de episcopis judicare? i. e. if a bushop be to be taught by a layman, what follows? let the layman then dispute, and the bushop hear: Let the bushop learn of the layman. But certainly, if we have recourse either to the order of the holy scriptures, or to antient times, who is there that can deny, that in the cause of faith, I say, in the cause of faith, bushops were wont to judge concerning Christian emperors, not emperors of bushops? Would to GOD your majesty would follow this ordinary course, you should procure to yourself much quietness of mind, better please GOD, avoid many offences, and the church should be more quietly and peaceably governed, much to your comfort, and the commodity of your realm.

"The second petition I have to make to your majesty, is this, that, when you deal in matters of faith and religion, or matters that touch the church of *Christ*; which is his spouse, bought with so dear a price; you would not use to pronounce too resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex autoritate*, as ye may do in civil and extern matters: But always remember that in GOD's causes, the will of GOD, (and not the will of any earthly creature) is to take place. It is the anti-christian voice of the pope, *sic volo, sic jubeo; slet pro ratione voluntas*; i. e. so I will have it; so I command: Let my will stand for a reason. In GOD's matters, all princes ought to bow their sceptres to the Son of God, and to ask counsel at his mouth, what they ought to do. *David* exhorteth all kings and rulers, to serve GOD with fear and trembling.

"Remember, madam, that you are a mortal creature. Look not only (as was said to *Theodosius*) upon the purple and princely array, wherewith ye are apparelled, but consider withal, what is that that is covered therewith. Is it not flesh and blood? is it not dust and ashes? is it not a corruptible body, which must return to his earth again, GOD knows how soon? Must not you also one day appear, *ante tremendum tribunal crucifixi, ut recipias ibi, prout gesseris in corpore, sive bonum sive malum*? i. e. before the fearful judgement seat of the crucified [*Jesus*], to receive there according as you have done in the body, whether it be good or evil?

"And although ye are a mighty prince, yet remember that He which dwelleth in heaven is mightier. He is, as the psalmist saith, *terribilis, & is, qui aufert spiritum principum, terribilis super omnes reges terræ*; i. e. terrible, and he who taketh away the spirit of princes, and is terrible above all the kings of the earth.

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lowing. This part of his function was exercised by a particular commission from the queen, who in council appointed two civilians to manage the other affairs of his see, the two of his nomination being set aside. Of this disgrace put upon the archbishop, and of the injury religion seemed to suffer by it, Sir Robert Cotton, a wise man, had these words. ' In those days there was an emulation between the clergy and the laity; and a strife, whether of them should shew themselves most affectionate to the gospel. Ministers haunted the houses of the worthiest men, where jesuits now build their tabernacles; and poor country churches were frequented with the best of the shire. The word of GOD was precious: Prayer

" Wherefore I do beseech you, madam, *in visceribus Christi*, when you deal in these religious causes, set the majesty of GOD before your eyes, laying all earthly majesty aside; determine with your self to obey his voice, and with all humility say unto him, *non mea, sed tua voluntas fiat*; i. e. not mine, but thy will be done. GOD hath blessed you with great felicity in your reign, now many years; beware you do not impute the same to your own deserts or policy, but give GOD the glory. And as to instruments and means, impute your said felicity; first, to the goodness of the cause which ye have set forth; I mean, *Christ's* true religion; and secondly, to the sighs and groanings of the godly in their fervent prayer to GOD for you. Which have hitherto, as it were, tyed, and bound the hands of GOD, that he could not pour out his plagues upon you and your people, most justly deserved.

" Take heed, that ye never once think of declining from GOD, lest that be verified of you, which is written of Ozeas, [*Joash*] who continued a prince of good and godly government for many years together; and afterwards, *cum roboratus esset*, (saith the text) *elevatum est cor ejus in interitum suum, & neglexit Dominum*; i. e. when he was strengthened, his heart was lifted up to his destruction, and he regarded not the Lord. Ye have done many things well, but except ye persevere to the end, ye cannot be blessed. For if ye turn from GOD, then GOD will turn away his merciful countenance from you. And what remaineth then to be looked for, but only a terrible expectation of GOD's judgments, *and an heaping up of wrath against the day of wrath*.

" But I trust in GOD, your majesty will always humble yourself under his mighty hand, and go forward in the zealous setting forth of GOD's true religion, always yielding due obedience and reverence to the word of GOD, the onlie rule of faith and religion. And if ye so do, although GOD hath just cause many ways to be angry with you and us for our unfaithfulness, yet I doubt nothing, but that for his own name's sake, and for his own glory sake, He will still hold his merciful hand over us, shield and protect us under the shadow of his wings, as He hath done hitherto.

" I beseech GOD our heavenly Father, plentifully to pour his *principal Spirit* upon you, and always to direct your heart in his holy fear. Amen."

' and

‘ and preaching went hand in hand together ; until arch-
 ‘ bishop *Grindal’s* disgrace, and *Hatfield’s* [*Hatton* per-
 ‘ haps] hard conceit of prophesying, brought the flow-
 ‘ ing of these good graces to a still water.’

Yet sometimes he had special commands from the queen and council to act in person, and issued out orders in his own name, and in general was as active as he could be, and vigilant in the care of his diocese, as occasion offered. In the year 1580, for instance, when there happened a violent earthquake, our archbishop, having issued an order for prayers and humiliations, composed a prayer for families throughout his diocese, which was allowed by the council, who in a letter to him commended his great zeal, and required him to enjoin the observation of his new order of prayer in all other dioceses. The council also referred to him the decision of a dispute that happened the same year at *Merton-college, Oxford*, where he was visitor as archbishop ; and soon after he was employed by the lord treasurer in a controversy between the university and town of *Cambridge*.

This year a convocation met at *St. Paul’s*, at which, though he could not appear, yet he had a principal share in the transaction of it. He drew up an expedient for preserving the authority of the spiritual courts in the point of excommunications ; he laid before them also a new form of penance to be observed for the future, better calculated than the former to bring the sinner to amendment. It was moved in this convocation, that no business should be entered upon, nor any subsidy granted till he was restored. And though that motion was carried in the negative, yet they unanimously presented a petition, which was thought more respectful to her majesty in his favor. It set forth, ‘ How exceedingly griev-
 ‘ ed they were, that the most reverend father, after so
 ‘ many years should fall into so great and so durable an
 ‘ offence of her majesty. That he was a man that did
 ‘ not often offend ; and but once in his life seemed to
 ‘ have displeased her ; and that not so much with a wilful
 ‘ mind, as by a tender conscience. Of which so great
 ‘ was the force, that eminent authors and the best men
 ‘ had writ, that whatsoever was done, the conscience re-
 ‘ claiming, or erring or doubting, was done amiss and to
 ‘ be condemned as no little sin. That the archbishop
 ‘ had led a life free not only of all crime, but even from
 ‘ the suspicion of a crime ; preserved his religion from
 ‘ all, not only corruption of popery, but from schism,
 ‘ and

‘ and had suffered persecution for righteousness sake, having wandered abroad in other countries for the cause of the gospel. Therefore they most humbly and unanimously beseeched her not only to lift up the archbishop broken and feeble with grief, but to restore the church to him, and him to the church; to her subjects, to his own brethren, to foreign nations; and, in a word, to all pious people. And for their own parts they promised her, if she would grant this their supplication, they would never be wanting in their care of settling the church, in propagating religion, in taking away schisms, and in being mindful of and thankful for this favour.’

However, the address proved ineffectual, nor was he restored till he made his submission; wherein, among other things, to clear himself of the charge of a refractory disobedience in respect of suppressing the exercises, he proved that in his own bishopric, and other peculiar jurisdictions, he never suffered the exercises to be used after the time of her majesty’s command.

The precise time of his restitution does not clearly appear, yet several of his proceedings shew, that he was in the full possession of the metropolitical power in 1582, in which year, it is certain also, that he had totally lost his eye-sight through hard study and infirmities, especially the stranguary and cholic, with which he had been long afflicted; and losing all hopes of recovering his sight, towards the latter end of this year, he resigned his see, and obtained a pension for his life from the queen, though in no degree of her majesty’s favor. With this provision he retired to *Croydon*, where he died two months after, on July 6, 1583, and was interred in that church, where a stone monument was erected to his memory.

Mr. *Strype*, who wrote an account of our Archbishop’s life, in order to vindicate his memory from the late misrepresentations, as he calls them, of *Fuller* and *Heylin*, who set him forth as an ill governor of the church, as too much inclined to puritanism, observes, that in the times wherein he lived, when he was better known, his episcopal abilities and admirable endowments for spiritual government, as well as his singular learning, were much celebrated. He was a man, continues this writer, of great firmness and resolution, though of a mild and affable temper and friendly disposition. In his deportment courteous and engaging, not easily provoked, well spoken, and easy of access; and in his elevation not at all affecting

ing grandeur or state, always obliging in his carriage as well as kind and grateful to his servants, and of a free and generous spirit: That he was confessedly a prelate of great moderation towards the puritans, to whose interest in the cabinet, joined to his own merits, his preferment was perhaps owing.

He had doubtless a great respect for *Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Zanchy*, and the rest of the Reformers abroad, with whom he had contracted a friendship, during his exile, and still corresponded with them; and he was very instrumental in obtaining a settlement for the *French* Protestants in their own way of worship, which was the beginning of the *Walloon* church, situated in *Threadneedle-street, London*, and hath continued ever since for the use of the *French* nation.

Besides the things already mentioned, our Author assisted *Fox* in his *Martyrology*, wherein is printed of his own writing, "*A Dialogue*" between custom and truth, which is written in a clear manner, and with much rational evidence against the real; that is, the gross, and corporal presence in the sacrament.

The archbishop lived and died unmarried, yet does not seem to have amassed much wealth, notwithstanding his great and rich preferments. However, he left several charitable legacies by his last will; as thirty pounds *per annum* for the maintenance of a free grammar school, at *St. Begh's* in *Cumberland*, where he was born. To *Pembroke-hall*, in *Cambridge*, twenty-two pounds *per annum*. He left also to the college several books of *Henry Stephens's* edition, and a curious *Hebrew* bible to the *Master's* study. He likewise gave the college a standing cup of above forty ounces, double gilt, which in honor of him they called *Poculum Cantuariense*, 'the *Canterbury* Cup.' It was a present to him from the queen the year after his promotion to the see of *Canterbury*. He gave to *Queen's-college, Oxford*, twenty-six pounds and four pence *per annum*. To *Magdalen-college, in Cambridge*, for the maintenance of one scholar, one hundred pounds. To *Christ's-college, in Cambridge*, a standing cup value thirteen pounds, six shillings and eight pence. For the building and furnishing *St. Begh's* school, three hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. For the purchase of lands and other profits for the relief of the poor almshouses in *Croydon*, fifty pounds. For repairing the church, five pounds. To the city of *Canterbury* to set the poor to work,

work, one hundred pounds. To the poor of *Lambeth* and *Ereydon*, twenty pounds. To the poor of *St. Begb's*, thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence. To the parish-church of *St. Begb's* his communion cup and cover double gilt, and his best great bible. To the queen, a curious *Greek* testament of *Stephens's* impression. To his successors, several pictures and implements. To his patron, lord *Burleigh*, a standing cup of forty ounces, given by the queen the last *New-year's* day before he died. To Sir *Francis Walsingham*, a standing cup of the like value.

There are many other legacies to servants, friends and relations, among which last we are told that he had a brother whose name was *Robert*, who with his wife and *Edmund* his only son died in 1567, leaving four daughters orphans, the second of whom married *William Darres*, gent. against the consent of the archbishop, who had likewise several nieces by his sister *Elizabeth Woodfall*.

J O H N F O X.

THIS meek and laborious minister was born at *Boston*, in *Lincolnshire*, A. D. 1517; the very year, when *Luther* began the Reformation, in *Germany*.

His father died, when he was very young; and, his mother marrying again, he came under the tutelage of a father-in-law: With whom he dwelt, till the age of sixteen, at which time he was entered of *Brazen-nose-college*, *Oxford*; and was chamber-fellow with the celebrated Dr. *Alexander Nowel*, afterwards dean of *St. Paul's*. Mr. *Fox* plyed his academical studies with equal assiduity, improvement, and applause. In 1538, he took the degree of bachelor in arts; and that of master, in 1543. The same year, he was elected fellow of *Magdalen-college*.

When he was first removed to the university, and for some time after, he was strongly attached to the heresies and superstitions of popery. To his zeal for these, he added a life strictly regular and moral: And, laughing at the idea of justification by faith in the imputed righteousness of *Christ*, thought himself sufficiently safe in the imaginary

inary merit of his own self-denial, penances, almsdeeds, and compliances with the rites of the church.

But he was a chosen vessel; and, therefore, divine grace would not let him remain a pharisee. Through the effectual breathings of GOD's holy Spirit, his studies were over-ruled, not only to the advantage of posterity at large; but, also, to the benefit of his own soul in particular. His indefatigable and profound researches, into ecclesiastical history, and the writings of the primitive fathers; and, above all, his thorough acquaintance with the holy scripture, in its original languages; became the means of convincing him, to what an immense distance the Romish church has departed, from the faith, practice, and spirit, of Christianity.

In order to make himself a yet more competent judge of the controversies, then in debate between Protestants and Papists; he searched, with indefatigable assiduity, into the antient and modern history of the church. Here he learnt, at what periods, and by what means, the religion of *Christ* flourished; and by what errors it began to decline. He considered the causes, and weighed the importance, of those various dissensions, which had, from time to time, obtained in the professing world: And quickly perceived, that, in every age, the mistakes, follies, and vices of mankind, are more similar, in their nature, operations, and effects, than is generally imagined. What is the far greater part of civil and ecclesiastical history, but a register of the weakness and wickedness which divide almost the whole human race between them?

With such zeal and industry did Mr. Fox apply himself to these enquiries, that, before he was thirty years of age, he had read over all the *Greek* and all the *Latin* fathers; all the scholastic writers; together with the acts of all the councils: And, moreover, made himself master of the *Hebrew* language. But, from this strict and severe application, by night as well as by day; from forsaking his old popish friends, and courting the most sequestered retirement; from the dubious and hesitating manner, in which, when he could not avoid being in company, he spoke of religious subjects; and, above all, from his sparing attendance on the public worship of the church, which he had, before, been remarkable for strictly and constantly frequenting; arose the first surmises of his being alienated from the reigning superstitions, and infected with (what the bigotted Romanists had the ignorance to term) the new heresies.

Thus, even the humble and benevolent Mr. Fox was not without his enemies; who narrowly watched his conduct, and waited for an opportunity to injure him. His singular openness and sincerity did not long leave them at a loss for ways and means. Snares were laid for him; and his generous honesty betrayed him into them. A moderate portion of dissimulation (commonly called, prudence and circumspection) would, perhaps, have secured him, a while, from the machinations of his adversaries. But he chose rather to suffer affliction, with the people, and for the cause, of GOD; than to enjoy the pleasure of sin, for a season: Mindful of that decisive and alarming declaration, *Whosoever is ashamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation; of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with his holy angels.* Through grace, our Author, determined to venture the loss of all things, for Christ's sake: In consequence of which, he openly professed the gospel, and was publicly accused of heresy. His college passed judgement on him, as an heretic convicted; and, presently after, he saw himself expelled from the university. His enemies maintained, that he was favorably dealt with by that sentence; and might think himself happily off, to incur expulsion, instead of death.

Mr. Fox's troubles sat the heavier on him, as they lost him the countenance and good offices of his friends, who were afraid to assist and protect a person condemned for a capital offence. His father-in-law, particularly, seized this opportunity to withhold from Mr. Fox the estate which his own father had left him: Thinking, that he, who stood in danger of the law himself, would with difficulty find relief by legal methods.

Being thus forsaken and oppressed, he was reduced to great straits: When GOD raised him up an unexpected patron in Sir Thomas Lucy, of *Warwickshire*; who received him into his house, and made him tutor to his children. Here he married a citizen's daughter, of *Coventry*; and continued in Sir Thomas's family, till his pupils were grown up: After which, he, with some difficulty, procured entertainment with his wife's father, at *Coventry*; from whence, a few years before the death of Henry VIII. he removed to *London*.

For a considerable time after his arrival in the capital, being without employment or preferment, he was again reduced to extreme want. But the Lord's good providence relieved him, at length, in the following extraordinary

ordinary manner. As he was sitting, one day, in *St. Paul's* church; his eyes hollow, his countenance wan and pale, and his whole body emaciated (or, rather, within a little of being literally starved to death); a person, whom he never remembered to have seen before, came and sat down by him: And, accosting him familiarly, put a respectable sum of money into his hand, saying, 'Be of good comfort, Mr. *Fox*; take care of yourself, and use all means to preserve your life: For, depend upon it, GOD will, in a few days, give you a better prospect, and more certain means of subsistence.' He, afterwards, used his utmost endeavors, to find out the person, by whose bounty he had been so seasonably relieved: But he was never able to gain any discovery. However, the prediction was fulfilled; for, within three days from that memorable incident, he was taken into the duchess of *Richmond's* family, to be tutor to her nephew the earl of *Surrey's* children, who (on the imprisonment of the earl, and of his father the duke of *Norfolk*, in the tower) were committed to the care of the duchess for education.

Mr. *Fox* lived with this family, at *Ryegate*, in *Surrey*, during the latter part of *Henry VIII's* reign, the five years' reign of *K. Edward VI.* and part of *Q. Mary's*. *Gardiner*, the bloody bishop of *Winchester*, in whose diocese this good man so long lived, would have soon brought him to the shambles; had he not been protected by one of his noble pupils, then duke of *Norfolk*. *Gardiner* always hated Mr. *Fox* (who, it is said, was the first person that ventured to preach the gospel at *Ryegate*); and saw, with deep concern, the heir, of one of the noblest families in the kingdom, trained up in attachment to Protestantism, under Mr. *Fox's* influence. The prelate, therefore, formed various designs against the safety of the latter; and sought, by many artifices and stratagems, to work his ruin. The holy man, who was no less suspicious of the bishop, than the bishop was of him; found himself obliged in prudence (though much against the duke's inclination, who loved and revered him as a father) to quit his native land, and seek shelter abroad. His grace of *Norfolk*, perceiving that no arguments nor intreaties could induce his honored tutor to remain in *England*, took care to provide him with every accommodation, requisite for his voyage. Mr. *Fox*, accordingly, set sail from *Ipswich* haven: Accompanied by his wife, who was then pregnant; and by several other persons, who were leaving their country on a religious

account. The vessel had not been very long at sea, ere a storm arose; which, the next day, drove them back into the port from whence they had set out. Having, with great difficulty and danger, reached the land; Mr. Fox was saluted with indubitable information, that bishop Gardiner had issued a warrant for apprehending him, and was causing the most diligent search to be made after him. On this, he made interest with the master of the ship to put to sea again, without delay; though at evident hazard of their lives, as the tempest had not yet subsided. Through GOD's goodness, however, they all arrived, in two days, at *Nieuport* in *Flanders*: From whence Mr. Fox and his company travelled to *Antwerp*, and *Frankfort*; and so to *Basil*, in *Switzerland*; whither great numbers of the *English* resorted, in those times of domestic persecution.

The city of *Basil* was then one of the most famous in *Europe*, for printing: And many of the learned refugees, who retired thither, got their subsistence by revising and correcting the press. To this employment, Mr. Fox betook himself: And it was here, that he laid the first plan of his inestimable history and martyrology, entitled, *ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHURCH*.

Q. *Mary* died in the month of *November*, 1558. And, the day before she died in *England*, Mr. Fox, in a sermon then preached by him at *Basil*, publicly and positively predicted, that the day then next ensuing would be the last of her life. An event, so circumstantially foretold, by one at such a distance from the place of *Mary's* residence; and so punctually accomplished, by the hand of divine Providence; is so remarkable an occurrence, that it does not seem hasty to conclude, that GOD alone could have revealed it.

Elizabeth's accession encouraged Mr. Fox to return home: Where, on his arrival, he still found a faithful and serviceable friend, in his late pupil, the duke of *Norfolk*; who hospitably and nobly entertained him, at his manor of *Christ-church*, in *London*, till his [*i. e.* till the duke's] death: From which latter period, Mr. Fox inherited a pension, bequeathed to him by his deceased benefactor, and ratified by his son the earl of *Surrey*.

Nor did the good man's successes stop here. On being recommended to the queen, by her secretary of state, the great *Cecil*; her majesty gave him the prebendary of *Ship-ton*, in the cathedral of *Salisbury*; which was, in a manner, forced upon him; for he brought himself with difficulty

gulty to accept of it. The truth is, that, wise and holy and learned as Mr. *Fox* unquestionably was, he entertained some needless doubts, concerning the lawfulness of subscribing to the ecclesiastical canons: A requisition, which, in his idea, he considered as an infringement of Protestant liberty. Through this extreme scrupulousness, he excluded himself from rising to those dignities and promotions in the church, to which his uncommon merit, as a scholar and a divine, eminently entitled him: And to which he would most certainly have risen, but for the cause now assigned. His friends were many, great, and powerful; as Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *Thomas Gresham*, Sir *Drue Drury*, archbishop *Grindal*, bishop *Aylmer*, bishop *Parkhurst*, &c. who would have been the instruments of raising him to very considerable preferments, had not his coolness towards the canons and ceremonies of the church of *England*, restrained him from accepting any of her capital emoluments. While, however, we may impute this conduct to his prejudices; we cannot but revere him for his honesty, and for his extreme tenderness of conscience.—Dr. *Fuller* tells us, that archbishop *Parker* summoned him to subscribe; in hope, ‘that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity.’ But, instead of complying with the command, Mr. *Fox* pulled out of his pocket the New Testament, in *Greek*; and, holding it up, said, “To this will I subscribe.” And, when a subscription to the canons was required of him, he refused; saying, “I have nothing in the church, but a prebend at *Salisbury*: And, if you take it away from me, much good may it do you.” But he was permitted to retain it until his death: Such respect did the bishops (who had, most of them, been his fellow exiles abroad) bear to his age, parts, and labors.

Yet let it be remembered, that, notwithstanding his acknowledged moderation in point of thorough conformity; he was still a declared enemy to the heats and violences of rigid puritanism. “I cannot but wonder, (said he, in a letter to a bishop) at that turbulent genius, which inspires those factious Puritans.—Were I one who, like them, would be violently outrageous against bishops and archbishops; or join myself with them, i. e. become mad, as they are; I had not met with severe treatment (at their hands). But because, quite different from them, I have chosen the side of modesty and public tranquillity; the hatred which they have long conceived

“ceived against me is at last grown to this degree of bitterness.—Your prudence is not ignorant how much the Christian religion suffered formerly by the dissimulation and hypocrisy of the monks. At present, in these men, I know not what new sort of monks seems to revive; so much more pernicious than the former, as, with more subtle artifices of deceiving, and under pretence of perfection, like stage-players who only act a part, they conceal a more dangerous poison: Who, while they require every thing to be formed according to their own strict discipline, will not desist, until they have brought all things into *Jewish* bondage*.”

Thus thought, and thus wrote, this admirable divine! this friend to good men of all parties, but a slave to no party of men!

How benevolently disposed this great and good man was, even toward those who differed the most widely from him in religious principles; appears, among many other instances, from the *Latin* letter, which he wrote to queen Elizabeth, A. D. 1575, to dissuade her majesty from putting to death † two Anabaptists, who had been condemned to the fire. Fuller has preserved the whole of this masterly and

* The occasion on which this letter was written, and the whole of the letter itself, in its original *Latin*, are extant in Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 106. For a summary of it in *English*, see *Biographia Britannica*, vol. iii. p. 2011.

† ‘On *Easter-day* was disclosed a congregation of Dutch Anabaptists, without Aldgate, in London; whereof seven-and-twenty were taken and imprisoned; and four, bearing faggots at Paul's-Cross, solemnly recanted their dangerous opinions. Next month, one Dutchman, and ten women, were condemned, of whom one woman was converted to renounce her errors, eight were banished the land, two so obstinate that command was issued out for their burning in *Smithfield*.’ FULLER's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 204.

This shocking and unjustifiable persecution, could not but reflect deep disgrace on the Protestant name. The two unhappy victims were burned, according to their sentence, *July 22, 1575*. They were both Dutchmen, and, as we are informed by *Storve*, ‘died in great horror, with roaring and crying.’ *Chronicle*, p. 680. *Strype* says their names were John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort, and that they suffered after an imprisonment of sixteen weeks. Much interest was made in their behalf by the Dutch congregation settled in London, but the privy council would not spare them. (*Strype's Annals*, vol. ii. p. 380). It was eminently humane, in their countrymen here, to importune the government so earnestly in their favor; especially when we recollect that the intercessors were Calvinists, and that the sufferers added, to their other heresies, the maintenance of free-will, perfection, justification by works, and falling from grace; which, however, was infinitely far from warranting the sanguinary rigor with which they were treated.

and truly christian address. The substance of it was as follows: That "To punish, with the flames, the bodies
 " of those who err rather from blindness, than obstinacy
 " of will, is cruel, and more suitable to the example of
 " the Romish church, than to the mildness of the gospel.
 " I do not (added he) write thus, from any bias to the
 " indulgence of error; but from a regard to the lives of
 " men, as being myself a man: And in hope that the of-
 " fending parties may have an opportunity to repent of
 " and retract their mistakes." He earnestly beseeches her
 majesty 'to spare the lives of these miserable men; or, at
 ' least, to soften their mode of punishment: As to banish
 ' them, or commit them to perpetual imprisonment, &c.
 ' but at all events not to rekindle the *Smithfield* fires,
 ' which, through her goodness and care, had been so long
 ' extinguished. If this could not be granted, at least to
 ' allow them a month or two, in order that endeavors
 ' might be used to reclaim them from their errors, and
 ' thereby to prevent the destruction of their souls, as well
 ' as of their bodies.'—Mr. *Fox* (says *Fuller*) was very loth
 that *Smithfield*, formerly consecrated with martyrs' ashes,
 should now be profaned with those of heretics; and was
 desirous that the Papists might enjoy their own monopoly
 of cruelty, in burning condemned persons. But though
 Q. *Elizabeth* constantly called him, 'her father *Fox*;' yet
 herein was she no dutiful daughter; for she gave him a
 flat denial, as to the saving of their lives; if, after a
 month's reprieve and conference with divines, they would
 not recant their heresies. It is not a little surprising, that
 so good and so candid a man as Dr. *Fuller* should endeavor
 to palliate, if not to justify, the extreme malignity which
 brought those two *Dutchmen* to the stake. 'Damnable,
 ' (says this historian) were their impieties; and the queen
 ' was necessitated to this severity: Who, having formerly
 ' punished some traitors, if now sparing these blasphemers,
 ' the world would condemn her; as being more earnest
 ' in asserting her own safety, than GOD's honour.' A
 wretched excuse this, for wilful and deliberate murder!
 It reminds us of *Melancthon's* fault (falsely fathered on
Calvin) in pressing the magistrates of *Geneva* to burn the
 heretic *Servetus*. The answer of a popish princess, on a
 similar occasion, did more honor to humanity. This lady
 (who is still living) was solicited, by some Romish eccle-
 siastics, to concur with them in bringing a supposed he-
 retic to the flames. 'Is it not true (said she) that heretics
 ' burn for ever in hell-fire?' 'Without doubt,' answered
 the

the priests. 'It would be too severe then (added she) to burn them in both worlds. Since they are devoted to endless misery hereafter, it is but justice to let them live unmolested here.'

Hitherto, Dr. *Fuller*, and the *Biographia Britannica*, have been our chief guides in the present account of the truly apostolic Mr. *Fox*. For what we have farther to add, we shall be principally indebted to the indefatigable Mr. *Clark* *. We have before observed, that while Mr. *Fox* was in exile at *Basil*, during the prevalence of popery in *England*; he one day, in a sermon which he preached before his afflicted countrymen in that city, positively assured them, "That the time was now come, for their safe and happy return home: And that he told them this comfortable news by express command from GOD." Several ministers, who were present, took occasion afterwards to reprove him with a degree of asperity for publicly declaring, what they took to be, the premature flights of his own fancy and conjecture. But they soon altered their opinion, when authentic intelligence arrived that *Q. Mary* the bloody was actually dead.

On his re-settlement here, he set himself to revise and enlarge his admirable MARTYROLOGY. With prodigious pains and constant study, he finished that elaborate work in eleven years. For the sake of greater correctness, he never employed any amanuensis; but wrote every line of this vast book with his own hand, and searched and transcribed all the records and original papers himself. But by such excessive toil, leaving no part of his time free from study, nor affording himself either the repose or relaxations which nature required; his health was so reduced, and his person became so emaciated and altered, that such of his friends and relations, as only conversed with him occasionally, could not recollect him at sight. Yet, though he grew daily more lean, withered, and exhausted, his hard studies went on as briskly as ever, nor would he be persuaded to lessen his accustomed labors. The Papists, foreseeing how extremely detrimental his history of their errors and cruelties would prove to their cause, exerted their whole art and strength to lessen the reputation of his work. This malice of their's was of signal service, both to Mr. *Fox* himself, and to the church of GOD at large; as it eventually made his book more intrinsically valuable, by inducing him to weigh, with the most exact and

* See the first volume of his Marrow of the Ecclesiastical History, p. 382, 383.

and scrupulous attention, the certainty of the facts he recorded, and the validity of the authorities from whence he drew his informations.

Having long served both the church and the world, by his ministry, by his pen, and by the unsullied lustre of a beneficent, useful, and holy life; he comfortably resigned his soul to *Christ*, on the eighteenth of *April*, 1587. The Lord had given him a foresight of his departure: And so fully persuaded was he, that the time was just at hand when he should quit the body, that (probably, to enjoy unmolested communion with GOD, and to have no worldly interruptions in his last hours) he purposely sent his two sons from home, though he loved them with great tenderness; and before they returned, his spirit, as he had foreseen would be the case, was flown to heaven. He was interred in the chancel of *St. Giles's, Cripplegate*; of which parish he had been, in the beginning of *Q. Elizabeth's* reign, for some time vicar.

Mr. *Strype* says, that a very fair marble stone, fixed in the south wall of that chancel, was presently after erected to his memory, with the following inscription:

CHRISTO S. S.

JOHANNI FOXO,

Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Martyrologo fidelissimo,

Antiquitatis historicæ Indagatori sagacissimo,

Evangelicæ Veritatis Propugnatori acerrimo,

Thaumaturgo admirabili:

Qui Martyres Marianos, tanquam Phœnices, ex cineribus redivivos præstitit:

Patri suo, omni pietatis officio imprimis colendo,

Samuel Foxus,

Illius primogenitus,

Hoc Monumentum posuit,

Non sine Lachrymis.

Obiit Die 18 Mens. April. An. Dom. 1587,

Jam septuagenarius.

VITA VITÆ MORTALIS EST, SPES VITÆ IMMORTALIS.

Fuller acquaints us that Mr. *Fox* foretold the destruction of, what was madly stiled by the pope and *Spaniards*, the *Invincible Armada*. 'The story, (says that historian) is true, though Mr. *Fox* survived not to see the performance of his own prediction.—His dear friend, Dr. *Laurence Humfrey*, may be said to have died with him; (though his languishing life lasted a year longer) so

‘ great was his grief, to be parted from his fellow-colleague, bred together in *Oxford*, and banished together into *Germany*.’

Among the graces, for which our Martyrologist was eminent, shone his extensive (some would almost term it, profuse) liberality to the poor. He was so bountiful to them while he lived, that he had no ready money to leave to them at his death. His love to his Saviour was such, that he could never refuse giving to any, who asked him for relief, in the name of *Jesus*; or, for *Christ*’s sake. A friend once enquiring of him, ‘ whether he recollected a certain poor man, whom he used to relieve?’ He answered, “ Yes, I remember him well: And I willingly “ forget lords and ladies, to remember such as he.”

His ability in comforting afflicted consciences was very peculiar: No wonder, therefore, that his house was frequented by persons of all ranks, from noblemen down to the poorest of the flock; who were laboring under soul-distresses.

His time was divided between study, preaching, praying, spiritual conference, and visiting the sick and afflicted. His principal hours for intercourse with GOD in secret prayer were during the night season; at which times of holy retirement, he has been heard to agonize with GOD, and to mingle his supplications with *groanings which could not be uttered*.

He was distinguished by a deep and settled contempt of earthly things: More especially, of pleasures, amusements, wealth, and honors. Hence, he abstracted himself, as much as he possibly could, from all friendship, society, and connection, with the great and noble of this world. The money, which was sometimes offered him by rich men, he accepted; but the poor were as sure to have it, as ever he received it.

There have been macaronies, in all ages. One of Mr. Fox’s sons had a great desire to travel beyond sea, from which his father could by no means dissuade him. After a tour of several years, he returned home; and presented himself to the good old man, in a fantastical, outlandish habit. “ Who are you?” said Mr. Fox.—“ Sir, I am your son *Samuel*.”—To which his reply was: “ O my son, who “ has taught thee to make thyself so ridiculous?” This reproof seems to have been attended with good effect: For the giddy youth proved, afterwards, a serious, devout, learned, and respectable man. In 1610, he wrote the life

of

of his father, prefixed to his Martyrology; and at length died, full of years and of good works*.

A very singular incident, of which Mr. *John Fox* himself was eye-witness, shall conclude this summary of his life and character. He it was, who had that memorable interview with Mrs. *Honeywood*, mentioned by so many authors of that age. The concern of this pious lady, for the salvation of her soul, was so great; her doubts and fears, so very distressing; and her sorrow of mind, so grievous; that she sunk into utter despair: Which had such an effect on her bodily health, as brought her to death's door, and kept her in a gradual consumption, for almost twenty years. In vain did physicians administer their medical assistances; for her disease, which originated from a spiritual cause, required a supernatural remedy. There was but ONE physician, whose power and skill could reach her case: Even HE, who *healeth those that are broken in heart, and giveth medicine to heal their sickness*—In vain did the ablest and most evangelical ministers preach to her the comforts of the gospel; and labor to persuade her of the willingness and certainty, wherewith *Christ* receives every coming sinner. The Holy Spirit alone could preach to her heart, with efficacy; and he had not yet vouchsafed, in all those years, to rise upon her soul. At length, Mr. *Fox* was sent for: Who, on his arrival, found a most mournful family, and the mistress of it the deepest mourner among them all. The holy man prayed with her; and then reminded her of what the faithful GOD had promised, and of what *Christ* had done and suffered for her soul. But even this was to no purpose: For, still, she could not believe, that the gospel promises and the merits of *Jesus* belonged to her.—Mr. *Fox*, not in the least discouraged, went on; and, to the wonder of those about her, expressed himself to the following effect: “You
“ will not only recover of your bodily disease, but also
“ live to an exceeding great age; and, which is yet better, you are interested in *Christ*, and will go to heaven
“ when you die.” Looking earnestly at him as he spake these words, she answered, with much emotion, ‘Impossible! I shall as surely be damned, as this glass will break:’ and immediately dashed a *Venice* glass (which she was holding in her hand), with much force, against

* See more of him, in *Strype's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 505.—As also of *Simeon*, his youngest brother, *ibid.* p. 506. Mr. *Strype* terms both these surviving sons of Mr. *John Fox*, ‘well-deserving men, bred up to learning, and of note in their times.’

the wall. The glass fell, first, on a chest; and then, upon the ground: But was neither broken, nor so much as cracked*. The event proved, that Mr. Fox did not prophesy by the spirit of error. Mrs. Honeywood was then sixty years old; and lived, in much comfort and felicity, till she was upwards of ninety, and could reckon above three hundred and sixty persons descended from herself.

His WORKS. Besides those already mentioned, he wrote, "*Syllogisticon admonitio adParliamentum. De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituendis*." A Latin Translation of the Controversy between Archbishop Cranmer, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, about the eucharist. This our Author did at Basil, and there was only a part of it printed. *De censura, seu excommunicatione Ecclesiastica, interpellatio ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem*. London, 1551, in 8vo. A Sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, on Good-Friday, upon the Subject of Christ's Crucifixion, printed by John Day, at London, 1570, in 4to. It was dedicated, "to "all such as labour and be heavy laden in conscience, to "be read for their spiritual comfort." The text is, 2 Cor. v. 20, 21. and the sermon is divided into two parts, to which are subjoined, a Prayer made for the Church, and all the States there; and a Postscript to the Papists. Mr. Wood mentions an edition of this sermon at London, 1609, in 8vo. and a Latin translation of it entitled, *De Christo crucifixo: Concio in Die Parasce.* in 2 Cor. cap. v. ver. 20, 21. London, 1571, in 4to. Mr. Strype, who does not appear to have ever seen the edition of this sermon in 1570, is mistaken in saying, that it was preached in 1578, and printed in 1585, unless reprinted in that year. His argument that it was preached about 1578,

* Fuller, in his Worthies of England (Kent, p. 86). says, that, though this circumstance was little short of miraculous, still Mrs. Honeywood took no comfort from it; but "continued, a great time after, "in her former disconsolate condition, without any amendment, until "GOD, who findeth out the fittest minutes for his own mercies, "suddenly shot comfort, like lightening, into her soul; so that she "led the remainder of her life in spiritual gladness. This she herself told to the reverend father, Thomas Morton, bishop of Durham, from "whose mouth I have received this relation.—In the days of Q. Mary, she used to visit the prisons, and to comfort and relieve the "confessors therein. She was present at the burning of Mr. Bradford, "in Smithfield, and resolved to see the end of his suffering; though, "so great was the press of people, that her shoes were trodden off, "and she forced thereby to go barefoot from Smithfield to St. Martin's, before she could furnish herself with a new pair for her money. "She died, the eleventh of May, 1620; in the ninety-third year of "her age, and in the forty-fourth year of her widowhood."

1578, is drawn from a passage in the prayer, wherein Mr. Fox says, that "the queen had doubled the years of her sister and brother;" but these very words are also to be found in the prayer published in the edition of the sermon in 1570. *Tables of Grammar; London, 1552.* Wood tells us that these Tables were subscribed in print by eight lords of the privy-council; but that they were soon laid aside, as being as much too short, as K. Henry VIIIth's Grammar was too long. *Articuli sive Aphorismi aliquot Joh. Wiclevi. Sparsim aut ex variis illius opusculis excerpti per adversarios papicolas, ac concilio Constantiensi exhibiti. Collectanea quædam ex Reginaldi Pecocki Episcopi Cicestriensis opusculis exustis conservata, & ex antiquo psegmate transcripta. Opistographia ad Oxonienses.* These three last are printed with his *Commentarii rerum in Ecclesia gestarum*, at Strasburg, 1554, in 8vo. *Locorum communium Logicalium tituli & Ordinationes 150, ad seriem prædicamentorum decem descripti, &c. Basil, 1557, in 4to. Probationes & resolutiones de re & materia Sacramenti Eucharistici.* This was printed at London about the year 1563.

"*De Oliva Evangelica; concio in Baptismo Judæi habitata, Londini 1, Apr. cum narratione capitis XI. D. Pauli ad Romanos.* London, 1578, translated into English by James Bell. To this Latin sermon is subjoined our Author's comedy, *De Christo triumphante*, before-mentioned. Concerning man's Election to Salvation, London, 1581, in 8vo. Certain Notes of Election, added to Beza his Treatise of Predestination. London, 1581, in 8vo. *De Christo gratis justificante, contra Jesuitas.* London, 1583, in 8vo. *Disputatio contra Jesuitas & eorum argumenta quibus inbærentem justitiam ex Aristotele confirmant.* Rupell, 1585, in 8vo. *Éicasmi seu meditationes in Apocal. S. Johannis Apostoli & Evangelistæ.* London, 1587, fol. Genev. 1596, in 8vo. *Papa confutatus: vel sacra & apostolica ecclesia papam confutans.* This was translated into English by James Bell, and printed at London, in 4to. Brief Exhortation, fruitful and meet to be read in the Time of GOD's Visitation, where Ministers do lack, or otherwise cannot be present to comfort them. London, in 8vo. He also translated from Latin into English, 1. A Sermon of John Oecolampadius to young Men and Maidens. London, in 12mo. 2. An Instruction of Christian Faith, how to lay hold upon the Promise of GOD, and not to doubt of our Salvation. Or otherwise thus; Necessary Instructions of Faith and Hope for Christians to hold fast, and not to doubt, &c. London, 1579, second edition, in 8vo. writ-
ten

ten by *Urbanus Regius*. He also finished an Answer Apologetical to *Hierome Oserius* his slanderous invective; which had been begun in *Latin* by *Walter Haddon*, LL. D. *London*, 1577, and 1581, in 4to. and he published the four Evangelists in the old *Saxon* Tongue, with the *English* thereunto adjoined. *London*, 1571, in 4to. *Bale* mentions several other writings of his, but *Mr. Wood* says some of them were never printed; we shall therefore proceed to give some account of the principal and greatest of our Author's Works, his Acts and Monuments of the Church, commonly called, *Fox's Book of Martyrs*.

"We have before observed that the Author first applied himself to write this History of the Church, whilst he was at *Basil*, but he reserved the greatest part of it against his return into his own country, that he might have the authority and testimony of more witnesses. It appears by the Author's own notes, that this most laborious work was eleven years in hand: And in this, as well as in some others of his labors, *Mr. Fox* was greatly assisted by that pious prelate *Dr. Grindal*, afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, who, besides his constant counsel and advice in the course of the work, supplied him with materials, which he digested and methodized himself; for whilst *Dr. Grindal* was abroad, he had established a correspondence in *England* for this purpose, by which means accounts of most of the acts and sufferings of the persecuted in *Q. Mary's* reign, came to his hands; and it was owing to *Dr. Grindal's* strict and tender regard to truth, that the Martyrology was so long in hand, for he rejected all common reports and relations that were brought over, till more satisfactory evidence could be procured; and hence he advised *Mr. Fox* at first only to print separately the acts of some particular men, of whom any sure and authentic memoirs came to hand, till materials for a more complete history of the martyrs and their persecutions and sufferings could be procured. In pursuance of this advice, *Mr. Fox* published at *Basil*, *Diverse Histories of the English Bishops and Divines*, in single pieces, soon after their respective sufferings and martyrdoms. He had also published at *Strasburg*, in 1554, in 8vo. *Commentarii rerum in Ecclesia gestarum, maximarumque per totam Europam persecutionem a Wiclevi temporibus ad hanc usque etatem descripti*. in one book; to which he added five more books, all printed together at *Basil*, in 1559, in folio. It was also by the advice of *Dr. Grindal*, that the Martyrology was printed both in *Latin* and *English*, for the more general

ral use, the Author having begun it in *Latin*. It was published at *London*, 1563, in one thick volume in folio, with this title, *Actes and Monuments of these latter perillous Days touching Matters of the Church, wherein are comprehended and described the great Persecutions and horrible Troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish Prelates speciallye in this Realme of England and Scotland, from the Yeare of our Lorde a Thousand unto the Time now present, &c.* gathered and collected accordynge to the true Copies and wrytinges Certificatorie, as well of the Parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops Registers, which were the doers thereof. By *John Fox*. Imprinted at *London* by *John Day*, dwelling over *Aldersgate* beneth *St. Martin's*, Anno 1563, the 20th of *March*. Cum gratia & privilegio regie Majestatis.

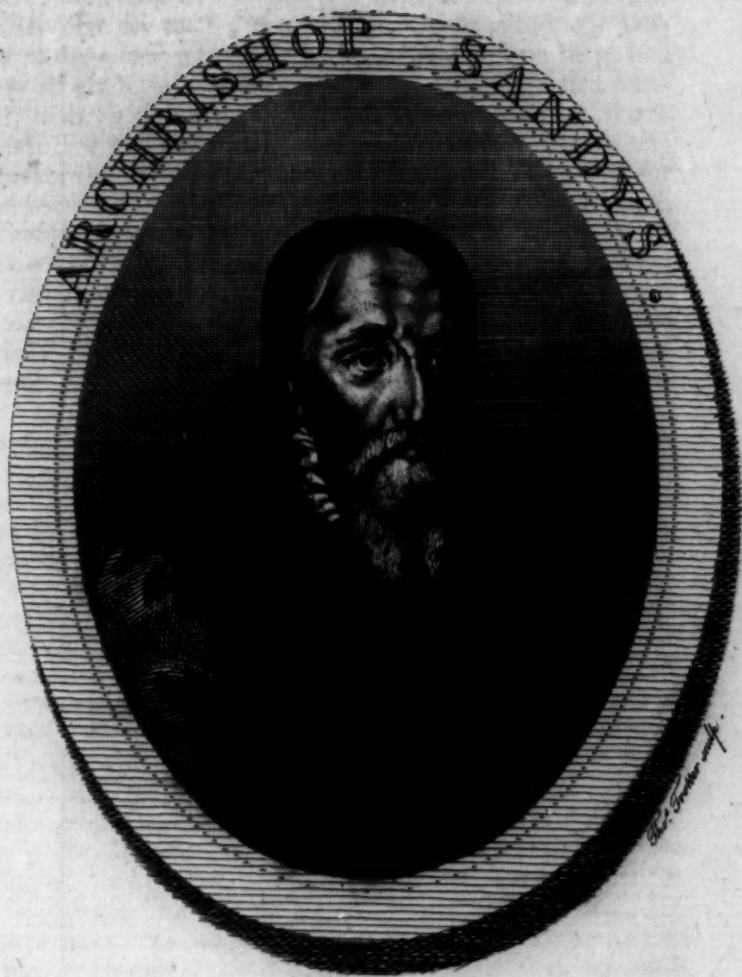
“ Mr. *Fox* presented a copy of this edition to *Magdalen-college, Oxford*, and at the same time wrote a *Latin* letter to Dr. *Laurence Humphreys*, printed by Mr. *Thomas Hearne* in his Appendix, No. 5. to his Preface to *Adami de Domersham Hist. de Rebus Gestis Glastonensibus, Oxon.* 1727, in 8vo. 2 vols. There was a fourth edition at *London*, 1583, in two volumes in folio, and it was reprinted in 1632, in three volumes folio. The ninth edition was printed at *London* in three volumes in folio, with copper cuts, the former editions having only wooden ones. Mr. *Wood* observes, that the undertakers of this edition had in a manner obtained a promise from K. *Charles II.* to revive the order made in Q. *Elizabeth's* time, of placing it in the common halls of archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, heads of colleges, &c. according to the canons of Dr. *Matthew Parker*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, in 1571. Mr. *Strype* tells us, that, when this book was first published, our Author was thought ‘ to have done very exquisite service to the Protestant cause, in shewing, from abundance of antient books, registers, records, and choice manuscripts, the encroachments of popes, papalins, and the stout oppositions that were made by learned and good men, in all ages and countries against them; and especially under K. *Henry VIII.* and Q. *Mary* here in *England*; preserving to us the memories of those holy men and women, those bishops and divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings, and their constant deaths, willingly undergone for the sake of *Christ* and his gospel, and for refusing to comply with popish doctrines and superstitions.’ Archbishop *Whitgift* styles Mr. *Fox* that

that worthy man, and tells Mr. Cartwright the Puritan, that, "he had read over his Acts and Monuments from the one end to the other; and declares that Mr. Fox hath very diligently and faithfully laboured in this matter, (of archbishops and metropolitans) and searched out the truth of it as learnedly as I knowe any man to have done." Camden likewise gives him and his work this character; *Ex eruditorum numero obiit Johannes Foxus Oxoniensis, qui Ecclesiasticam Angliæ Historiam sive Martyrologiam indefesso veritatis studio, primum Latine postea Anglice auctius, magna cum laude contexuit.* The Papists were very angry at the publication of this history; in which their lies and cruelty were so fully exposed; and accordingly did all they could to blast the credit both of that and its Author."

EDMUND SANDYS, D. D.

ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

EDWIN Sandys, Sands, or Sandes, successively bishop of Worcester and London, and archbishop of York, in the sixteenth century, and ancestor of the present lord Sandys, was the fourth son of William Sandys, Esq; by Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of William Rawlinson, of the county of York, Esq. He was born at Hawkshhead, within the liberty of Fournes-fells, or Estwaite, in Lancashire, in the year 1519. His university education was at St. John's-college in Cambridge; where he took his degree of bachelor of arts in 1539, and that of master in 1541; but was never fellow of that, or any other college. In 1542, he was junior proctor of the university; and, on or about the year 1547, proceeded bachelor in divinity, and was elected master of Catharine-hall. At the time of his father's decease, in 1548, he was vicar of Haverham; and the year following, on December 12, was presented to a prebend in the cathedral church of Peterborough. The same year, he also commenced doctor in divinity. In 1552, K. Edward VI. granted him a prebend in the church of Carlisle. At the time of that good king's decease, in 1553, Dr. Sandys was vice-chancellor of



From an Original Picture.



of *Cambridge*. Having early embraced the Protestant religion, he zealously joined with those who were for setting the lady *Jane Gray* on the throne. *John Dudley*, duke of *Northumberland*, coming to *Cambridge*, in his march against the princess *Mary*, required the doctor to set forth the lady *Jane's* title in a sermon the next day before the university. He obeyed *; and preached in so pathetic a manner as drew many tears from the audience; and he gave a copy of his sermon to be printed. But he expressed himself with so much prudence and moderation, as abundantly satisfied the duke; and yet did not violently exasperate the opposite party. The unsteady duke sent for him, about two days after, to proclaim *Q. Mary*, which he refused; whereupon he was deprived of his office of vice-chancellor and preferments, and conveyed prisoner to the Tower of *London*. In this place he was the means of converting his keeper, a bitter papist, to the truth, and chiefly by means of his mild and gentle deportment. *Sandys* knew, that religion was not to be established by human fury, or by any arts of malice and wickedness. Having remained there twenty-nine weeks, he was sent to the *Marshalsea*, on *Wyat's* insurrection; who, at his coming to *Southwark*, invited the doctor to come and give him his company and advice; but he prudently excused himself.

* The warning was short for such an auditory, yet he did not refuse, but went into his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three of the clock the next morning, took his bible in his hand, and earnestly prayed to God, that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for him to treat of. The bible fell open upon the first chapter of *Joshua*, where he found a text for that time the most convenient he could have chosen, viz. ver. 16, 17, 18. — The duke, with the rest of the nobility, required Dr. *Sandys* to put his sermon in writing, and appointed Mr. *Leaver* to go to *London*, and get it printed. Dr. *Sandys* required one day and a half for writing it, and at the day appointed Mr. *Leaver* came ready booted to receive it of him. As he was delivering it, one of the beadles came weeping, and prayed him to shift for himself, the duke being retired, and *Q. Mary* proclaimed. Dr. *Sandys* shewed no concern at what was said, but delivered the sermon written. The duke of *Northumberland* that night sent for Dr. *Sandys*, to proclaim *Q. Mary* in the market-place at *Cambridge*, and told him she was a merciful woman, and that he had sent to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. The doctor replied, "My life is not dear unto me, neither have I said or done any thing that urgeth my conscience; for what I have spoken of the state, I have instructions warranted by the subscriptions of sixteen counsellors; neither yet have I spoke further than the word of God and the laws of the realm do warrant me; come of me what God will; but be you assured, you shall never escape death, for if she should save you, they that now rule will kill you."

After he had been nine weeks prisoner in the *Marshall-sea*, he was set at liberty, by the mediation of Sir *Thomas Holcroft*, the knight-marshal. But some whisperers suggesting to bishop *Gardiner*, that he was the greatest heretic in *England*, and one, who, of all others, had most corrupted the university of *Cambridge*, *Gardiner* ordered strict search to be made for him. He was however so happy as to escape out of *England*, and in *May*, 1554, arrived at *Antwerp*. But he had not been there many hours, when receiving information that *K. Philip* had ordered search to be made for him, he hasted away to *Augsburg*; and after staying there fourteen days, he went to *Straßburg*, where he fixed his abode. His wife came there to him, but he had the misfortune to lose her, and one child.

Towards the end of the year 1558, he took a journey to *Zurich*, and lodged five weeks in *Peter Martyr's* house. Receiving there the agreeable news of bloody *Q. Mary's* death, he went back to *Straßburg*, and thence to *England*, where he arrived *January 13*, 1558. In *March* following, he was appointed, by *Q. Elizabeth* and her council, one of the nine Protestant divines, who were to hold a disputation against so many of the *Romish* persuasion, before both houses of parliament at *Westminster*. Also, he was one of the commissioners for preparing a form of prayer, or liturgy, to be laid before the parliament, and for deliberating on other matters for the Reformation of the church. And being looked upon as one of the most eminent Protestant divines, who were fittest to fill up the sees vacant by the deprivation of the popish prelates, he was nominated to the see of *Carlisle*, which he refused, but accepted of the bishopric of *Worcester*, vacant by the deprivation of *Richard Pates*. He was consecrated *December 21*, 1559. We are told, that he alienated good part of the revenues of this see; and he had a long controversy with Sir *John Bourn* of *Worcester*, which grew to such a height, that bishop *Sandys* was forced to vindicate his own life and innocency, unhandsonely traduced by Sir *John*, in an information, or declaration, of his to the privy-council. With respect to the alienation, he and all the other bishops were more or less compelled to do so by the court, which was inordinately rapacious after the goods of the church. How resolutely averse he was to these sacrileges, may be seen in *Strype's* life of archbishop *Whitgift*, p. 286, to which we refer the more curious Reader. Moreover, we are told, that he would not suffer Papists to remain in his diocese: And herein he was so earnest,

earnest, that he would not be persuaded to give them a toleration, by any prayers or intercessions made to him in their behalf. He appears indeed to have been of a severe disposition; for, in some of his first visitations, he deprived clergymen, which occasioned warm and expostulating letters between him and archbishop *Parker*.

Being a man well skilled in the original languages, as well as an excellent preacher, he was, about the year 1565, one of the bishops appointed to make a new translation of the Bible: And the portions thereof which fell to his share, were the first and second books of *Kings*, and the first and second of *Chronicles*. Upon the translation of Dr. *Edmund Grindal* from the see of *London* to the archbishopric of *York*, in 1570, bishop *Sandys* was pitched upon by the queen to succeed him at *London*. He earnestly excused himself a while, but accepted of it at last. In 1571, he was ordered by the queen to assist the archbishop of *Canterbury* in the ecclesiastical commission both against Papists and Puritans. He proceeded against them with vigor and severity, and advised that a national council should be held to suppress them: All which exposed him to their censures and invectives; and in their libels occasioned him to be much aspersed, to the blotting of his good name, and the endangering of his credit and reputation in his ministry. He complained of it therefore to the queen's chief officers, and desired that those slanderers might be brought before the temporal magistrate, the council, or the star-chamber. We find also, that he claimed to be superintendent of the *Dutch* church in *London*, as his predecessor bishop *Grindal* was; which occasioned some uneasiness between him and that congregation. In 1576, he was translated to the archbishopric of *York*; and, no sooner was he possessed of it, but he had like to lose his manor and palace of *Bishop's-thorp*, under pretence that it was fit for the use of the president of the council in the *North*. But the archbishop stood resolute, and would not part with it upon any account. His successor in the see of *London*, bishop *Aylmer*, gave him also some trouble about the rents of that bishopric, and dilapidations. He visited his province in 1577, but was refused admittance in the church of *Durham*, by *William Wittingham* the dean, who had no regular orders, as having received them at *Geneva*; and some of the prebendaries; the see being then void: And so high did the contest grow, that the bishop proceeded to excommunication. This affair lasted till the year 1578. With his own dean

at York, Dr. *Matthew Hutton*, he likewise had great and uneasy disputes. He made it a rule, not to grant the advowson, or promise of any preferment in his gift, before it actually became void, nor ever to take a resignation. Not only in his own diocese, but even in the university of *Cambridge*, he was very diligent and active in finding out Papists, and defeating their pernicious designs.

In May 1582, as he was visiting his diocese, the most audacious attempt that malice and revenge could possibly suggest, was made, to ruin at once his reputation; namely, by an inn-keeper's wife at *Doncaster* getting into bed to him; through the contrivance of Sir *Robert Stapleton*, and other wicked persons. The ground and reason of it was, that Sir *Robert* wanted to compel the archbishop to grant him an advantageous lease of his manors of *Southwell* and *Scrooby*. And he even procured the queen to solicit him to do it; but all in vain. The same attempt was repeated in 1587, in the earl of *Leicester's* behalf; and likewise without success. Endeavors also were used, in 1588, to get from him his archiepiscopal house, in *London*; which, however, he would not be prevailed upon to part with. In his time usury was so exorbitant, that it amounted to cent. per cent. He endeavored to restrain it, by preaching, and by bringing the offenders into the ecclesiastical commission, but met with great opposition. After a life full of troubles and contention, owing principally to the iniquity of the times, our learned primate left this world on the tenth of July, 1588, in the sixty-ninth year of his age; and was buried in the collegiate church of *Southwell*, where a monument is erected to his memory. He was twice married; first, to a daughter of Mr. *Sandes* of *Essex*, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and mind, which died at *Strasburg* of a consumption: Secondly, to *Cicely*, sister to Sir *Thomas Wilford*, of *Hartridge* in *Kent*, by whom he had seven sons, and two daughters. She lived till the year 1610. From Sir *Samuel*, the eldest son, is descended the present lord *Sandys*.

His WORKS. Several of his letters, and other papers, are inserted in *Strype's Annals*; in his Life of archbishop *Parker*; and in his Life of archbishop *Whitgift*; likewise in bishop *Burnet's History of the Reformation*; And in other places.—In 1616, two and twenty of his sermons were collected together, and printed at *London*, in a small 4to with this title. “Sermons of the most Reverend Father in GOD, *Edwin* Archbishop of *Yorke*, Primat and Metropolitane of *England*, Some whereof were preached in

in the parts beyond the seas, in the time of his exile, in the raigne of *Queene Marie*. The residue, in such places of preferment as he enjoyed under her late Majestie, *Queene Elizabeth*, of famous memorie: viz. He was in *Anno D.* 1559, first consecrated Bishop of *Worcester*; and thence translated to *London* in *Anno D.* 1570, and then removed to *York* in *Anno D.* 1576. With a Preface to the Christian Readers of their use and benefit; by a most reuerend Father now living." Two of them were preached at *Strafburg*; four before the queen; one before the parliament; five at *York*; and most of the rest at *Paul's Cross*. His style is good, much superior to the generality of the writers of those times. He also published A Relation of a Journey begun *An. Dom.* 1610, or his Travels to the Holy Land, and other places; adorned with cuts, taken mostly from the *Devotissimo Viaggio di Zullardo. Roma, 1587, 4to.*

WILLIAM FULKE, D.D.

THIS very eminent and learned divine of the Church of *England* was born, and received the first part of his education, in *London*. He was a youth of great parts and spirit; and it is reported of him, that having a literary contest with the famous *Edward Campian*, while he was at school, and losing the silver pen which was proposed to the victor, he was seized with grief and anger, to the highest degree imaginable. Afterwards he was sent to *St. John's-college* in *Cambridge*, in the year 1555, of which he was chosen fellow in the year 1564. He had spent six years of this interval, in the study of the law at *Clifford's-inn*, agreeable to his father's humor and inclination; who was so offended at his returning to college, that he refused to grant him any supplies, although he was very rich. *Fulke*, however, easily made his way, by his parts and learning. He applied himself to mathematics; to languages, the oriental in particular; to divinity: And he became eminent, and published books in them all. In process of time, he was suspected of puritanism, with which he was supposed to be infected by *Cartwright*, the divinity professor, and his intimate friend: And

And on this account was expelled his college. He took lodgings in the town, and maintained himself for some-time by reading lectures. The earl of *Leicester*, laboring at that time to ingratiate himself with the eminent divines of all denominations and principles, as thinking they would be his best support in time of need, took *Fulke* under his patronage; and in the year 1571, presented him to the living of *Warley*, in the county of *Essex*, and two years after to that of *Didington* in *Suffolk*. Soon after, the earl sent him to *Cambridge* with a *mandamus* for his doctor of divinity's degree, in order to qualify him to attend, as he afterwards did, an ambassador into *France*. Upon his return, he was made master of *Pembroke-hall*, and *Margaret* professor of divinity, in *Cambridge*; and, in possession of these preferments, he died in *August*, 1589, and was buried on the twenty-eighth of that month at his rectory at *Didington*. He had a wife and family.

His WORKS are very numerous; written in *Latin* and *English*; levelled chiefly against the Papists; and dedicated, several of them, to *Q. Elizabeth* and the earl of *Leicester*. The most considerable of them is his "Confutation of the *Rhemish* Testament," printed in 1580, and reprinted in 1601. The occasion was as follows: The *English* Papists in the seminary at *Rheims* perceiving, as *Fuller* observes in his book entitled, 'The *English* Worthis,' that they could no longer 'blindfold their laity from the scriptures, resolved 'to fit them with false spectacles; and set forth the *Rhemish* translation,' in opposition to the Protestant versions. No man fitter, says a late eminent historian, in point either of learning or of grace, to stand forth in the name of the church of *England*, than Dr. *Fulke*, master of *Pembroke-hall*, and *Margaret*, professor of divinity in *Cambridge*. He accordingly undertook, and successfully accomplished, an entire refutation of the popish version and commentary. It is entitled "The Text of the New Testament of *Jesus Christ*, translated out of the vulgar *Latin* by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie *Rhemes*: With Arguments of Books, Chapters, and Annotations, pretending to discover the Corruptions of divers Translations, and to clear the Controversies of those Days. Whereunto is added the Translation out of the Original *Greek*, commonly used in the Church of *England*: With a Confutation of all such Arguments, Glosses, and Annotations, as containe manifest Impietie of Heresie, Treason, and Slander against the Catholicke Church of God, and the true Teachers thereof,





From an Original picture, in the Possession of D.^r Gifford.

“ thereof, or the Translations used in the Church of
 “ *England*. The whole Worke, perused and enlarged
 “ in divers places by the Author’s owne Hand before his
 “ death; with sundry Quotations and Authorities out of
 “ Holy Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, and History:
 “ More amply than in the former Edition.”—This Work
 was published again in 1617, and 1633, in folio, as it
 was before. It is one of those, which the Author dedi-
 cated to the queen. The late great and good Mr. *Hervey*
 (though he was, sometimes, rather too candid and indis-
 criminate, in his public recommendation of books) passed
 a very just encomium on Dr. *Fulke’s* noble performance;
 which he styles, a ‘valuable Piece of antient Controversy
 ‘ and Criticism, full of *sound Divinity, weighty Argu-*
 ‘ *ments, and important Observations.*’ Adding, ‘Would
 ‘ the young Student be taught to discover the *very Sinews*
 ‘ of Popery, and be enabled to give an Effectual Blow to
 ‘ that Complication of errors; I scarce know a Treatise
 ‘ better calculated for the Purpose.’

JEROM ZANCHIUS.

IT has been asserted, that this great divine was born at
Alzano, a town of *Italy*, situate in the valley of *Seri*,
 or *Serio*. But the learned *John Sturmius*, who was not
 only *Zanchius’s* contemporary, but one of his most inti-
 mate friends, expressly affirms, in a speech delivered on a
 public and important occasion, that he was *nobili natus fa-*
miliâ Bergomi; born of an illustrious family, at *Bergamo*,
 the capital of a little province, in the *North-West* of
Italy; antiently, a part of *Gallia Cispadana*; but, in the
 year 1428, made a parcel of the *Venetian* territory; as it
 still continues. I look upon *Sturmius’s* testimony, as de-
 cisive: It being hardly credible that he could mistake the
 native place of a colleague, whom he so highly valued,
 who was living at the very time, and with whom he had
 opportunity of conversing daily. *Sturmius* adds, that
 there was then remaining, at *Bergamo*, a fortress built
 (probably by some of *Zanchius’s* ancestors) known by the
 name of the *Zanchian Tower*.

In

In this city was our Author born, *February 2, 1516*. At the time of his birth, part of the public service then performing was, *a light to lighten the Gentiles, &c.* And, by GOD's good providence, the Reformation broke forth, the very next year, in *Germany*, under the auspices of *Luther*; and began to spread far and wide.

At the age of twelve years, *Zanchius* lost his father, who died of the plague, A. D. 1528. His mother survived her husband but three years. Deprived thus of both his parents, *Zanchius* resolved on a monastic life: And accordingly joined himself to a society of Canons Regular. He did this, partly to improve himself in literature, and partly for the sake of being with some of his relations, who had before entered themselves of that house. Here he continued nineteen years; chiefly devoting his studies to *Aristotle*, the languages, and school-divinity.

It was his happiness to become acquainted, very early in life, with *Celsus Maximinian*, count of *Martino-gio*: Who, from being, like *Zanchius*, a bigoted Papist, by education; became, afterwards, a burning and shining light in the Reformed church. Of our Author's intimacy with this excellent nobleman, and its blessed effects, himself gives us the following account: "I left *Italy* for the gospel's sake; to which I was not a little animated, by the example of count *Maximinian*, a learned and pious personage, and my most dear brother in the Lord. We had lived together, under one roof, and in a state of the strictest religious friendship, for the greater part of sixteen years; being, both of us, canons regular; of, nearly, the same age and standing; unisons in temper and disposition; pursuing the same course of studies; and, which was better still, joint hearers of *Peter Martyr*, when that apostolic man publicly expounded St. *Paul's* Epistle to the *Romans*, and gave private lectures on the *Psalms* to us his monks." From this memorable period we are, evidently, to date the æra of *Zanchius's* awakening to a true sight and experimental sense of divine things. His friend the count, and the learned *Tremellius*, were also converted, about the same time, under the ministry of *Martyr*.

This happy change being effected, our Author's studies began to run in a new channel. "The count (says he) and myself betook ourselves to a diligent reading of the holy scriptures; To which we joined a perusal of the best of the fathers, and particularly St. *Austin*. For some
2 " years,

“ years, we went on thus in private; and, in public, we
 “ preached the gospel, as far as we were able, in its pu-
 “ rity. The count, whose gifts and graces were abun-
 “ dantly superior to mine, preached with much greater
 “ enlargement of spirit, and freedom of utterance, than I
 “ could ever pretend to: It was, therefore, no wonder
 “ that he found himself constrained to fly his country
 “ before I was. The territory of the *Grisons* was his im-
 “ mediate place of retreat: From whence removing soon
 “ after, he settled at *Geneva*; where he commenced the
 “ first pastor of the Protestant *Italian* church in that
 “ city. Having faithfully executed this sacred office,
 “ for some years, he at length comfortably fell asleep in
 “ *Christ*,” A. D. 1558, after having, on his death-bed,
 commended the oversight of his flock to the great *Calvin*.

It was in the year 1550, that *Peter Martyr* himself was obliged to quit *Italy*, where he could no longer preach, nor even stay, with safety. Toward the latter end of the same year, eighteen of his disciples were forced to follow their master from their native land; of which number *Zanchius* was one. Being thus a refugee, or, as himself used to express it, “ delivered from his *Babylonish* captivity;” he went into *Grisony*, where he continued upwards of eight months; and then to *Geneva*, where, after a stay of near a twelvemonth, he received an invitation to *England* (upon the recommendation of *Peter Martyr*, then in this kingdom) to fill a divinity-professorship here; I suppose, at *Oxford*, where *Martyr* had been for some time settled. *Zanchius* embraced the offer, and began his journey; but was detained on his way by a counter invitation to *Strasburg*, where the divinity chair had been lately vacated by the death of the excellent *Caspar Hedio*.

Zanchius was fixed at *Strasburg*, A. D. 1553, and taught there almost eleven years: But not without some uneasiness to himself, occasioned by the malicious opposition of several, who persecuted him for much the same reason that *Cain* hated righteous *Abel*, 1 *John* iii. 12. Matters, however, went on tolerably, during the life-time of *Sturmius*; who was then at the head of the university, and *Zanchius*’s fast friend. At *Strasburg* it was that he presented the famous declaration of his faith concerning predestination, final perseverance, and the Lord’s supper. He gave it in to the senate *October* 22, 1562.

In proportion as the old senators and divines died off, one by one, *Zanchius*’s situation at *Strasburg* grew more and more uncomfortable. Matters at length came to that

height, that he was required to subscribe to the *Augsburg* confession, on pain of losing his professorship. After mature deliberation, he did indeed subscribe; but with this declared restriction, *modò orthodoxè intelligatur*; "that it should be understood only in an orthodox sense." Notwithstanding the express limitation with which he fettered his subscription, still this great and good man seems, for peace sake, to have granted too much, concerning the manner of *Christ's* presence in the Lord's supper; as appears by the first of the three theses, maintained by him about this time.

Not content with *Zanchius's* concessions, several of the *Straßburg* bigots persisted in raising a controversial dust; particularly *John Marbach*, native of *Schawben*, or *Swabia*: A turbulent, unsteady theologist; pedantic, and abusive; a weak, but fiery disputer, who delighted to live in the smoke of contention and virulent debate. He was, among the rest of his good qualities, excessively loquacious; which made *Luther* say of him, on a very public occasion, *Ori hujus Suevi nunquam araneæ poterunt telas texere*; 'this talkative *Swabian* need not be afraid of spiders; for he keeps his lips in such constant motion, that no spider will ever be able to weave a cobweb on his mouth.' His opponents tendered accusations against him, of errors in point of doctrine; particularly for his supposed heterodoxy concerning the nature of the Lord's supper; his denial of the ubiquity of *Christ's* natural body, and his protesting against the lawfulness of images, &c. Nay, they even went so far, as to charge him with unsound opinions concerning predestination and the perseverance of the truly regenerate: So early did some of *Luther's* pretended disciples, after the death of that glorious Reformer (and he had not been dead at this time above fifteen years) begin to fall off from the doctrines he taught, though they still had the effrontery to call themselves by his name!

A grand occasion of this dissention, was a book concerning the eucharist, and in defence of consubstantiation, written by one *Heshusius*; a fierce, invidious Preacher, who lavished the opprobrious names of heretic and atheist on all, without distinction, whose religious system went an hair's breadth above or below his own standard. In his preface, he grossly reflected on the elector palatine, (*Frederic III.*) *Peter Martyr*, *Bullinger*, *Calvin*, *Zuinglius*, *Oecolampadius*, and other great divines of that age. *Zanchius*, in mere respect to these venerable names, did, in con-

concert with the learned *Sturmius*, prevail with the magistrates of *Strasburg* to prohibit the impresson. Mr. *Bayle* is so candid as to acknowledge, that ‘*Zanchius*’ caused this book to be suppressed, not on account of ‘its doctrine, which he left to the judgement of the church; but for the calumnies of the preface.’ *Zanchius* was a zealous friend to religious liberty. He had too great a share of good sense and real religion, to pursue any measures, which simply tended either to restrain men from declaring their principles with safety, or to shackle the human mind in its enquiries after truth. But he ardently wished to see the contending parties, of every denomination, carry on their debates with Christian meekness, modesty, and benevolence: And, where these amiable ingredients were wanting, he looked upon disputation as a malignant fever, endangering the health, peace, and safety of the church. When candor is lost, truth is rarely found.

Notwithstanding the precautions taken by the magistrates, *Heshusius*’s incendiary piece stole through the press: And *Zanchius*’s efforts, to stifle its publication, were looked upon, by the author’s party, as an injury never to be forgiven. They left no methods unessayed, to remove him from his professorship. Many compromising expedients were proposed, by the moderate of both parties. The chapter of *St. Thomas* (of which *Zanchius* himself was a canon) met, to consider what course should be pursued. By them, it was referred to a select committee of thirteen. *Zanchius* offered to debate the agitated points, in a friendly and peaceable manner, with his opponents: Which offer not being accepted, he made several journies to other churches and universities in different parts of *Germany*; and requested their opinions: Which he brought with him in writing. Things, however, could not be settled, till the senate of *Strasburg* convened an assembly, from other districts, consisting partly of divines, and partly of persons learned in the laws. These referees, after hearing both sides, recurred to the old, fruitless expedient, of agreeing on certain articles, to which they advised each party to subscribe. *Zanchius*, desirous of laying these unchristian heats, and, at the same time, no less determined to preserve integrity and a good conscience; subscribed in these cautious terms: *Hanc doctrinæ formulam ut piam agnosco, ita etiam recipio*: “I acknowledge this summary “of doctrine to be pious, and so I admit it.” This condescension, on *Zanchius*’s part, was not followed by

those peaceful effects, which were expected. The peace was too loosely patched up, to be of any long duration. His adversaries began to worry him afresh; and, just as measures were bringing on the carpet, for a new and more lasting compromise, our divine received an invitation to the church of *Chiavenna*, situate on the borders of *Italy*, and in the territory of the *Grisons*.

Augustin Mainard, pastor of that place, was lately dead; and a messenger arrived, to let *Zanchius* know that he was chosen to succeed him. Having very slender prospect of peace at *Strasburg*, he obtained the consent of the senate to resign his canonry of *St. Thomas*, and professorship of divinity. Whilst the above debates were depending, he had received separate invitations to *Zurich*, *Geneva*, *Leyden*, *Heidelberg*, *Marpurg*, and *Lausanne*: But, till he had seen the result of things at *Strasburg*, he did not judge any of these calls sufficiently providential to determine his removal.

He left *Strasburg* in *November*, 1563, and entered on his pastoral charge at *Chiavenna*, the beginning of *January* following. But he had not long been there, before the town was visited by a dismal pestilence, which, within the space of seven months, carried off twelve hundred of the inhabitants. *Zanchius*, however, continued to exercise his ministry, as long as there was an assembly to preach to. At length, the far greater part of the towns-men being swept away, he retreated for a while, with his family, to an adjoining mountain. His own account is this (tom. vii. part 1. col. 36, 37.) “*Mainard*, my pious predecessor, had often foretold the calamity, with which “the town of *Chiavenna* has been since visited. All the “inhabitants have been too well convinced, that that “holy man of GOD did not prophesy at random.—When “the plague actually began to make havock, I enforced “repentance and faith, while I had a place to preach in, “or any congregation to hear.—Many being dead, and “others having fled the town (like ship-wrecked mariners, who, to avoid instant destruction, make toward “what coast they can); but very few remained: And, “of these remaining few, some were almost terrified to death, others were solely employed in taking care of the “sick, and others in guarding the walls.—They concurred in advising me to consult my own safety, by “withdrawing, for a time, till the indignation should “be overpast. I betook myself, therefore, with all my “family, to an high mountain, not a vast way from the
“ town,

“ town, yet remote from human converse, and peculiarly
 “ formed for contemplation and unmolested retirement.
 “ Here we led a solitary life, for three months and an
 “ half. I devoted my time, chiefly, to meditation and
 “ writing; to prayer, and reading the scriptures. I never
 “ was happier in my own soul, nor enjoyed a better share
 “ of health.” Afterwards, the plague beginning to abate,
 he quitted his retreat, and resumed the public exercise of
 his function.

After four years continuance at *Chiavenna*, *Frederic III.*,
 elector palatine, prevailed with him to accept a divinity
 professorship, in the university of *Heidelberg*, upon the
 decease of the famous *Zachary Ursin*. In the beginning
 of the year 1568, *Zanchius* entered on his new situation;
 and, shortly after, opened the chair, with an admirable
 oration, *De conservando in ecclesiâ puro puro verbo Dei*. In
 the same year, he received his doctor's degree: The elec-
 tor palatine, and his son, prince *Casimir*, honoring the
 ceremony with their presence.

He had not been long settled in the palatinate, when
 the elector (one of the most amiable and religious princes
 of that age) strongly solicited him to confirm and eluci-
 date the doctrine of the Trinity, by writing a professed
 treatise on that most important subject: Desiring him,
 moreover, to be very particular and explicit, in canvassing
 the arguments made use of by the Socinians; who had
 then fixed their head-quarters in *Poland* and *Transylvania*,
 and were exhausting every artifice, of sophistry and sub-
 terfuge, to degrade the Son and Spirit of GOD to the
 level of mere creatures. *Zanchius* accordingly employed
 his leisure hours in obeying this pious command. His
 masterly and elaborate treatise *De Dei naturâ*; and that
De tribus Elohim uno eodemque Jehovah; were written on
 this occasion: Treatises, fraught with the most solid learn-
 ing and argument; breathing, at the same time, the amia-
 ble spirit of genuine candor and transparent piety. Among
 a variety of interesting particulars, he does not omit to
 inform his Readers, that *Lælius Socinus*, and other favor-
 ers of the Servetian hypothesis, had spared neither pains,
 nor art, to pervert his judgement, and win him over to
 their party: But that, finding him inflexible, they had
 broke off all intercourse with him; and, from artful adu-
 lators, commenced his determined enemies. An event
 this, which he even looked upon as a blessing, and for
 which he conceived himself bound to render his best
 thanks to the supreme head of the church, *Christ Jesus*.

—He

—He retained his professorship at *Heidelberg* ten years; when the elector *Frederic* being dead, he removed to *Newstadt*, the residence of prince *John Casimir*, count palatine. Here he chose to fix his station for the present, in preference to two invitations he had just received; one from the university of *Leyden*, then lately opened; the other from the Protestant church at *Antwerp*.—The conduct of Divine Providence, respecting *Zanchius's* frequent removals, is very observable. He was a lover of peace, and passionately fond of retirement. But he was too bright a luminary to be always continued in one place. The salt of the earth must be sprinkled here and there, in order to be extensively useful, and to season the church throughout. Hence GOD's faithful ministers, like the officers in a monarch's army, are quartered in various places; stationed and remanded hither and thither, as may most conduce to their Master's service.

The church of *Newstadt*, enjoyed our Author upwards of seven years. Being, by that time, far advanced in life, and the infirmities of age coming on him very fast, he found himself obliged to cease from that constant series of labor, and intenseness of application, which he had, so long, and so indefatigably, undergone. He was, at his own request, dismissed, from public service, at *Newstadt*, by the elector *Casimir*; receiving, at the same time, very substantial marks of respect and favor from that religious and generous prince.

From *Newstadt*, he repaired, once more, to *Heidelberg*; chiefly with a view to see some of his old friends. This proved his last removal on earth: For, shortly after, his soul, now ripe for glory, dropt the body, and ascended to heaven, about six in the morning of *November 19, 1590*, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. His remains were interred at *Heidelberg*, in the college chapel of *St. Peter*; where a small monumental stone was set up to his memory, with this inscription:

HIERONYMI hic sunt condita ossa ZANCHII,

Itali; exulantis, CHRISTI amore, à patriâ:

Qui Theologus quantus fuerit et Philosophus,

Testantur hoc, Libri editi ab Eo plurimi;

Testantur hoc, quos voce docuit in Scholis;

Quique audire Eum docentem ecclesias.

Nunc ergo, quamvis hinc migrârit Spiritu,

Claro tamen nobis remansit nomine.

Decessit A. MDXC. Die 19. Novemb.

Here

Here ZANCHY rests, whom love of truth constrain'd
 To quit his own and seek a foreign land.
 How good and great he was, how form'd to shine,
 How fraught with science human and divine;
 Sufficient proof his num'rous writings give,
 And those who heard him teach and saw him live,
 Earth still enjoys him, tho' his soul is fled:
 His name is deathless, tho' his dust be dead.

He departed hence in the year 1590, and on the nineteenth day of *November*.

One cannot help lamenting, that no more is to be collected concerning this incomparable man, than a few outlines of his life; comprizing little else but a dry detail of dates and removals.

Some very old and scarce prints, struck from engravings on wood, represent him as extremely corpulent, even to unwieldiness: And yet, from the astonishing extent, profoundness, and exquisite activity, of his learning, judgement, and genius, one might well nigh be induced to imagine, that he consisted entirely of soul, without any dead weight of body at all. By the favor of Dr. *Gifford*, of the *British Museum*, we can present our Readers with a fine print taken from an antient, and, we believe, original painting. But however, of his mind, his writings present us with the loveliest image. He seems to have been possessed, and in a very superior degree, of those graces, virtues, and abilities, which ennoble and exalt human nature to the highest elevation it is capable of below. His clear insight into the truths of the gospel, is wonderful; especially, considering that the church of GOD was but just emerging from the long and dismal night of popish darkness, and himself, previous to his conversion, as deeply plunged in the shades as any. It is a blessing, which but few are favored with, to step, almost at once, out of midnight into meridian day. He was thoroughly experienced in the divine life of the soul; and an happy subject of that internal kingdom of GOD, which lies in *righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*. This enabled him to sustain that violence of opposition, which he, almost constantly, met with. Few persons have, ordinarily, borne a larger share of the cross; and, perhaps, none were enabled to sustain it better. In him were happily centred all the meek benevolence of charity, and all the adamantine firmness of intrepidity: Qualities, alas! not constantly united in men of orthodoxy and learning.

He

He was intimately conversant with the writings of the fathers, and of the philosophers of that and the preceding times. His modesty and humility were singular. No man was ever more studious to preserve peace in the church of *Christ*, nor more highly relished the pleasures of learned and religious friendship. For some time before his decease, it pleased GOD to deprive him of his eye-sight : For this seems to be the meaning of the excellent *Melchior Adam*; from whom is borrowed much of the preceding account.

His WORKS, which, with his Letters, and some other small pieces included, are divided into 9 tomes, were collected and published, by his executors, some years after his death ; and are usually bound together in 3 vols. folio. His admirable treatise on *Predestination* has been translated into *English* by Mr. *Toplady*. He was twice married, and had several children ; none of which appear to have survived him.

JAMES ANDREAS.

THIS famous Lutheran divine, of the sixteenth century, was born at *Waibling*, in the duchy of *Wurtemberg*, on the twenty-fifth of *March*, 1528. His parents, being poor, intended to bring him up to some mechanical business, and had agreed with a carpenter for that purpose ; but several persons of distinction, having discovered in him the marks of a promising genius, contributed to support him in the prosecution of his studies : He was accordingly educated under *Alexander Marcoleon*, and in a short space acquired a competent knowledge of the *Latin* and *Greek*, together with logic and rhetoric. In 1541, he was sent to *Tubing*, where he took his degree of bachelor of arts two years after ; and, having finished his course of philosophy in 1545, he became master of arts. In 1546, he was appointed minister of the church of *Stuttgart*, the metropolis of the duchy of *Wurtemberg* ; but, upon the publication of the *Interim*, he was obliged to return to *Tubing*, where he performed the duty of minister. In 1553, he took his degree of doctor in divinity,

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and

and was appointed pastor of the church of *Gopping*, and superintendant of the neighboring churches. In 1557, he went to the diet of *Ratisbon* with *Christopher* duke of *Wirtemberg*, and was appointed one of the secretaries at the conference at *Worms* between the papists and the divines of the *Augustan* confession. The same year he published his first work, *De cæna Domini*, "of the Lord's supper." In 1558, he wrote a reply to *Staphylus*'s book against *Luther*. In 1559, he was sent to *Augsburg*, where the diet of the empire was held. In 1561, he was sent to *Paris* to be present at the conference of *Poissi*, but it broke up before he came thither. Upon this return, he was appointed chancellor and rector of the university of *Tubing*. In 1565, he was invited to establish a church at *Hagenaw*, an imperial city, where he preached several sermons upon the principal points of the Christian religion, which were afterwards printed. In 1568, he assisted *Julius*, duke of *Brunswick*, in reforming his churches. In 1569, he took a journey to *Heidelberg*, *Brunswick*, and *Denmark*.

In 1570, he went to *Misnia* and *Prague*, where the emperor *Maximilian II.* had a conversation with him upon an agreement in religion. In 1573, he was sent to *Memming*, an imperial town, to stop the progress of the *Zuinglian* doctrine, propagated by *Eusebius Cleber*; who being admonished by *Andreas*, before the senate, and continuing inflexible, was removed from his ministry. He went afterwards to *Lindaw*, an imperial town upon the *Maine*, where he had a conference with *Tobias Rupius*, minister of that church, who had embraced the tenets of *Flaccius Illyricus*, and confuted him before the senate and all the people. In the beginning of the year 1576, he was sent for by *Philip Lewis*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, to consult upon ecclesiastical affairs: And, by the magistrates of *Ratisbon*, to determine a dispute between the ministers of that church and the senate, concerning excommunication. While he was absent upon these affairs, *Augustus*, elector of *Saxony*, wrote letters to *Lewis*, duke of *Wirtemberg*, to desire the assistance of *Andreas*; because he found that the divines of *Wirtemberg* had introduced the *Zuinglian* doctrines, and propagated them among the youth. *Andreas* therefore went to *Torgau* in *April* following, and was present at the assembly of divines held there, to settle a form of agreement, and put an end to the disputes which were raised in different parts. To this assembly the elector had likewise invited several other eminent divines, who wrote in conjunction a book, which was afterwards revised at

Bergen. *Andreas* was sent by the elector of *Saxony*, upon the same account, to *Julius*, duke of *Brunswick*, *Lewis*, landgrave of *Hesse*, and *George*, marquis of *Brandenburg*. In 1586, he was engaged in a conference, at *Mompelgard*, with *Theodore Beza*, concerning the Lord's supper, the person of *Christ*, predestination, baptism, the reformation of the popish churches, and other things; but this had the usual event of all other conferences, which, though designed, as *Thuanus* observes, to put an end to disputes in divinity, are often the occasion of still greater. In 1587, he was sent to *Nordling* on church affairs; and, on his return, fell sick, and published his confession of faith, to obviate the imputations of his adversaries: But he afterwards recovered, and was sent for again to *Ratisbon*, and then to *Onolfsbach*, by *Frederick*, marquis of *Brandenburg*. Upon the publications of the conference at *Mompelgard* abovementioned, he was accused of having falsely imputed some things to *Beza*, which the latter had never asserted; he therefore went to *Bern*, to clear himself of the charge. His last public act was a conference at *Baden*, in *November*, 1589, with *John Pistorius*.

When he found death drawing near, he made a declaration to several of his friends, concerning his constancy in the faith which he had preached, and published, for forty-four years. When his physician inquired of him, how he found himself? He answered, "By nothing separated from my God." Soon afterwards, hearing the clock strike, he asked what hour it was? And upon being told it was six, he added, "My hour shall soon draw near." He used many edifying expressions to those about him, and declared great thankfulness to his gracious GOD and Saviour for his manifold mercies to his body and soul. At length, he breathed out his soul with this sentence; *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit!* His departure was on the seventh of *January*, 1590, in the sixty-second year of his age. The following character is given him by *Melchior Adam*. 'He was, (says
' this Author), an excellent preacher, had an easy manner of instructing the people, and delivered the most obscure points in such a perspicuous style, that they were
' understood by the generality of the audience. When
' he exhorted them to the reformation of their lives, or
' remonstrated against sin, he made use of great energy of
' language and elevation of voice, being extremely well
' qualified both by nature and art for moving the passions; and when there was occasion for it, his eloquence

‘ quence was forcible like thunder, and he spoke with
 ‘ such vehemence that he would sweat all over his body,
 ‘ even in the midst of winter. In executing the several
 ‘ branches of his duty, he spared no labour, and was de-
 ‘ terred by no fatigue. He was perpetually engaged in
 ‘ composing some work or other, or in writing letters,
 ‘ upon various subjects, to persons of all ranks who con-
 ‘ sulted him: These things he dispatched with admirable
 ‘ quickness and success. There was hardly a day passed,
 ‘ but he gave advice to several persons; being always
 ‘ ready to gratify those who solicited his assistance. He
 ‘ was in great favour with some princes and men of the
 ‘ highest rank, his conversation being very agreeable and
 ‘ facetious. He had a warm zeal for the religion which
 ‘ he professed, and was extremely sorry whenever he heard
 ‘ that any person had abandoned it.’

He wrote a great number of Books; the most remark-
 able of which was his book “On Concord;” and some
 Treatises he had wrote on the “Ubiquity of Christ.”
 He labored much and strove long for concord; but
 he might have taken up the words of the Psalmist,
 and said, *My soul is among lions, and I lie even among*
them that are set on fire, even the sons of men, whose teeth
are spears and arrows, and their TONGUE a sharp sword.
 Psalm lvii. 4. He fared as people do, who interpose be-
 tween combatants,—get blows from both sides, and be
 thanked by neither. His reward was not from men, but
 from HIM, who hath a particular blessing for the *peace-*
makers.

By his excellent and affectionate wife, he had no less
 than eighteen children, nine of whom survived him.

T H O M A S C O O P E R,

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Thomas Cooper, a learned *English* bishop, was born at
Oxford, about the year 1517, and educated in gram-
 mar learning in the school adjoining to St. *Mary Mag-*
dalen-college; of which, having made a great progress, and
 gained a high reputation, he was elected first demi, then
 probationer in the year 1539, and perpetual fellow the

year after. He quitted his fellowship in the year 1546, being then married, as it is supposed; and when *Q. Mary* came to the crown, applied himself to the study of physic, and taking a bachelor's degree, practised in that faculty at *Oxford*. He did this, because he was secretly inclined to the Protestant religion; and therefore, upon the death of that queen, returned to his former study of divinity. Upon the eighteenth of *March*, 1567, he took a doctor of divinity's degree, and about that time was made dean of *Christ-church* in *Oxford*. In 1569, he was made dean of *Gloucester*, and the year after bishop of *Lincoln*. Upon the twenty-seventh of *July*, 1572, he preached a sermon at *St. Paul's Cross*, in vindication of the Church of *England*, and its liturgy; to which an answer was sent him by a disaffected person, which answer Mr. *Strype* hath printed at length in his *Annals of the Reformation*. In the year 1577, the queen sent him a letter to put a stop to those public exercises, called prophesyings, in his diocese. These prophesyings were grounded upon *1 Cor. xiv. 31. Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.* They were set on foot in several parts of the kingdom about the year 1571; and consisted of conferences among the clergy, for the better improving of themselves, and one another, in the knowledge of scripture and divinity; but in 1577 were generally suppressed, on account of their being thought seminaries of puritanism. In the year 1584, he was translated to the bishopric of *Winchester*; which diocese abounding greatly with Papists, he petitioned the privy-council to suppress them, and among other methods proposed, "that
 " an hundred or two of obstinate recusants, lusty men,
 " well able to labour, might by some convenient com-
 " mission be taken up, and be sent into *Flanders* as
 " pioneers and labourers, whereby the country should be
 " disburdened of a company of dangerous people, and
 " the rest that remained be put in some fear."

This reverend and holy Bishop, as Mr. *Wood* calls him, upon the discovery of *William Parry's* treason, put out an order of prayer and thanksgiving for the preservation of the queen's life and safety, to be used in the diocese of *Winchester*; and on the seventeenth of *November*, 1588, preached at *St. Paul's Cross*, that being a day of public thanksgiving, as well for the queen's accession to the throne, as for the victory obtained over the *Spanish armada*. He died at *Winchester* upon the twenty-ninth of *April*, 1594, and was buried in the cathedral there.

Over his grave, which is on the south side of the choir, was soon after laid a flat marble, with a Latin inscription in prose and verse.

His WRITINGS were, “ 1. The epitome of Chronicles from the seventeenth year after *Christ* to 1540, and from thence afterwards to the year 1560, *Lond.* 1560, 4to. the two first parts of this Chronicle, and the beginning of the third, as far as the seventeenth year after *Christ*, were composed by *Thomas Lanquet*, a young man of twenty-four years old: But he dying immaturely, Mr. *Cooper* finished the work, and published it under the title of *Cooper's Chronicle*, though the running title of the first and second parts is *Lanquet's Chronicle*. A faulty edition of this work was published surreptitiously in 1559: But that of 1560 was revised and corrected by Mr. *Cooper*. 2. *Thesaurus linguæ Romanæ & Britannicæ, &c.* and *Dictionary historicum & poeticum*, *Lond.* 1565, folio. This dictionary was so much esteemed by *Q. Elizabeth*, that she endeavored, as Mr. *Wood* tells us, to promote the Author for it in the church as high as she could. It is an improvement of *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*, *Elyot's* library or dictionary, printed at *London* in 1541, or, as some think, it is taken out of *Robert Stephens's Thesaurus linguæ Latinæ*, and out of *Frisii lexicon Latino-Teutonicum*. 3. A brief exposition of such chapters of the Old Testament, as usually are read in the church at common prayer, on the *Sundays* throughout the year, *Lond.* 1573, 4to. 4. A Sermon at *Lincoln*, 1575, *Lond.* 8vo. 5. Twelve Sermons, 1580, 4to. 6. An Admonition to the people of *England*, wherein are answered not only the slanderous untruths, reproachfully uttered by *Martin*, the libeller, but also many other crimes by some of his brood, objected generally against all bishops and the chief of the clergy, purposely to deface and discredit the present state of the church, *Lond.* 1589, 4to. This was an answer to *John ap Henry's* books against the established church, published under the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate*. *Ap Henry*, or his club of puritans, replied to the bishop's book, in two ludicrous pamphlets, entitled, *Ha' ye any work for a Cooper?* and, *More work for a Cooper.*

The character of this Bishop has been represented in an advantageous light, by several writers. One styles him a very learned man; eloquent and well acquainted with the *English* and *Latin* languages. Another says, that he was a man of great gravity, learning, and holiness of life. He was, (says *Anthony Wood*,) furnished with all kind
of

‘ of learning, almost beyond all his contemporaries, and
 ‘ not only adorned the pulpit with his sermons, but also
 ‘ the commonwealth of learning with his writings.’ ‘ Of
 ‘ him, (says Sir *John Harrington*,) I can say much, and
 ‘ I should do him great wrong, if I should say nothing :
 ‘ For he was indeed a reverend man, very well learned,
 ‘ exceeding industrious; and, which was in those days
 ‘ counted a great praise to him, and a chief cause of his
 ‘ preferment, he wrote that great dictionary that yet bears
 ‘ his name. His life in *Oxford* was very commendable,
 ‘ and in some sort saint-like; for, if it is saint-like to
 ‘ live unreprouvable, to bear a cross patiently, to forgive
 ‘ great injuries freely, this man’s example is sampleless
 ‘ in this age.’ He married a wife at *Oxford*, by whom he
 had two daughters; but he was not happy with her, she
 proving unfaithful to his bed. ‘ The whole university,
 ‘ (Sir *John Harrington* tells us,) in reverence of the man,
 ‘ and indignity of the matter, offered to separate her from
 ‘ him by public authority, and so to set him free, being
 ‘ the innocent party: But he would by no means agree
 ‘ thereto, alledging he knew his own infirmity, that he
 ‘ might not live unmarried; and to divorce and marry
 ‘ again, he would not charge his conduct with so great
 ‘ a scandal.’ And bishop *Godwin* speaks of him in a very
 emphatical strain,

WILLIAM WHITAKER, D. D.

WILLIAM WHITAKER was born in the year
 1547, in the county of *Lancaster*, where the fa-
 milies of both his father and mother had long resided, and
 at a place called *Holme*, in the parish of *Bournley*; a
 mountainous situation, and such as, on account of the
 purity of the air, is (if *Cicero* may be believed) the most
 proper for producing the best geniuses. Mr. *Whitaker*’s
 parents were both of honorable descent. His father, by
 hereditary right, possessed the antient inheritance of the
Whitakers, which had continued in that family for several
 ages. His mother was yet more honorable as to her birth,
 being descended from the two illustrious families of the
Townleys of *Townley*, and the *Nowells* of *Read*. He spent
 his

his childhood under the care of his parents, learning the first rudiments of grammar in the school of *Bournley*, till the age of thirteen; at which time Dr. *Alex. Nowell*, his uncle, dean of *St. Paul's*, sent for him to *London*, boarded him in his own house, and had him instructed by the master of *St. Paul's* school, till it was thought proper to send him to the university. At the age of eighteen he was admitted of *Trinity-college, Cambridge*, under the tuition of Mr. *West*; where he followed his studies with such diligence and improvement, that he was first chosen scholar, and afterwards elected fellow, of that college. Being now in a more conspicuous point of view, he began to shine among those of his own age; and to give no mean specimen of his extraordinary genius and learning: For, in all the scholastic disputations, both in his own college and in the public schools, he always carried off with him extraordinary commendations, and the greatest encomiums on his capacity.

In due time, with universal applause, he took the degree of bachelor, and then that of master, in arts. His talents, considerable as they were, gave him no elation of mind; but he adorned them by his doctrine and modesty. He did not, as too many university-students do, after having taken their degrees, as if all their business was over, give themselves up to ease and pleasure; but became the more eager in pursuit of knowledge, and followed his studies with the greater assiduity and improvement. And that he might exhibit some proof of his labor, as well as his gratitude, he translated into *Greek*, an excellent catechism of his uncle's, published in *Latin*, and dedicated this first fruit of his learning to his learned uncle Dr. *Nowell*. He was desirous, also, to shew his early respect to the church of *England*; which he did in giving a *Latin* version of the book of Common-Prayer. He also translated into *Latin* the polemical discourse of our celebrated bishop *Jewel* against *Harding*; a disputation written with the acutest judgement, and illustrated by the most extensive reading, in which twenty-seven questions are argued from scripture, and from the councils and fathers. This performance likewise met with universal approbation and applause.

At this time the professorship of the philosophy-chair being vacant, *Whitaker* had the honor of that appointment conferred on him by the university; though he was yet a young man; and though it had been the custom of the university to chuse one of the two proctors, who, as it is
sup-

supposed, on account of their age and standing, were deemed most properly qualified for that important charge: *Whitaker* was indeed young in years, but old in understanding; and very conversant with the philosophical writers. Therefore this province, which was so much the more difficult, as it was taken from others, and suddenly imposed upon him, he managed with so much zeal, prudence, and success, and as became a philosopher, that, in a manner scarcely to be credited, he struck all with the highest wonder at his learning and eloquence.

At length, leaving *Plato* and *Aristotle*, which last he had closely studied for a long time, he betook himself to the diligent study of the holy scriptures; to which, as indeed becomes a Christian, he always attributed the only authority for determining matters of faith, and for deciding religious controversies. He likewise diligently perused the modern divines, especially the faithful and sincere interpreters of GOD's word. And being a person of incredible application, he in a few years went through almost all the fathers, both *Greek* and *Latin*. He was so entirely devoted to this pursuit, that, it is said, if, on any occasion, either by the visits of friends, or other avocations, any part of the time he had allotted to reading was lost; he used to sit up at night till he had accomplished the task he had prescribed himself for the preceding day. By this close application to study, he improved greatly in knowledge, but at the same time so impaired the vigor of his body, that, it is supposed, he laid the foundation of those complaints which followed him during the rest of his life, and brought him early to the grave. *Whitaker's* great industry and parts struck the attention and admiration of the head of the college, Dr. *Whitgift*, at that time *Regius* professor of divinity, and afterwards archbishop of *Canterbury*, who took great delight in him, and admitted him to the closest intimacy and friendship, not only while he was head of the college, but when he was afterwards bishop of *Worcester*, recommending to his care and tuition a great number of young persons of the first distinction.

Our Author's Exercises upon the college thesis were handed about for the perusal of the best divines; as were also some popular sermons delivered in the country; his Catechetical Lectures in the college; and likewise his ingenious *Prælectiones* in divinity, for his degree of bachelor in divinity; in all which, it might be questioned, whether he shewed himself more the pious Christian, or the learned divine. But all these performances were only
specimens

specimens of his industry and rising greatness. At the *Cambridge* commencement, in the year 1578, he delivered in *St. Mary's* church, his first *Concio ad clerum*, which was as remarkable for its sound divinity, as for its profound erudition. After this, he handled, publicly in the schools, two theological questions, with great copiousness and elegance, and defended them with that judgement and force, which became an able divine and acute disputer. Having performed the requisite exercises, he took the degree of bachelor in divinity, with the utmost applause. In a word, he acquitted himself with so much ingenuity and learning, that some of the heads of houses and several of the ablest divines, maintained a disputation with him (a distinction paid only to first-rate abilities), from which he came off with the greatest honor to himself, and the satisfaction of others.

After this success, he rested for a while; but in such a way, that he was never less idle, than when he was idle. For in ease he thought of business; and in his retirement he furnished himself for his public ministrations; probably presaging in his own mind what soon came to pass. Dr. *Chaderton*, then *Regius* professor of divinity, being promoted to the dignity of bishop, and resigning both the presidentship of *Queen's-college*, and the professorship; *Whitaker*, younger in years than usual, but riper in knowledge and judgement, was chosen in his room. Whether he had the honor to be invested with these offices from his own merit, or the favor of the electors, or the solicitations of his friends, cannot be doubted by any one, who either heard the lectures themselves, from which a judgement is to be formed of each of the candidates; or knew the modesty of *Whitaker*, and his backwardness in asking favors. However, some were highly displeased; complaining that so young a man should be preferred to an experienced old man; and pretending to fear that he was not sufficiently qualified for so weighty and important a charge, and that the reputation of the university would suffer. But when it was urged, what he had written, the acuteness of his disputations, and his extensive reading; added to his modesty, piety, and the venerable gravity and prudence of his behavior, equal to that of the ripest age; his adversaries were silenced, and even induced to hope, that the choice would be fully justified by his conduct. Nor were they in the least disappointed: For, his extensive reading, acute judgement, admirable style, sound and solid doctrine, shone forth in *Whitaker's* first

prelections and sermons. Numbers, being excited by his fame, repaired to his theological lectures, attended them diligently, and received his instructions with the greatest avidity.

Our Author's first lectures, in the professor's chair, were on the three first chapters of the gospel by St. *Luke*: Which having finished, he went through the whole epistle to the *Galatians*. Next, he explained the first epistle of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, from which he deduced many important principles most necessary to be known by students in divinity. Lastly, in his lectures, he descanted upon *Solomon's Song*.

Some time after this, he seemed to be called, in some measure, to lay aside his commentaries and discourses upon the scriptures, and to take up the controversy between us and the Papists; which he began on the seventeenth of *February*, 1585. The first adversary, that felt the power of *Whitaker's* abilities, was a conceited jesuit, *Edmund Campian*, who, with ten dull arguments, published in 1581, threatened, as with so many battering-rams, utterly to undermine, and rase to the foundation, the whole Protestant doctrine. But *Whitaker* so effectually refuted the arguments of this *Thraso*, that his threats and his boastings soon ended in smoke to his own confusion. After the defeat of this *Campian*, there suddenly started up another jesuit, *Dury*, a *Scotsman*, who gathered together the broken arguments of *Campian*; and aimed, by his own sophistry, to repair the breach, that had been made in the cause of *Rome*. *Whitaker* passed over his invectives and scurrilities, and pressed him so home, that he fared no better than his predecessor. These controversies soon rendered him the distinguished foe of *Rome*, and one of the first champions of the Reformed religion in Christendom. And accordingly, his adversaries began to increase upon him. At the same time he carried on the controversy with *Dury*, he maintained another with a famous Papist of that time, one *Nicholas Saunders*, upon the person of antichrist; upon which *Saunders*, though more able and acute, came off no better than his brethren. To the publication of this controversy, he annexed his own thesis for his doctor's degree, in the year 1582. His answer to *Saunders's* demonstrations procured him another adversary; one *Reynolds*, an *Englishman* who had fled to *Rheims*, and who, with craft and malice, had engaged some of our divines one against another, in order to bring the truth into contempt. But *Whitaker* clearly

clearly perceiving his intentions, detected, and fully exploded his falshood and calumnies.

These are the principal WRITINGS he published, before he attacked the great *Bellarmino*, the stoutest champion of the popish cause; whom he met in the plain open field, and began the combat relative to the whole controverted points, and fairly overthrew his adversary. First, he began the controversies about the scriptures, which, in six questions methodically proposed, and most accurately and successfully handled, he published in the year 1588. Then proceeding in order, he entered upon the controversy relating to the *Church*, and discussed it in seven questions: Then, *that* concerning the *Councils*, in six questions;—*that*, concerning the *Pope*, in eight;—*that*, about *Ministers* and *Presbyters*, in five;—*that* of *Departed Saints*, in six;—*that*, of the *Church Triumphant*, in seven;—*that*, of the *Sacraments* in general, in eight;—*that*, of *Baptism*, in six;—and *that*, of the *Eucharist*, in five. It is to be wished he had revised and published them all at his leisure; which was the earnest desire of his hearers, to whose very great admiration and approbation he had managed the whole controversy. But being carried on by a desire of answering *Bellarmino* in all the controversies, he kept these studied disputations by him, hoping for (what did not afterwards happen) a more convenient opportunity for publishing them. For, while he was thus fighting in the cause of *Christ* on earth, against the ministers of antichrist; he was called to triumph with *Christ* in heaven.

In managing all these controversies, he used the greatest care and diligence; reading, agreeable to the statutes, twice or thrice every week all term-time, unless hindered by some more important business, which very seldom happened, and which he diligently guarded against. He treated his adversaries ingenuously, frankly, and as became a gallant soldier; always, without reluctance, granting what was proper to be yielded; never satyrically magnifying, or craftily dissembling their strongest arguments; but having faithfully collected and recited them, he unravelled the knot, in which the whole force of the argument lay hid, and refuted it with the greatest dexterity and skill. In short, he dealt peaceably, modestly, and gently, without taunting, bantering, wrath, deceit, or insidious language; so that you might easily see him to be no cunning and obstinate partisan, but a most studious searcher after divine truth. Nevertheless, during

the silence of *Bellarmino*, with whom *Whitaker* chiefly engaged, *Thomas Stapleton*, professor of *Louvain*, when just dropping into the grave, ripped up as it were the whole disputation of *Whitaker*, relating to the third question, of the first controversy, concerning the *Scriptures*, in a very voluminous book, in his own profuse style. This angry, railing old man, lest he should foolishly think himself too wise, *Whitaker*, contrary to custom, answered a little roughly; in which he imitated the physicians, who, as *Plutarch*, out of *Sophocles*, says, ‘expel bitter choler by bitter medicines.’

There still remain several TRACTS, which it is much to be wished had been published: Such are, “some Discourses before the clergy, delivered at the beginning of every year, and attended by a great concourse of the whole university:—Some short, but judicious, Determinations of the Theological Questions in the public schools, when the annual disputations are made, according to custom, for obtaining degrees; which disputations were numerous, and all written with his own hand. Also a little book against *Stapleton*, on original sin, fully written out and prepared for the press, in which the sophistry and superstition of *Stapleton* were displayed. This was the last work he finished before he left the world.”

Dr. *Whitaker* was twice married; for which *Stapleton* upbraids him, in his book published in the year 1592, as a matter of reproach; not considering the words of the Lord, *Matt. xix. 11. All cannot receive this saying*; and of the apostle *Paul*, *1 Cor. ix. 5. Have we not all power to lead about a sister, a wife?* &c. and of his directing *Timothy* as to the office of a bishop, *1 Tim. iii. 2. A bishop must be the husband of one wife.* But, if, Papist-like, *Stapleton* held the councils and fathers to be of superior authority to the scriptures; he might have remembered, what, upon the motion of *Paphnutius* who was a bachelor, the council of *Nice* decreed concerning the marriage of priests; nor have forgotten what *St. Augustin* taught: ‘Truly, says he, ‘one who is married, that is faithful and obedient to God, is preferable to one that is continent, but of less faith and obedience.’ *Whitaker* differed in no one instance more widely from the Papists in general, and *Hoffæus* in particular, than in the article of matrimony. *Hoffæus* was an assistant at *Rome*, and a counsellor of the pope, and is reported to have said, ‘That a priest sins less by living in adultery, than by marrying a wife.’ *Whitaker* was no advocate for unnatural lusts,

nor practised them, like great numbers among the Romish priests, jesuits, and cardinals. I might add, not even those holy fathers the popes are free either from the suspicion or the crime of this filthiness. But *Whitaker* lived temperately, and practised chastity; not that kind which these Pharisees erroneously follow, and unchastely and basely obtrude upon their oath-breaking votaries; but that which GOD instituted in *Paradise*, Gen. ii. 24. which *Christ* honored with his presence in *Cana of Galilee*, *John* ii. 2. which the apostle called a remedy against lust, *1 Cor.* vii. 2, 9. and in fine, which all sound divines acknowledge to be lawful for ministers of the gospel, as well as for other men.

Whitaker honored nuptial chastity, by making choice of a young lady, that was modest, chaste, a true believer, full of good works, and especially of almsgiving to the poor, whom she cheerfully maintained and supported according to her income, and almost beyond it. Her parents were of honorable descent and remarkable for true piety; who comforted and encouraged the faithful under the cruel persecution of bloody *Q. Mary*, and sent yearly a large sum of money for the support of the pious exiles. This lady dying two years afterwards, he married the widow of the learned *Dudley Fenner*, of *Cambridge*. By these two wives our Author had eight children, whom he carefully brought up in the principles of true religion and virtue.

In the government of his college he was easy and gentle, agreeable to the mildness of his own disposition and to the liberality of a gentleman and a scholar. He was remote from every suspicion of covetousness, as appears from the attestation of all who lived under his instructions, and the slender income with which he supported himself and family. His first concern was to enlarge the public interest of his college, by all due means; and he really added nothing to his own estate. Yet he performed excellent service for the university, and also for the whole church of *England*, the peace and unity of which in truth he above all things studied, and employed himself for composing some controversies, very lately sprung up relative to religion, the very last week before he died. He set out for *London* with the dean of *Ely*, professor of *Queen's-college*, who treated of the controverted points with *Whitgift*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several other bishops and learned divines, who were all unanimous and agreed in their doctrine. This was drawn up in the form of the "Nine Articles,"

commonly called the "*Lambeth Articles*," because *Dr. Whitaker* drew them up at the palace at *Lambeth*. They were approved by the archbishops of both provinces, the bishops of *London* and *Bangor*, and other bishops and learned men of the church, and by them sent to *Cambridge* (where they were highly approved by the whole university), to compose the differences which had arisen by two freewillers; namely, *Barret*, and *Peter Baro*, a *Frenchman*, lady *Margaret's* professor in that university. And, as they contain the undoubted sense of our most orthodox church, respecting those important doctrines of predestination, election, perseverance, free-will, assurance, saving faith, efficacious grace, &c. we have subjoined them both in *Latin* and *English*; presuming that the perusal of them may be acceptable to the Reader *. *Dr. Whitaker's* journey to *London* being in the middle of winter, but especially

* 1. *Deus ab eterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam; quosdam reprobavit ad mortem.*

1. God from eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life; certain men he hath reprobated unto death.

2. *Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam, non est prævisio fidei, aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.*

2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life, is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the persons predestinated, but only the good will and pleasure of God.

3. *Prædestinatorum præfixitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri, nec minui possit.*

3. There is a predetermined and certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented nor diminished.

4. *Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem necessariò propter peccata sua damnabuntur.*

4. They who are not predestinated to salvation, shall necessarily be damned for their sins.

5. *Vera, viva, et justificans fides, et spiritus Dei justificantis, non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis, aut finaliter, aut totaliter.*

5. A true, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, faileth not, vanisheth not away in the elect, either finally or totally.

6. *Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, certus est plenioria fidei de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.*

6. A man truly faithful, that is, such a one as is endued with justifying faith, is certain with the full assurance of faith of the remission of his sins, and his everlasting salvation by *CHRIST*.

7. *Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, quæ servari possint si voluerint.*

7. Saving

tially his excessive hard study, and the very little time allotted for sleep, are supposed to have been the causes of the disease under which he labored on the road, and of which, having returned to *Cambridge*, he soon after died.

In the whole course of his sickness he discovered a great submission to the will of GOD; expressing himself in prayer in the words of *Job*,—*O Lord my God, though thou killest me, yet, I am sure, with these eyes I shall see thee; for in thee do I hope.* To a friend, who one morning asked him how he did, he answered,—“O happy night! I have not taken so sweet a sleep since my disease fell upon me.” But his friend finding him in a cold sweat, and telling him that signs of death appeared on him, he answered,—“Life or death is equally welcome to me; which God pleaseth: But death will be my gain. I desire not to live, but only so far as I may promote the honour of God, and do his church service.” About eight o’clock on the *Thursday* morning, of the fourth day of *December*, 1595, he quietly resigned his breath, and sweetly fell asleep in *Jesus*, in the forty-seventh year of his age: Having filled the professor’s chair about sixteen years, and after being master of *St. John’s-college* almost nine. He was buried with great solemnity and general lamentation in the chapel of the same college; where an epitaph is placed in the wall over his grave.

As to his character; it fully appears that *Dr. Whitaker* was a pious holy man, of an even grave demeanor; and not abroad only, but at home among his domestics. He was very remarkable for patient bearing of injuries; and though many were done to him, he never made revenges to any body; but was so obliging to all who could expect no good of him, through his love to religion and peace; that in the strictest sense of the word, he might be said, *to return good for evil.* To the poor and needy he was extremely kind and liberal, according to his circumstances, yet not in the way of pomp and shew, in order

7. Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

8. *Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit; et omnes homines non trahuntur à Patre ut veniant ad Filium.*

8. No man can come unto CHRIST, unless it be given unto him, and unless the Father draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.

9. *Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.*

9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.

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to purchase a name, but in secret and in season, with a view to relieve their necessities. Nor did he exercise his charity without the proper choice of objects. For, among others, he singled out the modest, pious, and industrious poor, as far as he could, to assist them both by his interest and his purse; and particularly young students, whose disposition and industry he was acquainted with; advancing them as far as the statutes of the university and rules of the college allowed him. Thus what many spend in grand furniture, dress, and entertainments, the doctor used cheerfully to bestow on the godly and the poor, for the necessary uses of life; following the advice of *Jerom*, who says, 'Let the bowels of the hungry praise thee, and not the rich entertainments of those who eat to gluttony.'

It is remarkable with what great equity and moderation he judged of the life or actions of others; and though he easily and willingly praised every one for good actions; yet it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to punish the offender by any open censure. 'Having, (as *Jerom* exhorts,) learned to order his own life, rather than censure that of others.' In the common affairs of life, and in the company of friends, no man was more kind, open, or pleasant. He was faithful and secret in counsels, easy and complaisant in conversation, discreet and grave in serious business, merry and facetious in common conversation, and always most ready to serve his friends in every condition, by his advice and his pocket. He was dutiful to his parents, whom he treated with the utmost respect; and whom, when they fell into poverty by mismanaging their estate, he helped to the utmost of his ability: And though they were resolute and obstinate in the matter of religion, closely adhering to *the traditions of men, and the vain conversation received from their fathers*, yet he practised a dutiful regard to them, complying with them in all things, which were not inconsistent with his duty to GOD and true religion.

All these excellent virtues, both of knowledge and religion, were adorned with a meekness of mind like that of *Moses*, and with the deepest humility. For though *Whitaker* was endued with a most acute genius, happy memory, extensive reading, with as great eloquence as was ever in a divine, and, in fine, with a most learned and polished judgement, so that he was justly accounted as it were the oracle of the whole university, and a most brilliant ornament as well as pillar in the Christian church:

Yet

Yet with all these excellent qualifications, no man ever saw him elated or lifted up, breathing great things, or disdainfully despising the most unlearned persons; but he behaved himself the most humbly and lowly of all men, having so thoroughly laid aside all loftiness of mind and presumption, that those who knew him not might think, he was one of the meanest of the learned, instead of so profound a scholar. He was indeed completely learned (though not puffed up with learning) and treated of the most difficult subjects with an ease and perspicuity peculiar to himself, which he was well qualified to do from his comprehensive knowledge of the whole circle of the sciences. In a word, he attained the summit of all possible knowledge—the knowledge of GOD, and of his own heart, without which all his other attainments would have been but of little worth; and he *now knows*, according to GOD's promise, *even as also he is known*, and is blessed with him for ever and ever.

Bishop *Hall* said of him, 'Never man saw him without reverence, nor heard him without wonder.' Cardinal *Bellarmino* procured his picture out of *England*, and hung it up in his study; much admiring him for his singular learning: And being asked by a jesuit, why he would suffer the picture of that heretic to hang there? he answered, 'That though he was an heretic, and his adversary, he was a learned adversary.'

His WORKS are; "1. A Translation of Dr. *Nowel's* Catechism into *Greek*. 2. A Translation of Bishop *Jewel's* Dispute against *Harding* into *Latin*. 3. His Answer to *Edmund Campian's* ten Reasons. 4. A Defence of his Answer against *John Dury*. 5. A Refutation of *Nicholas Sanders's* Demonstration, in which *Sanders* endeavored to prove, that the Pope is not Antichrist. 6. A Collection of antient Heresies raked up, and added, to make up the Popish Apostacy. 7. His Thesis propounded and defended at the Commencement in 1582, that the Pope is the Antichrist spoken of in Scripture. 8. His Answer to *William Reynolds*, in Defence of the Preface of his Book against *Sanders*. 9. His Disputations, concerning the Scriptures, against the Papists of those Times, especially *Bellarmino* and *Stapleton*. 10. His Defence of the Authority of the Scriptures, against *Thomas Stapleton's* Defence of the Authority of the Church. 11. Lectures on the Controversies concerning the Bishop of *Rome*, published after his death, by *J. Allenson*. 12. Lectures on the Controversy concerning the Church. 13. Lectures

on the Controversy concerning Councils. 14. A Treatise on Original Sin, against Stapleton's three former Books on Justification, which were also published by *J. Allenson*. 15. A Lecture upon 1 *Tim.* ii. 4. delivered on *February* 27th, 1594, before the earl of *Essex*, and others of the Nobility. 16. Lectures concerning Sacraments in general, and the Lord's Supper and Baptism in particular, taken by *J. Allenson*, and published by *Dr. Samuel Ward*."

ROBERT ROLLOCK.

MR. *Robert Rollock* was born in *Scotland* in the year 1555, and descended from the antient family of the *Livingstons*: He had part of his education under the celebrated *Thomas Buchanan*, who, perceiving him to be a very promising genius, always took great delight in him. In proper time, he was sent to the university of *St. Andrew's*; where he pursued his studies with such application and success, that, four years after his entrance, he was chosen professor of philosophy: And in the year 1583, when application was made to the university, for a proper person to erect and govern an university at *Edinburgh*, they were unanimous in recommending *Mr. Rollock*, as a man the best qualified for that undertaking. In this important situation *Mr. Rollock* conducted himself with so much prudence and assiduity, that he soon became famous; and many students from all parts of the kingdom resorted to *Edinburgh*. He was an excellent disciplinarian; and had a happy method of introducing the principles of religion and morality into all their studies; so that while they learned the human sciences, they were led to understand divinity, and taught to live with piety. His custom was, to pray with the students every morning, and to expound the scriptures once a week, when he took the opportunity to rebuke defaulters, and to give them all suitable admonitions and exhortations. This course was attended with excellent effects, and prevented commonly the exercise of severer injunctions. He took particular pains with those designed for the ministry, which proved to be of singular service to the church.

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Mr. *Rollock* was, besides this heavy university-business, an eminent laborer in the word and doctrine; he preached every Lord's day with great fervency and success, and had many seals to his ministry*. He also wrote commentaries on several parts of the scriptures, which, being occasionally spread abroad in other countries, *Beza* met with those on the *Romans* and *Ephesians*; and, writing to a friend concerning them, says, 'I have got a treasure of incomparable value; having never before met with the like for brevity, elegance, and sound judgement. I pray God to preserve the Author, and daily to increase his gift in him; especially in these times, wherein the vineyard of the Lord has so few labourers.' He had great knowledge of the human heart, and was very humble, preferring others to himself; and began to seek retirement from public business, that he might spend more of his time in his private studies; but being moderator of the synod, and a commissioner of the church, he could not obtain his wishes: And, for the last two years of his life, was so much engaged in the public affairs of the church and of the university, that he very much impaired his health.

In the year 1598, his disease, which was the stone, increased daily: He was advised to go into the country, where, for a while, he grew better; but his complaint returning more violently than ever, he was confined to the house, and soon after to his bed. Two noblemen visiting him, he requested them to go to the king, and to intreat him, in his name, to take care of religion, as he had hitherto done, and to persevere in it to the end; and highly to esteem the pastors of the church for their work sake. When the ministers and magistrates of *Edinburgh*

* Mr. *White* on The Power of Godliness, quoted in *Prince's Christian History*, No. 28, says, 'A precious old man told me of a woman that was six years in desertion; and by God's providence hearing Mr. *Rollock* preach, she of a sudden fell down, overwhelmed with joy, crying out, 'Oh, he is come, whom my soul loveth!' and so was carried home for dead; and for several days after she was filled with exceeding joys, and had such pious and singularly ravishing expressions, so fluently coming from her, that many came to hear the rare manifestations of God's grace in her; and amongst the rest that went to hear, there was one that could write short-hand, who yet a great while stood so amazed at her expressions, that he could not write; at last, recovering himself, he wrote a whole sheet of paper; which this minister read, and told me, that of all the expressions that ever he read in the *Book of Martyrs*, or else where, he never read any so high, as the lowest of them.'

came to see him, he begged of them to take great care of the university, and to choose Mr. *Henry Charter* his successor; and hoped they would provide for his wife then pregnant, declaring he had laid by nothing of his stipend. They readily promising attention to his will in all these matters, he proceeded to give them an exhortation, in which he was so highly favored with the divine presence, that it astonished all those that were about him. He then prayed fervently, that GOD would pardon his sins for *Christ's* sake; adding, "O my God, I have hitherto seen
 " but darkly in the glass of thy word. O Lord, grant
 " that I may enjoy the eternal fruition of thy countenance, which I have so much desired and longed for. I bless God, I have all my senses intire; but my heart is in heaven; and, Lord *Jesus*, why shouldest thou not have it? It hath been my care, all my life long, to dedicate it to thee: I pray thee take it, that it may live with thee for ever. Come, Lord *Jesus*; put an end to this miserable life. Hasten, Lord, and tarry not. *Christ* hath redeemed me, not to a frail and momentary, but to eternal life. Come, Lord *Jesus*; and give me that life, for which thou hast redeemed me. I have gone through all the degrees of this life, and now am come to my end: Why should I go back again? O Lord help me, that I may go through this last degree with thy assistance. Lead me to that glory, which I have seen as through a glass. O that I were with thee!"

Being told on the *Saturday* that the next day was the sabbath, he said, "Thy sabbath, O Lord, shall begin my eternal sabbath. My eternal sabbath shall take its beginning from thy sabbath. I am weary of this life. All my desire is, that I may enjoy that celestial life which is hid with *Christ* in God." A while after he prayed, saying, "Hasten, Lord, and do not tarry. I am weary both of nights and days. Come, Lord *Jesus*, that I may come to thee. Break these eye-strings, and give me others. I desire to be dissolved, and to be with thee. Hasten, Lord *Jesus*, and defer no longer. Go forth, my weak life, and let a better succeed. O Lord *Jesus*, thrust thy hand into my body, and take my soul to thyself. O my sweet Lord, set this soul of mine free, that it may enjoy her husband." And when one attending him said, 'Sir, let nothing trouble you; for now your Lord makes haste:' He said, "O welcome news! Would to God my funeral might be to-morrow!" And thus he continued in a sweet heavenly frame,

frame, praying to, and praising GOD till he quietly resigned his spirit to GOD, in the year 1598, and in the forty-third year of his age.

His WORKS are, "A Commentary on some select Psalms, on the Prophecy of *Daniel*, and the Gospel of *John*, with its Harmony. He wrote also on the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, *Colossians*, *Thessalonians* and *Galatians*; an Analysis of the Epistles to the *Romans* and the *Hebrews*, with respect to Effectual Calling."

RICHARD HOOKER.

THIS eminent *English* divine was author of a famous work, entitled, *The Laws of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY*, and was born at *Heavy-tree*, near *Exeter*, in the year 1553, or, as *Wood* says, about the time of *Easter* A. D. 1554. His parents, not being rich, intended him for a trade: But his schoolmaster at *Exeter* prevailed with them to continue him at school, assuring them, that his natural endowments and learning were both so remarkable, that he must of necessity be taken notice of, and that GOD would provide him some patron, who would free them from any future care or charge about him. Accordingly, his uncle *John Hooker*, who was then chamberlain of the town, began to regard him; and, being known to the excellent bishop *Jewel*, made a visit to that prelate at *Salisbury* soon after, and 'besought him, for charity's sake, to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, 'whom nature had fitted for a scholar; but the estate 'of his parents was so narrow, that they were unable to 'give him the advantage of learning; and that the bishop 'therefore would become his patron, and prevent him 'from being a tradesman, for he was a boy of remarkable hopes.' Bishop *Jewel* examined into the merits of the boy, found him to be what the uncle had represented him, and took him henceforward under his protection and care. He got him admitted, in the year 1567, one of the clerks of *Corpus Christi-college* in *Oxford*, and settled a pension on him; which, with the contributions of his uncle, afforded him a very comfortable subsistence.

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In the year 1571, *Hooker* lost his generous patron bishop *Jewel*, together with his pension; however, the divine providence raised him up two other patrons, in *Dr. Cole*, then president of the college, and the great *Dr. Edwyn Sandys*, bishop of *London*, and afterwards archbishop of *York*. To the latter of these bishop *Jewel* had recommended him so effectually, a little before his death, that, though a *Cambridge-man* himself, he immediately resolved to send his son *Edwyn* to *Oxford*, to be pupil to *Mr. Hooker*, who was but very little older: For, said he, 'I will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example.' *Mr. Hooker* had also, at the same time, another considerable pupil, namely, *Mr. George Cranmer*, grand-nephew to the famous archbishop and martyr; with whom, as well as with *Mr. Sandys*, he cultivated a strict and lasting friendship. In the year 1577, he was elected fellow of his college; and about two years after, being a good master of the orientall languages, he was appointed deputy-professor of the *Hebrew* tongue, in the room of a gentleman, who was disordered in his senses. In the year 1581, he entered into holy orders; and soon after, being appointed to preach at *St. Paul's Cross* in *London*, was drawn into a most extraordinary marriage: Which, because it is one of the most remarkable circumstances of his life, we will here give the particulars of, as they are related by *Mr. Walton*.

There was, it seems, then belonging to the church of *St. Paul's*, a house called the *Shunamite's house*, set apart for the reception and entertainment of the preachers at *St. Paul's Cross*, two days before, and one day after, the sermon. That house was then kept by *Mr. John Churchman*, formerly a substantial draper in *Watling-street*, but now reduced to poverty. *Mr. Walton* says, that *Mr. Churchman* was a person of virtue, but he cannot say quite so much of his wife. To this house *Mr. Hooker* came from *Oxford* so wet and weary, that he was afraid he should not be able to perform his duty the *Sunday* following: However, *Mrs. Churchman* nursed him so well, that he presently recovered from the ill effects of his journey. For this, he was very thankful; so much indeed, that, as *Mr. Walton* expresses it, he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all she said: So the good man came to be persuaded by her, 'that he had a very tender constitution; and that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such a one as might both prolong his life, and make it more
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‘ comfortable; and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry.’ Mr. *Hooker* not considering, that the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light, and fearing no guilt, because he meant none, gave her a power to chuse a wife for him; promising, upon a fair summons, to return to *London*, and accept of her choice, which he did in that or the year following. Now, says *Walton*, the wife provided for him was her own daughter *Joan*, who brought him neither beauty nor portion: And, for her conditions, they were too like that wife’s, which *Solomon* compares to a dripping house; that is, says *Anthony Wood*, she was ‘ a clownish silly woman, and withal a mere *Xantippe*.’

Mr. *Hooker*, now driven from his college, remained without preferment, and supported himself as well as he could till the latter end of the year 1584, when he was presented by *John Cheney*, Esq; to the rectory of *Drayton Beauchamp*, in *Buckinghamshire*, where he led an uncomfortable sort of life with his wife *Joan*. In this situation, he received a visit from his two friends and pupils *Sandys* and *Cranmer*, who found him with a *Horace* in his hand, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field: Which he said he was then forced to do, because his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his wife in some of the household business. When the servant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him to his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for poor *Hooker* was called to rock the cradle, and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but till the next morning, which was long enough to discover and pity their tutor’s condition. At their return to *London*, Mr. *Sandys* acquainted his father with Mr. *Hooker*’s deplorable state; who thereupon entered so heartily into his concerns, that he got him to be made master of the *Temple*, A. D. 1585. This, though a considerable preferment, was not so suitable to Mr. *Hooker*’s temper, as the retirement of a living in the country, where he might be free from noise: Nor did he accept of it without some reluctance. At the time when Mr. *Hooker* was chosen master of the *Temple*, one Mr. *Walter Travers* was afternoon-lecturer there; a man of learning and worth, but ordained by the presbytery at *Antwerp*, and warmly attached to the *Geneva* government. Mr. *Travers* had some hopes of setting up this government in the *Temple*, and for that purpose endeavored to
be

be master of it; but, not succeeding, he did not behave quite generously to Mr. *Hooker*, but opposed him by his sermons, many of which were, perhaps unadvisedly considering the time, about the discipline and ceremonies of the church; insomuch that they constantly withstood each other to the face: For as somebody said pleasantly, 'The forenoon sermon spake *Canterbury*, and the afternoon *Geneva*.' The opposition became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that archbishop *Whitgift* caused Mr. *Travers* to be silenced by the high commission court. Upon that, Mr. *Travers* presented his supplication to the privy-council, which being without effect, he made it public. This obliged Mr. *Hooker* to publish an answer, which was inscribed to the archbishop and procured him as much reverence and respect from some, as it did neglect and hatred from others. In order therefore to undeceive and win these, he entered upon his famous work "of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," and laid the foundation and plan of it, while he was at the *Temple*. But he found the *Temple* no fit place to finish what he had there designed: And therefore intreated the archbishop to remove him to some quieter situation in the following letter.

"MY LORD,

"When I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage. But I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. And, my lord, my particular contentments here with Mr. *Travers* have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions. And to satisfy that, I have consulted the holy scripture, and other laws both human and divine, whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgement, ought to be so far complied with by us, as to alter our frame of church government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as their tender consciences shall require us. And, in this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend the satisfaction of others, by a demonstration of the reasonableness of our laws of ecclesiastical polity.—But, my lord, I shall never be able

"to

“ to finish what I have begun, unless I be removed into
 “ some quiet parsonage, where I may see God’s blessings
 “ spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread
 “ in peace and privacy : A place, where I may, without
 “ disturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and
 “ that great account, which all flesh must give at the
 “ last day to the God of all spirits.”

Upon this application, he was presented, A. D. 1591, to the rectory of *Boscomb*; in *Wiltshire*; and, on the 17th of *July* the same year, to the prebend of *Nether-haven*, in the church of *Sarum*, of which he was also made sub-dean. At *Boscomb* he finished four books, which were entered into the register book at *Stationers’ Hall*, on the 9th of *March*, A. D. 1592, but not printed till the year 1594. In the year 1595, he quitted *Boscomb*, and was presented by *Q. Elizabeth* to the rectory of *Bishops-Bourne* in *Kent*, where he spent the remainder of his life.

But it would not be doing proper justice to the character of this great man, were we to conclude his life in this summary manner; and therefore we shall insert some extracts from old *Isaac Walton’s* account of him, from which the foregoing has been chiefly taken.

‘ This parsonage of *Bourne*, is from *Canterbury* three miles, and near to the common road that leads from that city to *Dover*; in which parsonage Mr. *Hooker* had not been twelve months, but his books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man, whose life and learning were so much admired; and alas, as our Saviour said of St. *John Baptist*, *What went they out to see! a man cloathed in purple and fine linen?* no, indeed; but an obscure harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins usually girt in a coarse gown or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study and holy mortifications; his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his inactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour; God and nature blest him with so great a bashfulness, that as, in his younger days, his pupils might easily look him out of countenance; so neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face: And was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish clerk and he did did never

‘ talk but with both their hats on, or both off at the same
 ‘ time; and to this may be added, that though he was
 ‘ not purblind; yet he was short or weak-sighted; and
 ‘ where he fixt his eyes at the beginning of his sermon,
 ‘ there they continued till it was ended; and the reader
 ‘ has a liberty to believe that his modesty and dim-sight
 ‘ were some of the reasons why he trusted Mrs. *Churchman*
 ‘ to choose a wife for him.

‘ Mr. *Hooker* here gave a holy valediction to all the
 ‘ allurements of earth; possessing his soul in a virtuous
 ‘ quietness, which he maintained by constant study,
 ‘ prayers and meditations: His use was to preach once
 ‘ every *Sunday*, and he or his curate to catechise after the
 ‘ second lesson in the evening prayer: His sermons were
 ‘ neither long nor earnest, but uttered with a grave zeal,
 ‘ and an humble voice: His eyes always fixt on one place,
 ‘ to prevent his imagination from wandering; insomuch,
 ‘ that he seemed to study as he spake; the design of his
 ‘ sermons (as indeed of all his discourses) was to shew
 ‘ reasons for what he spake: And with these reasons such
 ‘ a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade,
 ‘ than frighten men. Studying not so much for matter
 ‘ (which he never wanted) as for apt illustration, to in-
 ‘ form and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar exam-
 ‘ ples, and then make them better by convincing appli-
 ‘ cations; never labouring by hard words, and then by
 ‘ needless distinctions and subdistinctions to amuse his
 ‘ hearers, and get glory to himself: But glory only to
 ‘ God. Which intention he would often say, “ was as
 ‘ discernable in a preacher, as an artificial from a na-
 ‘ tural beauty.”

‘ He never failed on the *Sunday* before every *Ember*
 ‘ week, to give notice of it to his parishioners, persuad-
 ‘ ing them both to fast, and then to double their devoti-
 ‘ ons, for a learned and pious clergy, but especially for
 ‘ the last; saying often, “ That the life of a pious cler-
 ‘ gyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing, that
 ‘ the most godless men (though they would not deny
 ‘ themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts) did yet
 ‘ secretly wish themselves like those of the strictest lives.”
 ‘ And to what he persuaded others, he added his own ex-
 ‘ ample of fasting and prayer; and did usually every *Em-
 ‘ ber* week, take from the parish clerck the key of the
 ‘ church door; into which place he retired every day,
 ‘ and locked himself up for many hours; and did the like
 ‘ most *Fridays*, and other days of fasting.

‘ And as he was watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was as diligent to prevent law-suits, still urging his parishioners and neighbours, to bear with each others infirmities, and live in love, because (as St. *John* says) *He that lives in love, lives in God, for God is love.* And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themselves in a disposition to receive the communion, and then to receive it often; for it was both a confirming, and a strengthening of their graces. This was his advice; and at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as *Enoch* did by walking with him, in all holiness and humility; making each day a step towards a blessed eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the world, such examples are become barren, and almost incredible; yet let his memory be blest with this true recordation, because he that praises *Richard Hooker*, praises God, who hath given such gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate relation of him, become such a pattern as may invite posterity to imitate his virtues.’

Mr. *Walton* goes on to inform us, that ‘ In the year 1600, and the forty-sixth year of his age, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage betwixt *London* and *Gravesend*, from the malignity of which, he never recovered; for, till his death, he was not free from thoughtful days, and restless nights; but a submission to God’s will, who makes the sick man’s bed easy, by giving rest to his soul, made his very languishment very comfortable: And yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and said often to Dr. *Saravia*, (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life) “ That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of *POLITY*; and then, *Lord, let thy servant depart in peace*,” which was his usual expression. And God heard his prayers, though he denied the benefit of them as completed by himself; and ’tis thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, in holy thoughts and resolutions.

‘ About a month before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at least, never considered the pleasures of the palate, became first to lose his appetite, and then to have an averseness to all food; insomuch, that he seemed to live some intermitted weeks by the smell of meat only; and yet still studied and writ. And now every thing about him seemed to tell him, that his years were past away as a shadow, bidding him prepare to follow the generation of his fathers, for the day of his dissolution drew near; for which his soul appeared to thirst.

‘ In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which, he having notice, his question was, “Are my books and written papers safe?” and being answered, that they were. His reply was, “Then it matters not, for no other loss can trouble me.”

‘ About one day before his death, Dr. *Saravia*, who knew the very secrets of his soul (for they were supposed to be confessors to each other) came to him, and after a conference of the benefit, and safety of the church’s absolution, it was resolved the doctor should give him both that and the sacrament the day following. To which end the doctor came, and, after a short retirement and privacy, they returned to the company; and then the doctor gave him, and some of those friends that were with him, the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord. Which being performed, the doctor thought he saw a reverend gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible, insomuch, that the doctor apprehended death ready to seize him: Yet, after some amendment, left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following, which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the doctor occasion to require his present thoughts: To which he replied, “That he was meditating the number and nature of angels, and their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven; and oh that it might be so on earth!” after which words, he said, “I have lived to see, that this world is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near: And
“ though

“ though I have by his grace loved him in my youth,
 “ and feared him in mine age, and laboured to have a
 “ conscience void of offence to him, and to all men;
 “ yet, if thou, O Lord, be extreme to mark what I have
 “ done amiss, who can abide it? And therefore, where
 “ I have failed, Lord shew mercy to me; for I plead not
 “ my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighte-
 “ ousness, for HIS merits, who died to purchase a pardon
 “ for penitent sinners. And since I owe thee a death;
 “ Lord, let it not be terrible; and then take thine own
 “ time, I submit to it: *Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy*
 “ *will be done!*” with which expression he fell into a dan-
 “ gerous slumber, dangerous as to his recovery; yet re-
 “ cover he did, but it was to speak only these few words,
 “ Good doctor, God hath heard my daily petitions; for
 “ I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with
 “ me; and from which blessed assurance I feel that in-
 “ ward joy, which this world can neither give nor take
 “ from me.” More he would have spoken, but his spi-
 “ rits failed him; and, after a short conflict betwixt na-
 “ ture and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last
 “ breath, and so he fell asleep.

Thus departed this modest, humble, and candid man
 to the inheritance of the saints in light, where the most
 lowly are the most highly exalted. He appears, from
 what remains of him, rather to be considered as an *Auth-
 or* than a *Preacher*; as one of the calm and retired, than
 of the active and popular. He seems not to have cared,
 so that he possessed grace, holiness, and knowledge, who
 enjoyed all the world beside; considering very justly, that
 these are treasures, and lead to treasures, which can never
 perish, but which shall enrich and cheer the soul to all
 eternity.

In his will, which was dated *October 26, 1600*, he
 made his wife *Joan* sole executrix. By an inventory, his
 estate, which chiefly consisted in books, amounted to
 about one thousand pounds, ‘ which (says *Walton*), was
 ‘ much more than he thought himself worth, and which
 ‘ was not gotten by his care, much less by the good
 ‘ housewifery of his wife, but saved by his trusty servant
 ‘ *Thomas Lane*, who was wiser than his master in getting
 ‘ money for him, and more frugal than his mistress in
 ‘ keeping it.’ This *precious* wife married again immedi-
 ately after his decease, but she lived not long enough to re-
 port the difference of her second marriage, for which doubt-
 less

less she would have found cause, if there had been but *four months* betwixt Mr. *Hooker's* and her death.

Whatever stress and value Mr. *Hooker* himself might put upon his books of "*Ecclesiastical Polity*," he could not put a greater upon them, than almost every body else has done. They have been admired for the soundness of reasoning, which runs through them, and the prodigious extent of learning they every where discover: And the Author has universally acquired from them the honorable titles of 'the JUDICIOUS' and 'the LEARNED.' When K. *James I.* came out of *Scotland*, and ascended the throne of *England*, he is said to have asked archbishop *Whitgift* for his friend Mr. *Hooker*, from whose books of "*Ecclesiastical Polity*" he had so much profited; and being informed by the archbishop, that he died a year before the queen, he expressed the greatest disappointment and the deepest concern. K. *Charles I.* it is well known, earnestly recommended the reading of Mr. *Hooker's* books to his son; and they have ever since been held in the highest veneration and esteem by all, who have any regard to sound reasoning and good learning. An anecdote is preserved by the writer of his life, which shews, that Mr. *Hooker's* fame was by no means confined to his own country, but travelled abroad; and so far and so loudly, that it reached even the ears of the pope himself. Cardinal *Allen* and Dr. *Stapleton*, though both in *Italy* when his books were published, were yet so affected with the fame of them, that they contrived to have them sent for; and after reading them, are said to have told the pope, then *Clement VIII.* that 'though his holiness had not yet met
' with an *English* book, as he was pleased to say, whose
' writer deserved the name of an author, yet there now
' appeared a wonder to them, and so they did not doubt
' it would appear to his holiness, if it was in *Latin*;
' which was, that a poor obscure *English* priest had writ
' four such books of Law and Church Polity, in so majestic a style, and with such clear demonstrations of
' reason, that in all their readings they had not met with
' any thing that exceeded him.' This begetting in the pope a desire to know the contents, Dr. *Stapleton* read to him the first book in *Latin*; upon which the pope said,
' There is no learning that this man hath not searched
' into; nothing is too hard for his understanding. This
' man indeed deserves the name of an *Author*. His books
' will get reverence by age; for there is in them such
' seeds

* seeds of eternity, that, if the rest be like this, they shall continue till the last fire shall devour all learning: All which, whether the pope said it, or no, may possibly be strictly true of the books themselves.

His WORKS. Besides the eight books of "Ecclesiastical Polity," and his "Answer to Mr. Travers's Supplication," there are some "Sermons" of Mr. Hooker's in being, which of late have been collected and printed in the volume of his works in folio.

JOHN HOLLAND.

OF this excellent person, we have no remains, but a short account of his death, which was so truly exemplary and edifying, that we cannot but present it to our Readers. We suppose this event to have occurred about the year 1600.

The day before he died he called for the bible, saying, "Come, O come; death approaches: Let us gather some flowers to comfort this hour."

And turning with his own hand to *Romans* viii. he gave me the book, says Mr. Leigh, and bade me read: And at the end of every verse he would have a pause; and then gave the sense to his own comfort, but more to the joy and wonder of his friends. Pity it is, that we have not what he said on this occasion, and that some of his writings are kept from the public view. Having continued his meditations on *Romans* viii. thus read to him for two hours or more, on a sudden he said,—“O stay your reading. What brightness is this I see? Have you lighted up any candles?” To which, says Mr. Leigh, I answered,—“No: It is the sun-shine;” (for it was about five o'clock in a clear summer's evening.)—“Sun-shine! (said he) Nay, my Saviour's shine.—Now farewell world; welcome heaven. The day-star from on high hath visited my heart. O speak it when I am gone, and preach it at my funeral; GOD DEALETH FAMILIARLY WITH MAN. I feel his mercy; I see his majesty; *whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell; God knoweth*: But I see things that are unutterable.”—Thus ravished in spirit, he roamed towards heaven with a cheerful look, and soft sweet voice; but what he

he said we could not conceive. At last, shrinking down, he gave a sigh with these words:—"Ah, yet it will not be. My sins keep me from my God."

Thus that evening, twice rising, and twice falling, with the sun; in the morning following, he rose never to fall; when again raising himself, as *Jacob* did upon his staff, he shut up his blessed life with these blessed words:—"O what a happy change shall I make! From death to life! From sorrow to solace! From a factious world to a heavenly being! O my dear brethren, sisters, and friends, it pitieth me to leave you behind. Yet remember my death when I am gone; and what I now feel, I hope you shall find ere you die, that God doth and will deal familiarly with men. And now, thou fiery chariot, that camest down to fetch up *Elijah*, carry me to my happy hold. And all ye blessed angels, who attended the soul of *Lazarus* to bring it up to heaven, bear me, O bear me into the bosom of my best Beloved. *Amen, Amen. Come, Lord Jesus; Come quickly.*" And so he fell asleep.

ALEXANDER NOWELL, D.D.

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

ALEXANDER NOWEL, or *Nowell*, a learned divine in the sixteenth century, was the second son of *John Nowell*, of *Great-Meerley* in *Lancashire*, an antient family, and born at *Read*, in that county, in 1511. At thirteen years of age he was admitted in *Brazen-nose-college* in *Oxford*, where making great progress in grammar, logic, and philosophy, he took the degree of bachelor of arts, *May 29, 1536*, and that of master *June 10, 1540*. Before he took this last degree he was elected fellow of his college, and grew very famous for piety and learning, and for his zeal in promoting the Reformation of religion. In the reign of *K. Edward VI.* and perhaps before, he kept a school in *Westminster*, wherein he trained the youth up in Protestant principles. He was an allowed Preacher by licence from that king, about the year 1550; and, *December 5, 1551*, was installed prebendary of *Westminster*. In the first parliament of *Q. Mary I.* at *Westminster*, he was returned

turned one of the burgesſes for *Portſmouth*, alias *Wefſlooe*, in *Cornwall*; but his election was declared void, becauſe, as he was prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, and, by virtue of that, had a voice in the convocation-houſe, therefore he could not be a member of the houſe of commons. Being a noted Proteſtant, he was marked out, with ſome other eminent divines, for a ſacrifice to popiſh perſecution in that bloody reign; had not Mr. *Francis Bowyer*, afterwards ſheriff of *London* in 1577, reſcued him from the danger, and ſafely conveyed him beyond-ſea. He withdrew to *Frankfort* with the reſt of the *Engliſh* exiles; and joining himſelf to the epiſcopal church there, ſubſcribed, among the reſt, to the diſcipline they eſtabliſhed. He was alſo one of the ſubſcribers to an excellent letter, ſent from *Frankfort* to the diſcontented *Engliſh* exiles at *Geneva*, dated the third of *January*, 1559*. Upon the death of *Q. Mary*, and acceſſion of *Q. Elizabeth*, he was the firſt of our Proteſtant exiles that returned to *England*: And ſoon after obtained many and conſiderable preferments. For, *January* 1, 1559-60, he was preſented to the arch-deaconry of *Middleſex*, which he reſigned the year following: And, *June* 21, was made the firſt canon of the ſeventh ſtall in the collegiate church of *Weſtminſter*. But this he quitted again, upon his being elected dean of *St. Paul's* cathedral in *London*, *November* 17, 1560. The third of *December* enſuing, he was collated to the prebend of *Wildland* in the ſame church: And *December* 28, 1562, to the rectory of *Hadham* in *Hertfordſhire*. Thus quietly

* In that letter are theſe moderate and pacific expreſſions.—' For ceremonies to contende (where it ſhall lye neither in your hands or oures to appoint what they ſhall be, but in ſuche menneſ wiſdomes as ſhall be appointed to the deviſing off the ſame, and whiche ſhall be receyved by common conſent off the parliament) it ſhal be to ſmall purpoſe. But we truſte that bothe true religion ſhall be reſtored, and that we ſhall not be burthened with unprofitable ceremonies. And therefore, as we purpoſe to ſubmit oure ſelves to ſuch orders as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by authoritie, beinge not of themſelves wicked, ſo we would wiſhe yow willingly to do the ſame. For, whereas all the Reformed churches differ amonge themſelves in divers ceremonies, and yet agree in the unitie of doctrine: We ſe no inconvenience if we uſe ſome ceremonies divers from them, ſo that we agree in the chief points of our religion. Notwithſtandinge, if anie ſhal be intruded, that ſhal be offenſive, we, upon juſte conference and deliberation upon the ſame at oure meetinge with yow in *Englande* (whiche we truſte by God's grace, will be ſhortly) wil brotherly joine with yow to be ſewters for the Reformation and abolithinge of the ſame. In the meane ſeaſon, let us with one harte and minde cal to the Almighty God, that of his infinit mercie, he will finiſhe and eſtabliſhe that worke that he hath begun in oure countrie.'

settled again in his own country, he became a frequent and painful preacher, and a zealous writer against the *English* catholics that had fled out of the kingdom; as will appear in the sequel. For thirty years together he preached the first and last sermons in the time of *Lent* before the queen, wherein he dealt plainly and faithfully with her, without dislike; only at one time speaking less reverently of the sign of the cross, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and to return to his text. At the recommendation of archbishop *Parker*, he was chosen prolocutor of the lower house of convocation, in 1562, when the articles of religion were settled. In 1564, when the debates ran high between the churchmen and puritans about the use of the garments, dean *Nowell* appears to have been moderate upon that subject. For he was for the general using of them, but with a protestation, that it were desirable, these differences of garments were taken away. In the year 1572, he founded a free-school at *Middleton*, in his native county of *Lancashire*, for teaching the then rude inhabitants the principles of learning and true religion. He was one of those learned divines, who had, in 1581, some conferences with *Edmund Campian* in the tower, which were published in 1583.

August 20, 1588, he preached a thanksgiving sermon at *Paul's Cross*, for the deliverance from the *Spanish armada*; when he exhorted his audience, to give praise and thanks to GOD for that great mercy. Having soon after resigned his prebend of *Wildland*, he was collated, *November* 11, 1588, to that of *Totenhall*, which he kept as long as he lived. About the beginning of the year 1589, he resigned the rectory of *Hadbam*; and, *April* 28, 1594; was installed canon of *Windsor*. *September* 6, 1595, he was elected principal of *Brazen-nose-college* in *Oxford*; and, *October* 1st following, actually created doctor in divinity, with allowance of seniority over all the doctors then in the university, not only in regard of his age, but of his dignity in the church. He resigned his place of principal *December* 14, 1595. After having arrived to the long and uncommon age of ninety, and enjoyed to the last a perfect use of his senses and faculties, he departed this life *February* 13, 1601-2, and was buried in the chapel of the virgin *Mary*, within the cathedral of *St. Paul*. Soon after, a comely monument was erected over his grave, with a *Latin* epitaph. He was so fond of fishing, that his picture, kept in *Brazen-nose-college*, *Oxford*, represents him

him furrounded with hooks, lines, and other apparatus of that sort. He gave an estate of two hundred pounds a year to *Brazen-nose-college*: And was also a benefactor to *St. Paul's school*.

He was, in the time he lived, a very learned man; reckoned an excellent divine, and much esteemed by the heads of our church. His charity to the poor was great and exemplary, especially if they had any thing of a scholar in them; and his comfort to the afflicted either in body or mind was very extensive.

His **WORKS**. His controversies were entirely with the Papists. The first piece he published, was against *Thomas Dorman*, B. D. sometime fellow of *New-college, Oxford*, who had written a book against some part of bishop *Jewel's* challenge, and entitled it, *A Prouse of certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr. Jewell*; [viz. the supremacy of the pope, transubstantiation, communion in one kind, and the mass.] *Antwerp*, 1564, Mr. *Nowell's* answer, therefore, was "A Reproof of a Book intituled, *A Prouse of certain Articles in Religion, denied by Master Jewell, set forth by Thomas Dorman, B. D. London*, 1565, 4to. *Dorman* replying, in *A Disprouse of Nowell's Reprouse*. Mr. *Nowell* vindicated himself, in II. *A Reproof of Mr. Dorman's Proof continued, with a Defence of the chief Authority of Princes, as well in causes Ecclesiastical as Civil, within their Dominions, by Mr. Dorman maliciously impugned. Lond.* 1566, 4to. III. He published *A Confutation as wel of Mr. Dorman's last Boke, intituled, A Disprouse, &c. as also of D. Sanders's Causes of Transubstantiation, by Alexander Nowell*. Whereby our Countrymen (especially the simple and unlearned) may understande howe shamefully they are abused by those and like Bokes, pretended to be written for their Instruction. *Lond.* 1567, 4to. Besides some controversial pieces, he published a catechism, very much esteemed, which he was put upon composing by secretary *Cecil*, and other great men in the nation; on purpose to stop a clamor raised amongst the *Roman catholics*, that the Protestants had no principles. When it was finished, the *Dean* sent it with a dedication to secretary *Cecil*. The convocation, that met in 1562, did it so much honor, as diligently to review, and interline it in some places; and unanimously to approve and allow it as their own book, and their professed doctrine. After those corrections, the *Dean* caused a fair copy of it to be taken,

which he sent to secretary Cecil; not in his own name as afore, but in the name of the clergy of the convocation, as their book: And, after it had lain in the secretary's hands above a year, he returned it to the Author with some learned man's notes, probably bishop *Ponet's*. At length, at the joint request of the two archbishops, it was first printed and published in 1570, under this title, IV. *Christianæ Pietatis prima Institutio; ad usum Scholarum Latine scripta*. Lond. 4to. reprinted very often since, and translated into *English* by *Thomas Norton*. Lond. 1571, 4to. and into *Greek* by *William Whitaker*. Lond. 1575. Mr. *Strype* informs us, that this catechism seems to be nearly the same with one set forth a month or two before K. *Edward* the VIth's death, and licensed, and recommended by that king's letter prefixed to it. We may conclude, that this first catechism was also composed by Mr. *Nowell*; for it is not to be imagined, that a man of his great reputation would have published it as his own, after it had undergone some corrections and alterations, unless it had been originally of his own composition. Several years after, it was in so great esteem, that bishop *Cooper*, in his Admonition to the People of *England*, gives this high character of it. 'For a catechism, I refer them to that which was made by the learned and godly man, Mr. *Nowell*, dean of *Paul's*, received and allowed by the church of *England*, and very fully grounded and established on the word of God. There may you see all the parts of true religion received, the difficulties expounded, the truth declared, the corruptions of the church of *Rome* rejected.' V. Dean *Nowell* published also a lesser catechism, which he entitled, *Catechismus parvus, Pueris primum, qui ediscatur, proponendus in Scholis*; in *Latin* and *Greek*. Lond. 1574, 8vo. Translated into *English*. Lond. 1587, 8vo. and afterwards into *Hebrew*. VI. A Letter of his is published in the Appendix to archbishop *Parker's* life, by *J. Strype*. And he is said, in the same life, to have composed a homily on account of the plague in 1564."

FRANCIS





From an original Painting.

F R A N C I S J U N I U S.

LEARNING to grace is a useful handmaid, and by no means to be contemned, particularly not by those, who because they do not know, affect to despise her : But learning, when indeed she assumes the room of grace, makes but a poor and proud mistress, and, instead of leading the soul to GOD and happiness, turns it into the world after low and sordid objects. The great utility of learning in proper subservience is fully exemplified by the life and conduct of *Junius*. Before he knew GOD in truth, his great knowledge only led him to consider himself : But, after the gracious change had passed upon him, he seemed to value all his attainments from the uses alone to which they might be applied in the cause of GOD and salvation.

This extraordinary man was descended of a noble family in *France*, and was born at *Bourges* in the centre of that kingdom on the first of *May*, in the year 1545. His mother had a most difficult labor; and her life, together with that of her most valuable son, was for some time quite despaired of. He was long afterwards so infirm and weakly, that his friends never expected his continuance to manhood; though, as it proved, he survived most of his family. His constitutional infirmity was increased by an excessive and over-weening care in nursing; and, at length, the morbid matter, either the cause of his incessant disorders, or the consequence of them, terminated in an ulcer of the leg, which, though healed, was always affected by any occurring ailments to the end of his days.

Under a very kind and learned father, who gave him as much time as he could spare, he received the rudiments of his education. His parents did not choose to venture him at a public school, on account of his weakness and infirmity. Yet, with all this weight of disorder, in his most tender age he discovered great wit and parts, and a certain hilarity of disposition, which often created much amusement, as well as expectation to his friends. He discovered early a high sense of honor and love of fame,

a great quickness of temper, and for his age a very solid judgement in matters which came before him, insomuch that his mother used jestingly to say of him, 'that he certainly would be another *Socrates*.' He had likewise such an invincible modesty, that, throughout his life, he appeared to common observers under a peculiar disadvantage, and could scarce speak upon the most common subjects with strangers without a suffusion in his countenance. In this respect he seems to have equalled our famous Mr. *Addison*, who likewise was at once one of the greatest scholars, as well as the most abashed and modest man of his time.

About the twelfth year of his age, *Junius* quitted the private education of a tender father for the public one of a school; as a preparation for the study of the civil law, for which he was designed. His friends, indeed, wished for him to prosecute his fortune at court; but his love of learning and the bashfulness of his temper soon diverted that design. He had the unhappiness of impetuous and tyrannical preceptors, who, if his love of letters had not been uncommonly ardent, were sufficient to have extinguished it; as hath been too often the case in many others. The least fault or error, which *Junius* committed (and which the first geniuses in the world cannot but commit) in attaining knowledge, was only to be atoned for by stripes; and with such stupid and illiberal severity was this conduct pursued, that one of the most hopeful boys of the age was often flogged seven or eight times in a day, and often beat upon the ground too in the harshest manner. Such brutes of teachers are fit only to preside over the galleys or to discipline miscreants in a prison, instead of training up the tender mind to the love of science and truth! Yet all this did not abate the ardor of *Junius's* mind for knowledge, nor tempt him once to disclose his severe and barbarous usage to his friends.

After some time, he was removed to *Lyons* for his farther improvement in knowledge. Here he had great leisure, and as many books as he could desire, which he began to read with immense avidity; not selecting his authors, but taking them indiscriminately as they fell in his way. The president of the college, *Bartholomew Anulus*, observing this wild pursuit, took an opportunity of hinting to him its impropriety and waste of time, assuring him, 'that he would rather injure than inform his mind by that mode of reading; that, on the contrary, he should have some proposed end before his eyes in the course

course of his studies, to which they should be principally directed; and that neither the life of man, nor the mind of man, would suffice for all kinds of learning at once, but the attempt might shorten the one while it only confounded the other.' This caution he never forgot, but found it of use to him ever afterwards.

Lyons was then, as well as since, a very dissolute city; and the placing a raw youth there, without the authority of parents or guardians, who could take care of his morals (as was the case with *Junius*), was exposing him to a torrent of temptations. Two women, in particular, having conceived a regard for his person, haunted him with oblique testimonies of their affection, and, forgetting the modesty of their sex, pursued him with their solicitations. Whether from aversion to their indecent conduct, or from the natural bashfulness of his temper, GOD's providence however preserved him from seduction; and he overcame this temptation. But he fell under a sad temptation of another kind, till the mercy of GOD restored him. This evil was neither more nor less than downright Atheism, into the espousal of which he was drawn by the sophistry of a bad companion, and his own indiscretion or inexperience. *Junius* was reading *Tully's* books upon Laws, in which the vile proposition of *Epicurus* is cited, 'That God is without all care both for his own affairs, and for those of other beings.' His evil counsellor had adopted this maxim, and by every argument of a wicked wit inculcated it upon *Junius*. He had so inculcated it, that his young friend became rooted in the principle, and as complete an Atheist as himself.

For more than a year, did our Atheist maintain his profession, and with so much openness, that it appears to have been known by all who knew him. A tumult that occurred at *Lyons*, first staggered him in his new opinion. He was wonderfully preserved in the commotion; and he began to see, that there was plainly something more than mere chance in the case, and something that looked very much like an over-ruling providence. About the same time, his father, having been informed of the alarming state of his son's mind, sent for him, and, with the utmost tenderness, learning, and piety, invited him to read over the New Testament with attention, and confer with him upon it. He obeyed his father's direction; and it pleased GOD to open his eyes to a full

* This passage is cited by *Marcus*, in *Cic. de legibus*, lib. 1.

view of the abominable notions, which he had adopted. The first chapter of St. *John's* gospel, which he began upon, was made the happy means of this revolution of mind. He was struck with the dignity of the expression, and the weight of the matter. He says of himself, "I read
 " part of the chapter, and was so impressed with what I
 " read, that I could not but perceive the divinity of the
 " subject and the authority and majesty of the scriptures,
 " to surpass greatly all human eloquence. I shuddered in
 " my body with horror at myself; my soul was astonished;
 " and I was so strongly affected all that day, that I scarce
 " knew who, or what, or where I was. But thou, O
 " Lord my God, didst remember me in thy wonderful
 " mercy, and didst receive a lost and wandering sheep into
 " thy flock! From that time, when the Lord had granted
 " me so great a portion of his holy Spirit, I began to
 " read the bible, and treat other books with more cold-
 " ness and indifference, and to reflect more upon and be
 " much more conversant with the things that relate to
 " salvation."

From that time, the world and its pursuits appeared vain and insipid to *Junius*; and the things of GOD and of heaven engaged his whole concern. His father was rejoiced enough at the happy change, but still intended him for the civil law and human affairs. The inclination of the son soared higher; and, by permission and consent of his father, he went to *Geneva*, with a view of studying divinity and the languages, about the time of the first breaking out of the civil war in *France*. He was dismissed with a supply of money, sufficient for his present occasions; and his father promised to remit him in future, what might be necessary, but was not able through the public commotions. Thus ill-provided with subsistence, he could only purchase four books; and these were, the Holy Bible, *Calvin's Institutes*, *Beza's Confession*, and *Cevallerius's Hebrew Grammar*; which engaged him for a year. Within this space, he was prevailed upon to accompany a party, who were making an excursion into *Switzerland*, just when his little stock was almost exhausted. In this tour, which lasted three weeks, *Junius* made an acquaintance with *Musculus*, *Haller*, *Peter Martyr*, *Bullinger*, *Farrel*, &c. who were all at that time in the cantons. When he returned to *Geneva* he had scarce any money left, and for seven or eight months afterwards he received none from his friends. His excessive modesty forbade him to borrow, and therefore he formed a scheme
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of living hard. He determined with himself to employ one day as a laborer in the fortifications, for his subsistence, the other to engage in his studies. What a sight! to look upon a burgher of fordid views and attainments wallowing in the fullness of bread, contrasted with one of the most learned, pious, and valuable of men, destitute of necessaries and working like a slave for this burgher's security! If the faith of *Junius* had not been secured on the rock, the devil might probably have furnished him with an argument from hence for his atheism, by which he has puzzled thousands.

But if Providence tried *Junius*'s faith upon this account, it did not leave him long without a testimony of its care. For a countryman of his was put in his way, whose mother, being left a widow with a numerous offspring, had often been assisted in her necessities by *Junius*'s parents; and this man very gratefully embraced the opportunity of acknowledging his obligation. Here indeed was *bread sown upon the waters, and found again after many days*. He lodged, he boarded, and did for his benefactor's son, all that was in his power to do. On the other hand, *Junius*, feeling for the burden and inconveniences which his grateful friend chearfully underwent upon his account, endeavored to make that burden as light as possible; and, out of a quick sense of delicacy, almost wholly abstained from the food, procured by the laborious industry of his host. He abode with him near seven months; and, for four of the seven, constantly took care to be from home at dinner-time, which he spent in walking, meditation and prayer. In the evening, he eat a couple of eggs, and drank a small cup of the *petit vin* or low wine, which is the common beverage of that country, as beer is with us; and all this, that he might not be too chargeable to his kind benefactor. His modesty and extreme delicacy, however, cost him dear; for by this over abstemious kind of life, he contracted a decline, which almost destroyed his tender frame. Providence again interposed in this emergency; for, by the assistance of his friends, and, at length, by the remittance of a sum of money from his father, he was enabled to adopt a better regimen and to use such means as wholly recovered him.

Mr. *Leigh*, in his Treatise of Religion and Learning, quotes from *Junius* himself, that he received a most courteous entertainment from a countryman (and perhaps the countryman above-mentioned) in the time of his distress, and adds another circumstance which is wholly omitted

by *Melchior Adam* and other biographers. He relates it in *Junius's* own words: "Here (O the wonderful wisdom of God!) my Master had prepared for me the best school of true religion I ever found in my life. For God so wrought upon my soul by the ardent and zealous piety of this poor good man, that a portion of the same divine fervor was imparted through him to me; while I, in the comparison, a very indifferent Christian, was made useful to him in the communication of other knowledge. Upon both of us, at one and the same time, the Lord bestowed an increase of his mercy and grace; upon my simple countryman, by enabling me to enlighten his head; and upon me, by enabling him to kindle a flame of zeal in my heart."—The transparent piety, humility, and modesty of this acknowledgment needs no comment. This man of learning had, through grace, followed the apostle's rule, and *became a fool* in his own eyes, *that he might be wise indeed*, not for the puny concerns of time and the world, but to everlasting salvation.

It being contrary to the plan of life, which *Junius's* father had intended, that he should study divinity, he wrote for him to return home. He wished his son might be religious; but he did not wish him to be a preacher. This reduced *Junius* to a disagreeable dilemma, out of which he was much relieved by the interposition of a pious and learned friend of his father, who explained to him the necessity of his son's remaining longer at *Geneva*, for the sake of his studies. In the interim, an awful providence determined the affair. At *Iffoudon* in *Aquitain*, a murdering banditti set upon *Junius's* father, and barbarously bereaved him of his life*.

* On *Corpus Christi* day, the *Roman Catholics* of *Iffoudon*, regardless of the treaty of peace, that had been concluded just before, committed a thousand outrages upon the Protestants; upon which *Denys Junius* (our *Junius's* father) received a commission, as counsellor in the laws, from the king, to enquire into the authors of the sedition and punish them. *Denys Junius* went to *Iffoudon*, accompanied only by three sheriff's officers, posting the rest in various places before he entered the city. His precautions, however, were of no use. The common people guessed the motive of his coming, and, seizing the gates, invested the commissioner's house, and entering by force, killed *D. Junius*, threw his body out of the window, dragged it through the streets, flung it to the dogs, and publicly forbid it burial. The king, out of indignation at so horrid a murder, ordered the walls of *Iffoudon* to be demolished; but the arret was changed, by the interest of some Lords, because the commissioner had been deemed a *Lutheran* for twenty-four years.

Upon

Upon this sad news, *Junius* had no heart to return to his country, but wrote a most affecting and affectionate letter to his mother, condoling with her upon their mutual loss, and at the same time begging her to indulge no anxiety upon his account, because he was resolved to be no burden to her, but to trust in GOD's blessing upon his own industry for his future maintenance and support. In this generous and tender resolution, he took upon him to assist in a school, under a minister of the gospel at *Geneva*; where, in the day-time, he taught *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, and, for great part of the night, pursued his own proper studies in divinity and philosophy. But his feeble constitution could not endure a long continuance of such unremitted labors, which at once emaciated his body, and tended to impair his mind.

About this period, the head-master of the school at *Geneva* died, and the chaplain of the hospital succeeded to him. The chaplainship was offered to *Junius*; but he declined it, partly lest it should hinder his studies, and partly because he did not wish to fix himself for the present at *Geneva*. In the year 1565, however, he was made minister of the *Walloon* church at *Antwerp*, which became a troublesome and dangerous situation to him. The *Spaniards*, who then possessed the *Low Countries*, were about to establish the inquisition, to which the principal people, of *Brussels* in particular, were very averse, and had a meeting to confer upon the best mode of preventing the execution of that diabolical tribunal. To this meeting our *Junius* was called, and readily gave his assistance, both by his prayers and advice. His wisdom always inclined him to moderation; and he opposed not only the malicious attempts of the *Papists*, but the unbridled zeal of his Protestant friends, who were sometimes disposed to go lengths, which neither religion nor reason could justify. When he returned to *Antwerp* he published some "Political Admonitions," which gave great offence to the *Papists*. A reward was offered for the discovery and apprehension of the author; though, it seems, in this very paper, he had blamed the intemperance and indiscretion of the Reformed, as well as condemned the violent proceedings of the *Roman Catholics*. By the style and manner, *Junius* was suspected to be the author, and very narrowly escaped from the designs of his enemies.

With all this love of moderation, and his earnest endeavors to inculcate peace among others, he could find none for himself. He was persecuted every where, and

encountered difficulties and dangers, which way soever he turned. But it pleased GOD wonderfully to preserve him, for his own glory and the good of souls. A rage of Reformation (as an affair of novelty) among the mob, not the sober zeal of true religion, over-ran the *Low Countries* about this time, and drave all before it. The outrageous multitudes brake into the churches, and swept away all the images, and paintings, and every "rag of the Whore of *Babylon*," before them. All this was done with the fury of madmen, instead of the orderly spirit of Christians. This conduct displeased *Junius*, who was concerned for the disgrace of the Protestant cause; and he, by opposing it, displeased many among the Reformed, who joined with the Papists themselves in persecuting him. Wise and good counsels, opposed to popular outrage and tumult, are but as declamations to waves in a storm, which drown all other sounds by their own noise, and dash upon every thing indiscriminately which resists them. Men of peace and moderation (and truly religious men must be such) may expect this treatment in all ages. If they will not espouse the *cause* of a party with the *rage* of the party; the furious partizans will not thank them for a sober adherence and advice, but perhaps will be the first to condemn them. Thus *the works of the flesh* are mingled with the things of GOD, and are generally so conducted by the devil, as to bring a disgrace upon them.

When *Junius* afterwards returned to *Antwerp*, he found himself excluded from the duties of his profession, by an ordinance of state; which enjoined, that, for the prevention of sedition, only two ministers should be allowed to preach there, and those two to be natives of the country, who should take an oath of allegiance to the prince. *Junius* was an alien, and could not be naturalized if he would.

From *Antwerp* he went to *Limbourg*, but found, like the great apostle, that, wherever he went, persecutions attended him. He lost his library and all his goods by the removal. His labors here were attended with such success, that new and new dangers arose upon him on every side. In the midst of which, he went on as long as he could with any degree of safety; but at last was obliged to fly, to preserve his life.

While he lived here, he was made an instrument of gracious relief to a poor widow, who had been for thirteen years exercised with spiritual conflicts, almost to desperation. The Papists, imagining that she was possessed,
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plied her with exorcisms: Her friends, believing her mad, laid on blows and bonds. She broke from her bonds, and took to the woods, avoiding the sight of man, lest she should undergo a repetition of this sort of discipline. At length she was caught and brought to *Junius*, who soon discovered the cause of her disorder, which arose from the fear of perdition: And this fear sprang from the excessive attention and care she had been obliged to pay to her nine fatherless children, which had taken her off from all religious duties, and in particular from the mass, which she had once constantly frequented. Our Divine, perceiving the disease, recurred to the bible for a medicine, from which he shewed her the vain pageantry, idolatry, and corruption of the papistical mass, and at the same time, after laying open the gospel of salvation to her mind, shewed to her, that her honest industry in behalf of her children was far more acceptable to GOD, being commanded of him, than ten thousand idle masses, which never were commanded. In short, he was enabled to quiet the woman's horrors, and to give that balm to her conscience, which soon dispelled all her melancholy, to the no small astonishment of those who had known her before.

The Anabaptists and Papists united to defeat that great work, which GOD enabled *Junius* to carry on at *Limbourg*. With the former, by his mild deportment and gentle conferences, he prevailed so much, as to thin their numbers, and recover many of them to the truth. He had greater opposition, both with respect to numbers and malice, from the Papists. These raised all manner of false reports upon his person and doctrine; and some of them went so far, in folly as well as falsehood, as to aver, that he was really cloven-footed, and a monster rather than a man. With an effrontery, peculiar almost to that communion,

They lent this lye the confidence of truth.

But their malice was as fierce, as their charge was false and foolish; and so fierce, that it became necessary for him to remove from *Limbourg*, which he did, by the advice of his friends, and retired to *Heidelberg*, where the elector palatine, *Frederick* the Third, received him very graciously.

After some time, he made a visit to his mother and family in *France*; and from thence returning to *Heidelberg*, was appointed minister of the church of *Schoon*. This

was

was but a small congregation; and, in the following year, the plague appeared among the people and made it less. In the interim, he was sent by the elector to the prince of *Orange's* army, during the unsuccessful campaign of 1568, and continued his chaplain till the elector's troops returned home, when he resumed his church, and continued in it till 1573. The elector several times wished him to return to his chaplainship in the army, but it was so much against *Junius's* inclination, that he constantly excused himself from that service.

He continued laboring, with the divine blessing, in the palatinate till about the year 1592, and, for some years before that period, had been engaged with the learned *Tremellius*, by the elector's command, in a new Translation of the Old Testament into *Latin*—a work, which will do them honor, as scholars and divines, to the end of time.

About the year 1581, he had been appointed divinity professor of the university at *Heidelberg*; and he continued in that station, till he took the opportunity of revisiting *France*, his native country, under the patronage of the duke de *Bouillon*. He was introduced to *Henry the Fourth*, who sent him with a commission into *Germany*, when he took an opportunity of paying his grateful respects to the elector, and of resigning in form his professor's chair.

In his return to *France*, he passed through *Holland*, partly for the sake of his children, and partly for the convenience of the way and facility of correspondence. When he arrived at *Leyden*, the university and the magistracy gave him a most earnest invitation to fix himself among them, and offered him the divinity-chair; which, by the permission of the *French* king (who had been a Protestant and was then believed to be one in disguise), he finally accepted in 1592. In this office he continued till his death, filling it with great reputation for ten years. It was a station of labor and eminence; and he labored in it by teaching and writing most incessantly. At length, GOD was pleased to remove this faithful servant, after a life of trouble and difficulty, by the plague; which ravaged through *Holland*, and had just before carried off his wife. He died on the thirteenth of *October*, in the year 1602, and was followed to the grave, with the tears of the university and the concern of all good men.

In his last hours he had great composure and consolation. He died, as he had lived, full of faith in the salvation of *Jesus*. When the celebrated *Francis Gomar*,

his friend and colleague, visited him near the end, and proposed several scriptures to him by way of comfort; he answered, "that he gave himself up entirely to GOD—to that GOD who would graciously do what was best for him and for his own glory." When his disorder permitted, he spent his remaining moments in hearing particular passages of scripture read to him, and in pouring out his soul in ardent prayers. And when his friend *Gomar* called upon him on a subsequent day, and exhorted him, "that, in his last extremity, he would draw for himself out of that treasury of comforts, out of which he had so happily drawn for others; and that, in particular, he would remember, that God was his tender father in heaven, ready to receive him; that *Christ* was his Saviour; that heaven was his country and inheritance; that the holy Spirit in his heart was a pledge of all this; that death was only the way to this heaven and life immortal; and that by faith and hope he should rejoice in what was before him;" *Junius* very earnestly answered, "that he well remembered and observed those things, which he had taught to others; that his only confidence and stay was in the free grace of God; and that he was assured, God would perfect what remained concerning his future salvation." Upon being asked, if he had any thing particular to say about his affairs, he answered, "that he could think but very little of perishing things at that time;" and, after saying that in his public duties he had aimed, as far as he could, at the glory of GOD and the good of men, he added, "that with respect to all other things he entirely committed them to the divine Providence."

He was four times married, and survived all his wives. He was deprived of the first by the ignorance of a midwife, who injured her so much in labor, that she lingered in constant pain for seven years, when she died. His second wife he lost suddenly by a fever. The third died of a dropsy; and his fourth was taken from him, a little before his own death, by the plague. He had a son and a daughter by his second wife, which daughter was married to the learned *Jobu Gerard Vossius*; and by his third wife he had another son, named *Francis Junius*, a very amiable and learned man, who spent most of his days in *England*, especially at *Oxford*, his beloved residence, he died in 1677, upon a visit to his nephew *Isaac Vossius* at *Windsor*, and was buried in *St. George's* chapel within the castle.

Nothing hardly can set *Junius's* literary character in a higher

higher view, than the great panegyric which the famous *Scaliger* made upon him after his death. *Scaliger* had been highly piqued against him upon some occasion, and was known to be always extremely sparing in his commendations of any body. He observes however of him, 'that *Junius*, who had so lately dealt his excellent instructions to crowded audiences, was unhappily snatched away by the plague; that his scholars bewailed his death; the widowed church lamented him as her parent, and the whole world as its instructor; that they did not weep for him as the vulgar do, who are not sensible of the value of a thing, till they have lost it; but that every one knew the great merits of *Junius* in his lifetime, and therefore they were not more sensible of his value by his death, but were the more grieved.' *Thuanus* had conceived an ill-founded prejudice against him, from which he was defended by *Vossius*, his son-in-law. Even *Bayle* could say of him, 'that he was a learned and an honest man, and so far from running into extremes, that it was his opinion people might be saved in the Romish communion; and that he was never more sensible of the deficiency of his knowledge, than when he knew most; which is an indication of a right understanding.' We will add no more concerning his worth, but the opinion of our excellent bishop *Hall*, who (in his Epistles, decad. 1. ep. 7.) styles him, 'the famous and truly illuminate Dr. *Francis Junius*, the glory of *Leyden*, the hope of the church, the oracle of textual and school-divinity; rich in languages, subtle in distinguishing, and in argument invincible.'

His WORKS (in *Latin*) were published in two volumes folio, and consist of the following articles: "1. *Prælectiones in tria prima capita Geneseos*. 2. *Confutatio argumentor. viginti duor. a simplicio in historiam Mosis de creatione proposita*. 3. *Libri Geneseos analysis*. 4. *Libri Mosis qui Exodus inscribitur analytica explicatio*. 5. *Leviticæ, Numeror. & Deuteronomici, analytic. explic.* 6. *Methodica Psalmi quarti enarratio*. 7. *Enarratio Psalmi centes. primi, secundæ, & vigesimi tertii*. 8. *Eirenicum*. 9. *Expositio prophetarum Danielis & Ezekiel*. 10. *Lectiones in Jonam*. 11. *Sacrorum parallelorum libri*. 12. *In epistolam Judææ perbreves notæ*. 13. *Apocalypsis Johannis analysi & notis illustrata*. 14. *De theologia vera*. 15. *De peccato primo Adami*. 16. *De politia Mosis*. 17. *Ecclesiastici, seu de natura ecclesiæ Dei, libri tres*. 18. *Theses theologicæ*. 19. *Ad theses theologicæ appendix*. 20. *Tres defensiones catholicæ doctrinæ*

doctrinæ de sancta trinitate—adversus Samosatē. errores.
 21. *Examin. enunciationum—Gratiani Prosperi.* 22. *Catholicæ doctrinæ de natura & gratia collatio.* 23. *Animadversiones ad R. Bellarmini controversiam primam de verbo Dei, &c.* 24. *Ad secundam de Christi capite totius ecclesiæ.* 25. *Ad tertiam de summo pontific.* 26. *Ad tres libros de translatione imperii Romani a Græcis, &c. ad Francos.* 27. *Ad controversiam quartam de concilio iis & ecclesia militante.* 28. *De ecclesia liber, singularis, &c.* 29. *Animadversiones ad libellum controversiæ terciæ propositum.* 30. *Ad controversiam de ecclesia quæ est in purgatorio.* 31. *Ad controversiam septimam de ecclesia triumphante, &c.* 32. *Specularius—adversus Genebrardum.* 33. *Summa aliquot locorum communium s. theologiæ.* 34. *Evangelii secund. Mathæum analytica explicatio.* 35. *Evangel. sec. Marcum analyt. expositio.* 36. *Responsum ad fratres Sandwicensēs in Anglia.* 37. *Oratio de lingua Hebræa.* 38. *Grammatica Hebrææ linguæ.* 39. *Orationes duæ Frankentaliæ habitæ ad lection. Vet. Test.* 40. *Acta apostol. & epistol. Pauli ad Corinthios ex Arabico translata.* 41. *Apocryphi libri translati cum notis.* 42. *In anathematismum Greg. XIII. adversus Gibbard. Colon. episc.* 43. *Orationes quatuor ad lectiones Vet. Test.* 44. *Apologia catholica Latine facta, præfatio in indicem expurgatorum censorum Belgii.* 45. *Lexicon Hebraicum.* 46. *Præfatio in indicem expurgatorius.* 47. *Liber cui titulus Academia.* 48. *Curopolates Græce & Latine cum notis.* This book appeared under the name of *Nadal Almonius, Hebrew for Junius.* 49. *Prætexta pulla in obitum principis Anhaltini.* 50. *Johannis Bodini Daimoniaca in linguam Latinam conversa.* 51. *Johannes Tilius de regibus & regno Gallorum, & epistolæ duæ, &c. Latine factæ.* 52. *Oratio de vita & obitu Zach. Ursini.* 53. *Manilius cum castig. & notis.* 54. *Libitina in obitum J. Casimiri, &c.* 55. *Oratio Anton. Arnaldi contra jesuitas Latine facta.* 56. *Emendationes & notæ in Ciceronis epistolas ad Atticum & Quintum fratrem.* 57. *Notæ in Tertullian.* 58. *L'Ecclesiastique, in Latin and French.* In which last language he also published, 59. *Une oraison du Roi d'Espagne pour la défense de Pais Bas.* 60. *Avertissement Crétien contre Jean Heron.* 61. *La confession du Roi de France.* 62. *Le paisible Crétien, &c.* 63. *Methode de lieux communs de l'ecritures Saintes.* 64. *Aimable confrontation de la simple verité de Dieu, &c."*

WILLIAM PERKINS.

AT *Marston*, in *Warwickshire*, was born the celebrated *William Perkins*, a great scholar, a profound divine, and a successful preacher in the university of *Cambridge*. He received his academical education in *Christ's-college*, in that university, where, for some time, he was very wild, and ran great lengths in prodigality; probably permitted, that when he should become a preacher, he might more fully detect and lay open the workings of sin and vanity in others, sympathize with them in their sad condition, and be the better-qualified to counsel and comfort them in their *repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ*. At the same time, and while yet a graduate, he gave proofs of the great genius with which Providence had endowed him, by his deep researches into nature, and the secret operations of natural powers. But when the Lord was pleased to convert him from the error of his ways, he applied himself, with uncommon diligence, to the study of divinity, and, in a short time, made an almost incredible proficiency.

About the age of twenty-four, he was chosen fellow of *Christ's-college*, and entered into holy orders; when, according to the precepts of the gospel, having *freely received, he freely gave*; and after the pattern of his great Exemplar, went and *preached deliverance to the captives*. The jailor being prevailed upon to bring the prisoners into the county-house, near to the goal, he preached the gospel to them every *Sunday*, with great power and success. As soon as this pious labor was known, many from the neighboring parishes resorted thither, to hear him; and it pleased GOD to make him the happy instrument in bringing to the knowledge of *salvation*, and into *the liberty of the children of God*, not only those whose bodies were in prison, but those also whose souls, like their's, were in captivity and bondage to sin and satan. His fame, which was afterwards in all the churches, soon spread through *Cambridge*; and he was chosen to *St. Andrew's* parish in that town, where he remained an industrious, faithful laborer, till he finally *entered into the joy of his Lord*.
Being

Being settled thus in a university, his hearers consisted of collegians, towns-people, and people from the country, which required such a peculiar gift as Providence had bestowed on Mr. *Perkins*; for in all his discourses he was able to accommodate his style and phrases to the capacities of the common people; and at the same time the pious scholar could not but admire them. *Luther* used to say, 'That as thunder without rain did more harm than good; so ministers that preach the terrors of the law, but do not at the same time drop in the dew of gospel-instruction and consolation, are not wise master-builders; for they pull down, but build nothing up again.' But Mr. *Perkins's* sermons were said to be 'all law, and all gospel.' He was a rare instance of those opposite gifts meeting in so eminent a degree in one and the same preacher—the vehemence and thunder of a *Boanerges*, to awaken sinners to a sense of their danger and to drive them from destruction; and the gentle persuasives and comforts of a *Barnabas*, to pour in the wine and oil of gospel-consolation into the wounded spirit, which he pointed to *Jesus Christ*. And such was his wisdom in administering advice and comfort in all cases of conscience, that it is said; 'the afflicted in spirit came far and near to him, and received much comfort from him.'

He had a surprising talent in perusing books so speedily, that one would think he read nothing; yet so accurately, that one must think he had read all. Besides his frequent preaching, and other ministerial labors, he wrote many excellent books; which, on account of their worth, were many of them translated into *Latin* and sent abroad, where they have been greatly admired and valued; and some of them translated into *French*, *High-Dutch*, and *Low-Dutch*, and his "Reformed Catholic," into *Spanish*; which, however, so far as we know, was never answered. *Voetius*, and several of the foreign divines, have mentioned him with great honor: And our bishop *Hall* said of him, 'That he excelled in a distinct judgement, and a rare dexterity in clearing the obscure subtleties of the schools, and easy explication of the most perplexed discourses.' He was much afflicted with the stone, the frequent attendant on a sedentary life, under which severe complaint he was remarkably patient. In the last fit, a little before his death, hearing a friend pray for a mitigation of his pains; he cried out, "Hold! hold! do not pray so; but pray the Lord to give me faith and patience, and then let him lay on me just what he please." At length pa-

tience had its perfect work, and he bade a final and everlasting farewell to all pain of the body and affliction of the soul, and was crowned with eternal rest and glory, A. D. 1602, in the forty-fourth year of his age. He was born in the first, and died in the last year of the reign of Q. Elizabeth. He died rich only in grace, and in the love of GOD and of good men: Yet, like the apostle Paul, (2 Cor. vi. 10.) *however poor, he was enabled to make many rich.* He was buried, with great solemnity, at the sole expence of *Christ's-college*; the university and the town striving which should shew the most gratitude for his faithful labors among them, or pay the greatest respect to his memory. Doctor *Montague* preached his funeral sermon on the following words; *Moses my servant is dead.* *Joshua* i. 2.

He was so pious and exemplary in his life and conversation, that malice itself could find no ground for scandal or reproach. He was naturally chearful and pleasant; rather reserved towards strangers, but when once acquainted very familiar. He was of a middle stature, ruddy complexion, bright hair, and inclined to corpulency, but lame of his right hand; yet with his left hand he wrote two folio volumes, so well, and to so good purpose, that he proved himself an able evangelical divine, and an invincible champion in the Protestant cause. And such was his humanity and condescension, that he not only preached to the prisoners, as we observed before, but accompanied the condemned to the place of execution; and what success he had in this line of his labors, will appear from the following example.—A stout young man, going up the ladder, discovered great dejection of spirit, and when he came to the top, and turned round to speak to the people, he looked like one half dead, which Mr. *Perkins* observing, endeavored to encourage him; but finding it to be without effect, said, “Man, what is the matter with thee, art thou afraid of death?” “Ah, no (said the malefactor, shaking his head) but of a worse thing.” “Dost thou so (replied Mr. *Perkins*) then come down again, and thou shalt see what GOD’s grace will do to strengthen thee.” When he came down, Mr. *Perkins* took him by the hand, and, at the foot of the ladder, they both kneeled down, hand in hand, when Mr. *Perkins* prayed with so much of the divine presence and with such power, in confession of sin, with its aggravating circumstances, and the horrible and eternal punishment due to the same, according to GOD’s justice, that the poor man burst out into a flood of tears, being broken and contrite

contrite in heart; which, when Mr. *Perkins* observed, he proceeded to the second part of his prayer, in which he set forth the Lord *Jesus Christ*, the Saviour of every believing penitent sinner, as stretching forth his arms of mercy and power to save him in his miserable distressed condition, and from all the powers of darkness, and to give him heaven and glory. This he was enabled to do in so wonderful and successful a manner, that the poor creature continued, indeed, to shed tears; but they were now tears of love, gratitude and joy, flowing from a belief that all his sins were cancelled by the merciful shedding of his Saviour's blood. And when they rose from prayer, he evidenced so good and satisfactory a confession, that the spectators lifted up their hands and praised GOD, for seeing such a glorious display of sovereign grace, in converting, at the eleventh hour, this dying malefactor, who went up the ladder again, with apparently great comfort, and hasting as it were to have the grace he had so lately been made a partaker of, consummated in glory.

His WORKS, which are usually bound in two volumes folio, are "1. The Foundation of Christian Religion. 2. A Golden Chain; or, the Description of Divinity. 3. An Exposition of the Apostles' Creed. 4. An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. 5. A Declaration, whether a Man be in a State of Damnation, or a State of Grace. 6. A Case of Conscience. 7. A Direction for the Government of the Tongue. 8. Two Treatises; one on Repentance, and the other on the Combat of the Flesh and Spirit. 9. A Treatise how to live well in all Estates and Times, especially when Helps and Comforts fail. 10. A Treatise on dying well. 11. A Discourse on the Nature of Conscience. 12. The Reformed Catholic. 13. The true Manner of knowing *Christ* crucified. 14. A Grain of Mustard-Seed. 15. Of true Wealth. 16. A Warning against the Idolatry of the last Times. 17. A Treatise of God's Free Grace, and Man's Free Will. 18. Of Man's Callings. 19. Of Predestination, in *Latin* by the Author, but since translated into *English*. 20. His Bible Harmony. 21. A Dialogue of the World's Dissolution, No. 7, 8, 13, 14, were translated into *Latin* by *Thomas Drax*: And No. 19, written in *Latin*, is translated into *English*."

The following were published after his death: "Vol. II. 1. Three Books of the Cases of Conscience. 2. Commentaries on the five first Chapters of the Epistle to the *Galatians*. 3. Of Christian Equity. 4. Of Man's Imagination."

gination. 5. Problems against *Cox*, in *Latin*. 6. The Key of Prophecy. 7. Commentaries on the fifth, sixth, and seventh Chapters of *St. Matthew*. 8. Commentaries on the three first Chapters of the *Revelation*. 9. Of the Temptation of *Christ*, from *Matthew* iv. 1—12. 10. An Exhortation to Repentance. 11. Two excellent Treatises of Ministers' Calling. 12. A Commentary on *Jude's* Epistle. 13. A Treatise of Poisoning. 14. Against Prognostics. 15. Of Household Discipline, in *Latin*. No. 1, written in *English*, is translated into *Latin*: And No. 5, and 15, written in *Latin*, have been translated into *English*."

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT.

THIS divine was born in *Hertfordshire*, about the year 1535; and being by his parents kept at school till he was fit for the university, he went to *Cambridge*, and was admitted into *St. John's-college*, in 1550. There he followed his studies very hard; and being a man of excellent natural parts, he profited in learning more than ordinary; which he pursued with unremitting diligence to the end of his life.

At the death of *K. Edward VI.* he left the university, and betook himself to the service of a counsellor, yet followed his studies very hard, taking more pleasure therein than in the study of the law: Thus he continued till the beginning of *Q. Elizabeth's* reign, at which time his master, meeting with doctor *Pilkinton*, master of *St. John's-college* in *Cambridge*, told him of his man's learning and studious disposition. The doctor desired to speak with him, and perceiving his great abilities and hopefulness, with his master's consent, took him again to *St. John's-college*, where his proficiency in the arts and tongues was so eminent, that in the year 1560 he was chosen fellow in that college. About three years after he was removed to a fellowship in *Trinity-college*, where for his great worth he was ere long made one of the eight senior-fellows.

In the year 1564, *Q. Elizabeth* coming to *Cambridge*, great preparation was made for her entertainment, and four of the most eminent men in the university being chosen

ten to keep a philosophy-act before her, he was one of them, who performed it with extraordinary abilities, and to the great satisfaction both of the queen and other auditors. In 1567, he commenced bachelor of divinity, and three years after he was chosen to be the lady *Margaret's* divinity-reader. He read upon the first and second chapters of the *Acts* of the apostles, and performed it with such acuteness of wit, and solidity of judgement, as caused admiration in his hearers; and even at that time he was so famous for his ministry, that when his turn came to preach at St. *Mary's*, the sexton was obliged to take down the windows, by reason of the multitudes that came to hear him. In his lectures he used to discover his judgement about church-discipline, which gave offence to the doctors and heads in the university, Mr. *Cartwright's* sentiments being in favor of the *Geneva* discipline, and opposite in some particulars to the establishment of the church of *England*. At length, he was convened before the vice-chancellor and other doctors, and examined upon sundry articles or propositions of doctrine delivered by him publicly in his lectures, and elsewhere; which they affirmed to be contrary to the form received and allowed by public authority in this realm, and thereupon they demanded whether he would stand to, or revoke, the said opinions and doctrines delivered by him*.

Mr. *Cartwright*, upon deliberation, desired that he might have leave to set down in writing what his judgement in those things was, and what he would stand to; which being granted, he drew up in six propositions what his judgement was, and, setting his hand to it, delivered it to the vice-chancellor, who thereupon admonished him to revoke the same; and upon his refusal, punished him by the suspension of his stipend, and so he continued in his lecture that year; but the year after Dr. *Whitgift* being chosen vice-chancellor, he again convened him before him, requiring his absolute answer whether he did mind to teach his auditors otherwise, revoking what he had before

* It has been generally conceived, that Mr. *Cartwright* was the first great dissenter from the established church; but improperly. Dr. *Turner*, dean of *Wells*, [about the year 1563] seems to have been the first, or one of the first, after the church of *England* was settled, who opposed both its episcopacy and ceremonies, and made a disturbance about them. This *Turner* was a very intemperate and indiscreet man, as appears by an anecdote, recorded of him even by *Martin Marprelate*, [an abusive writer] concerning his rude treatment of a bishop whom he invited to dinner. See *Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker*, p. 151.

taught, or whether he would abide in the maintenance of the same? To this Mr. *Cartwright* answered, "that for the propositions delivered by him under his hand to Dr. *May*, and now shewed to him, they were his own hand writing, such as he had openly taught, and still continued fully determined to maintain and defend as truths." Hereupon, after Mr. *Cartwright* had a while withdrawn, and the vice-chancellor had conferred with the other doctors, Mr. *Cartwright* was again called for; and this definitive sentence was pronounced against him by the vice-chancellor Dr. *Whitgift*: "That perceiving that no admonition would help, but that he still persisted in the same mind, he did therefore pronounce him the said Mr. *Cartwright* to be removed from his said lecture, and by his final decree or sentence did then and there remove him, and declare the said lecture to be void; and that he minded, according to the foundation thereof, to proceed to the election of a new reader. And further he did then and there, by virtue of his office, inhibit the said Mr. *Cartwright* from preaching within the university and the jurisdiction of the same."

The articles, which Mr. *Cartwright* drew up, are as follow, translated from the original *Latin*.

"1. The titles, as well as the offices and duty of archbishops and archdeacons, ought to be abolished.

"2. The titles of the lawful ministers in the church, such as those of bishops and deacons, being separate from their functions as described simply in the word of God, ought to be disallowed, and brought back to the apostolic institution; so that a bishop should be exercised in the word and in prayer, and a deacon in taking care of the poor.

"3. The government of a church ought not to be intrusted with the chancellors of bishops, or the officers belonging to archdeacons, but should be committed to a proper minister, and one who is a presbyter of the same church.

"4. It does not behove a minister to be either without a charge, or exempt from attendance on his charge, but every such person should devote himself to the care of one particular flock.

"5. None should solicit the ministry as a candidate.

"6. Ministers are not to be appointed and made merely by the authority and power of the bishops; much less in a study or any other private place; but the election ought to be made by the church.

"These

" These reformations being effected, every one should labour in his calling (for I mean to speak of the calling) that the magistrate should act by his authority, the minister by the word, and all persons by their prayers.

" By me, *Thomas Cartwright*."

Mr. *Cartwright* being thus expelled, and finding the way for the exercise of his ministry in *England* obstructed, he went beyond the seas to visit other Reformed churches, where he grew acquainted with the most eminent men for piety and learning in Christendom, with whom he kept correspondence all his life after. He was also highly prized by them, inasmuch that *Beza*, writing about that time into *England* to a friend of his, hath this expression; *Est quidam Anglus nobiscum, nomine Thomas Cartwright, &c.* Here is now with us your countryman *Thomas Cartwright*, than whom I think the sun doth not see a more learned man, &c. He was also chosen preacher to the *English* merchants at *Antwerp*, and afterwards at *Middleburgh*, where he had great success in his ministry; and when he understood that the merchants, by whom he was maintained, through their great losses, decayed in their estates, he returned his salary to them again.

Not long after he came over into *England*, being earnestly solicited by letters from Mr. *Deering*, Mr. *Fulke*, Mr. *Wisburne*, Mr. *Leaver*, and Mr. *Fox*; about which time the non-conformists having drawn up AN ADMONITION TO THE PARLIAMENT for the Reformation of the church, Dr. *Whitgift*, who was then preferred, to the archbishopric of *Canterbury*, answered the same in print; whereupon the ministers who wrote the 'Admonition,' consulting, but not agreeing upon the choice of to reply to Dr. *Whitgift*, Mr. *Cartwright* was at last chosen by lot to undertake it, and performed it so well, that some of his very adversaries were heard to advance and commend him for it.

Mr. *Walton* says, in his life of *Hooker*, ' that Mr. *Cartwright* appearing to justify himself and his party in many remonstrances, which he caused to be printed, the bishop (*Whitgift*) made a first answer, and *Cartwright* replied upon him; and then the bishop having rejoined to his reply, Mr. *Cartwright* either was or was persuaded to be satisfied; for he wrote no more, but left the reader to judge which had maintained their cause with most charity and reason.' p. 13.

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However, Mr. *Cartwright*, with others of the non-conformists, was brought into the high commission court; where for refusal of the oath *ex officio*, they were put in prison, and afterwards proceeded against in the star-chamber; but those very witnesses, who were brought to accuse them, did so clear them, that they were dismissed, and sent home much more honored and beloved than they were before.

Whilst Mr. *Cartwright* was prisoner in the *Fleet*, he had thirty pounds sent him from a noble friend, of which he took but ten shillings, returning the rest with many thanks to the donor; and when the earl of *Leicester* offered him the provostship of *Eaton-college*, saying, that it was a hundred pounds a year more than enough, besides the conveniency of the place, Mr. *Cartwright* answered, "that the hundred pounds more than enough was enough for him."

About the year 1580, his fame was so spread through the Reformed churches, that K. *James*, then king of *Scotland*, sent for him, offering to make him professor in the university of *St. Andrews*, whereof twenty years after, upon K. *James's* coming into *England*, Mr. *Cartwright* makes mention in his Epistle before his Commentary upon *Ecclesiastes*, which he dedicated to K. *James*, returning humble thanks for that royal favor. The archbishop of *Dublin* also sent for him into *Ireland*, offering him preferment in that kingdom.

Mr. *Walton* says, that 'after some silence (meaning of the controversy between archbishop *Whitgift* and him) Mr. *Cartwright* received from the archbishop many personal favours, and retired himself to a more private living, which was at *Warwick*, where he was made master of the hospital, and lived quietly and grew rich [which last, when the profits are considered, seems doubtful]; and where the bishop gave him a licence to preach, upon promise not to meddle with controversies, but incline his hearers to piety and moderation: And this promise he kept during his life, which ended in 1602 or 1603, the bishop surviving him but one year, [*Strype* says, only two months], each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.' Who, reading this, cannot but wish, that two such excellent men had never maintained a controversy between them at all; but that, as they could at last, in the wisdom of grace, find out the way of charity and peace, they had never entered any other? What disputes, what factions in religion, to the disgrace of our

our common Christianity before the world, might have been avoided or healed? *Cartwright* is said to have expressed himself to this effect upon his death-bed; and, doubtless, *Whitgift* thinks so now.

Mr. *Cartwright* was sent to from many eminent divines beyond sea, wherein they craved his advice for the direction of young men in the method of their studies, and in behalf of the churches in general, for his counsel in regulating their proceedings in the weightiest affairs.

It was the earl of *Leicester* who preferred him to be master of the hospital at *Warwick*, which place was worth to him about one hundred pounds *per annum*: His employment was, to pray with the poor men twice a day, to catechise twice a week, and to preach once on the Lord's day at the parish church.

His carriage and deportment was such, that there was not a nobleman or gentleman of quality in all the country that looked heaven-ward, or was of any account for religion and learning, but sought to enjoy his company, and found much pleasure and content therein; for his conversation was such, that scarce a word came from his mouth that was not of some good use and concernment. He was of a very laborious and indefatigable spirit; it was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly Father; so that besides all his pains in writing, and in the hospital, he preached every sabbath-day in the morning about seven o'clock in the lower parish of *Warwick*, and, when he could be suffered, in the upper parish in the afternoon; besides which, he preached a lecture on *Saturdays* in the afternoon in the upper church, in which he went over a great part of the *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*, with great judgement and profit; and this he did of his own free will, without demanding or receiving one penny for his pains.

Presently after his coming to *Warwick*, the *English* seminary at *Rheims* published their version of the New Testament, and annotations upon it in *English*; which coming over into *England*, it was looked upon by all as a book of dangerous concernment, and therefore fit to be answered by the ablest pen that could be found; hereupon (as it is said) *Q. Elizabeth* sent to *Beza* to request him to undertake the answer; but he modestly excused it, and returned answer, that she had one in her own kingdom, far abler than himself to undertake such a task, and upon further enquiry declared, that it was Mr. *Thomas Cartwright*. Then Sir *Francis Walsingham*, a man of eminent

place and power, who in this, as in other affairs, was accounted the mouth and hand of the queen and state, wrote to Mr. *Cartwright*, earnestly requesting him to undertake the work, assuring him also of such aid as should further him in the finishing of it; for which end he sent him one hundred pounds towards the charges of buying books, and procuring writers which were to be employed by him in the work; this was in the year 1583.

The same year also he was earnestly solicited by some learned men of the university of *Cambridge*, to undertake the Answer, in which, amongst other passages, they have these expressions: 'With you we are earnest, most reverend *Cartwright*, that you would set yourself against the unhallowed endeavours of these mischievous men, either by refuting the whole book, or at least some part thereof. It is not for every man workmanlike to frame God's tabernacle, but for *Bazaleel* and *Aholiab*; neither is every one rashly to be thrust forth into the Lord's battles; but such captains are to be chosen from amongst *David's* worthies; of which as we acknowledge you to be, by the former battles undergone for the walls of our city the church, we doubt not, if you will enter this war, which truly you ought according to the zeal and piety you bear to your country and religion, but that you fighting for conscience and country (yea even for the very inmost holy place of the temple) will be able to tread under foot the forces of the *Jebusites*, which set themselves to assault the tower of *David*. Moreover (which may marvellously sharpen the edge of your courage) you are not now to fight with a brother or fellow of the same religion (which maketh the conflict more faint) but with the most inveterate enemies of *Jesus Christ*, &c.' Then they thus conclude: 'You see to what an honourable fight we invite you. *Christ's* business shall be undertaken against satan's champions. We stir you up to fight the battles of our Lord; where the victory is certain, which the triumph and applause of the angels will ensue. Our prayers shall never be wanting unto you. *Christ*, without doubt, whose cause is defended, will be present with you. The Lord *Jesus* much increase your courage and strength, and keep you very long in safety for his church's good! Farewel.' This was subscribed by *Roger Goad*, *William Whitaker*, *Thomas Crook*, *John Ireton*, *William Fulke*, *John Field*, *Nicholas Crane*, *Giles Seintler*, *Richard Gardener*, *William Charke*, &c.

But

But besides these, the ministers of *London* and *Suffolk* did by their several letters earnestly exhort him to this work. Mr. *Cartwright* was at last by these importunities drawn to undertake it; and neither diligence nor constancy was wanting in him to have carried it on to perfection; but he met with such great discouragements and hinderances from potent adversaries, that he was forced often to lay his pen aside.

Whilst he was at *Warwick*, he was requested by the Lord *Zouch*, governor of *Guernsey*, to go with him into that island, with whom he continued some time; and in his absence substituted one Mr. *Lord*, a godly minister then living at *Woolstone*, in his room at the hospital at *Warwick*, allowing him the greatest part of the profits of the place during his abode there; and the rest he caused to be distributed amongst the poor.

He was far from seeking after great places or great things in the world; and for riches, he sought them not; yea he rejected many opportunities whereby he might have enriched himself. His usual manner was, when he had good sums of gold sent him, to take only one piece, lest he should seem to slight his friends kindness, and to send back the rest with a thankful acknowledgement of their love, and his acceptance of it, professing that for that condition wherein GOD had set him, he was as well furnished as they for their high and great places.

His manner was, not to keep any more money in his purse but what might serve for charitable uses. He was very bountiful to poor scholars. He distributed money every Sabbath-day amongst the poor of the town of *Warwick*, besides what he gave to the prisoners, and upon other occasions both at home and abroad.

For his household affairs, he never troubled himself with them, but wholly left them to be ordered and managed by the prudence of his wife.

He was very careful to regulate and order the business of the hospital for the best advantage of the poor brethren. He continued his diligence and assiduity in his studies even in his old age; and his manner was to rise at two, three, and four o'clock at the latest, both summer and winter, notwithstanding his bodily infirmities were such, that he was forced to study continually kneeling upon his knees.

He could not endure, so much as in private, to hear his adversaries reproached; and if any in his presence used disgraceful speeches of them, he would sharply reprove them for it, saying, "that it is a Christian's duty to pray for,
" and

“and not to reproach his adversaries;” and when *Martin Mar-Prelate’s* book came forth, he shewed much dislike of the satyrical and tart language used in it. He was also very humble, not enduring to hear any thing spoken in his own commendation, or any titles given him, which in the least measure favored of ambition. He affected not popularity, but avoided it as much as possibly he could. Indeed, all his ambition was, to advance the knowledge and cause of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and to promote GOD’s glory. It was the great joy and rejoicing of his heart to hear of the welfare and prosperity of the churches at home and abroad; for this he earnestly and daily prayed: And when he heard any ill tidings, with *Nehemiah* he sat down and mourned, and fasted, and prayed before the GOD of heaven; so that all that conversed with him might easily discern that nothing did affect him in any degree, like the good or ill tidings of the church’s state.

He was frequent in prayer every day; and in his younger years rose many times in the night for that purpose. And as his labors were very great in the work of the ministry, so it pleased the Lord to make them very successful for the conversion and confirmation of many, and for terror and restraint unto others. There was one Mr. *Chaplin*, a woollen-draper in *Warwick*, who made a profession of religion, but many times broke out into scandalous practices; Mr. *Cartwright* on a time walking with him in his garden, dealt plainly and faithfully with him, rebuking him for his miscarriages, and shewing him the dishonor that he brought to GOD and the gospel thereby. This so wrought upon *Chaplin*, that he presently sunk down, and being carried home, died within a few hours after.

In his old age he was much troubled with the stone and gout, which much impaired his strength, yet would he not intermit his labors, but continued preaching when many times he could scarce creep up into the pulpit. The sabbath before his death, which was the last sermon that he made, *December* the 25th, he preached upon *Eccles. xii. 7. Then shall the dust return to the earth, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it.* The morning before his death, which was the *Tuesday* following, he was two hours on his knees in private prayer; in which, as he told his wife, he found wonderful and unutterable joy and comfort, GOD giving him a glimpse of heaven before he came to it; and within a few hours after he quietly resigned up his





From an Original Painting in Lambeth Palace!

his spirit unto GOD, December the 27th, 1663. aged sixty-eight years. Mr. Dodd preached his funeral sermon.

His WORKS. His *Harmonia Evangelica* is a very learned and able performance. A Comment upon the *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes*. A Confutation of the *Rhemist's* Translation, Glosses, and Annotations. Reply to Archbishop *Whitgift*. *Commentaria practica in totam historiam evangelicam*. And some other Works.

JOHN WHITGIFT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

THIS great man might be called, the undaunted champion of the rites, discipline and revenues of the church of *England*. The greatest part of his life, which was a very active one, was employed in her service: And her establishment, under GOD, to this day may be in great measure ascribed to his zeal and abilities. He had not the mildness and deep erudition of an *Usher*, nor the spirituality and ascetic turn of a *Leighton*, who held the same rank in the church; but he seemed to be an instrument raised up to preserve its ecclesiastical state, which enters so deeply into our whole political constitution, that (as it was proved under *Charles I.*) the one could not subsist without the other.

He was the son of *Henry Whitgift*, merchant, of *Great Grimsby*, in *Lincolnshire*, by *Anne Dynewell*, a young gentlewoman of good birth and reputation in that town, where he was born in the year 1530. He was descended of the antient family of the *Whitgifts* of *Whitgift* in the *West Riding* of *Yorkshire*, some of whom had been considerable benefactors to the church. But his grandfather *John Whitgift*, Gent. having a numerous family, and placing his sons out in different ways of life, one of them [*Robert*] was bred to the church, and became abbot of the monastery of *Wellow*, near *Grimsby*. In this situation, as he applied himself to instruct young gentlemen in the first rudiments of learning, he took his nephew (the subject of our present article) under his care. Here our Author early imbibed an ill opinion of the *Romish* church
from

from this uncle, who often declared in his hearing, 'That
 ' they and their religion could not long continue; be-
 ' cause he had read the whole scripture over and over,
 ' and could never find therein that it was founded by
 ' God, which consequently (said he,) cannot stand,
 ' since these are our Saviour's words, *Every plant that my
 ' heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up*, Matth.
 ' xv. 30.' In the mean time, observing the promising
 genius of his nephew, he advised his father to send him
 to *St. Anthony's school at London*. For this purpose he was
 lodged in *St. Paul's Church-yard* at his aunt's, who had
 married one of the vergers of that church. While he was
 here, his aunt often importuned him to go to mass, and
 procured also some of the canons of *St. Paul's* to persuade
 him to it; but having already some relish of the doctrine
 of the Reformation, he constantly withstood all their en-
 deavors. By this his conduct she grew at length so much
 exasperated, as to turn him out of doors, imputing all
 her losses and domestic misfortunes to her harboring of
 such an heretic (as she called him) under her roof; and
 at parting told him, that ' she thought at first she had re-
 ' ceived a saint into her house, but now she perceived he
 ' was a devil.'

Thus rudely treated by his aunt, he repaired home to
 his father in *Lincolnshire*, where his uncle the abbot,
 finding upon examination that he had made a good pro-
 gress in grammar learning, advised the sending of him
 to the university. Accordingly he was sent to *Cambridge*
 in the year 1548 or 1549, and placed first in *Queen's-
 college*; but not liking the disposition of some there, he
 was removed soon after to *Pembroke-hall*, and put under
 the tuition of the celebrated *John Bradford*, the martyr,
 who was then lately chosen fellow of that society. He
 had not been long here before he was recommended by
 his tutor and Mr. *Grindall*, then fellow, (afterwards arch-
 bishop of *Canterbury*) to the master, *Nicholas Ridley*; by
 which means he was made scholar of that house, and
 chosen bible-clerk. These advantages were the more ac-
 ceptable to him, as his circumstances were then but in-
 different, by reason of his father's great losses at sea. Mr.
Bradford leaving *Cambridge* in the year 1550, our Author
 fell under the care of Mr. *Gregory Garth*, who continued
 his tutor while he staid at *Pembroke-hall*, from whence he
 went out bachelor of arts in 1553-4. But in 1555, be-
 ing unanimously elected fellow of *Peter-house*, he was ad-
 mitted there in that quality by *Thirlby*, bishop of *Ely*,
 the

the thirty-first of *May* the same year. He commenced master of arts in 1557.

About this time he had a severe fit of sickness; and soon after his recovery happened the remarkable visitation of this university by the authority of cardinal *Pole*, in order to purge out the heretics. To avoid the storm, our Author's first resolution was to go to *Strasburg*, *Frankfort*, or somewhere in *Switzerland*; but Dr. *Perne*, the master of his college, though at that time a professed Papist, yet having a great esteem for him, undertook to screen him from the commissioners, which prevailed on him not to leave the university. The master's promise was faithfully performed; and notwithstanding the severity of that visitation, he escaped without any inquiry, by the connivance of his friend, who being then vice-chancellor, and shewing himself active in the present transactions, was the less suspected to favor any but thorough devotees of *Rome*.

In 1560, our Author entered into holy orders, and soon after preached his first sermon at *St. Mary's* before the university, upon *Rom. i. 16. I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ*, &c. with general and great approbation. The same year he was appointed chaplain to Dr. *Richard Cox*, bishop of *Ely*, who gave him the rectory of *Teversham*, in *Cambridgeshire*. In 1563, he proceeded bachelor of divinity; and *Matthew Hutton*, then fellow of *Trinity-college*, being appointed Regius professor of divinity, the same year, our Author succeeded him in the *Margaret* professorship. Soon after this he joined with his brother professor and several heads of colleges, in a petition to Sir *William Cecil*, their chancellor, for an order to regulate the election of public officers, the want of which created great disturbance in the university at that time. Two years after this he distinguished himself so eminently in the pulpit, that Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, then lord keeper, sent for him to court to preach before the queen, who heard him with great satisfaction, and gave orders presently to have him sworn her chaplain. The same year, 1565, being informed that some statutes were preparing above to enjoin an uniformity of habits, particularly to order the wearing of surplices in the university, he promoted the writing of a joint letter privately to *Cecil*, earnestly desiring him to stop (if possible) the sending down any such orders, which it was perceived would be very unacceptable to the university: But this address was taken so ill at court, that our Author was obliged afterwards to

make an apology for his conduct in it. However, he grew into so great esteem at *Cambridge*, as well under the character of a preacher as the restorer of order and discipline there, that the next year, *June* the tenth, the university granted him a licence under their common seal, to preach throughout the realm; and on the fifth of *July* following, the salary of his professorship was raised, out of respect to him, by that body, from twenty marks to twenty pounds.

He had the year before been a considerable benefactor to his college; where the next year, 1567, he held the president's place, but was called thence, *April* the twenty-first, to *Pembroke-hall*, being chosen master there; and not long after he was likewise appointed *Regius* professor of divinity. In both these preferments he succeeded a second time his old friend Dr. *Hutton* (now made dean of *York*), and to the first had the same recommendation which had been given to his predecessor, *viz.* that of Dr. *Edmund Grindal*, then bishop of *London*. But his continuance here was very short; for in less than three months, upon the death of Dr. *Beauchamp*, her majesty promoted him to the mastership of *Trinity-college*. This place was procured for him chiefly by the interest of Sir *W. Cecil*, who, notwithstanding some objections had been made to his age, got him sworn into it the fourth of *July*. The same year the university admitted him inceptor for the degree of doctor in divinity; and being appointed likewise to keep the commencement act, he chose for his thesis upon that occasion, *Papa est ille antichristus*; the pope is the antichrist. In 1570, having first applied to *Cecil* for the purpose, he compiled a new body of statutes for the university, which were of great service to that learned community.

This work he finished in *August*, and the same month he was the principal agent in procuring an order from the vice-chancellor and heads to prohibit *Cartwright*, who was now *Margaret* professor, from reading any more lectures without some satisfaction given to them of his principles and opinions. Our Author informed the chancellor of this step, and at the same time acquainted him with *Cartwright's* principles, and the consequences of them, upon which he received the chancellor's approbation of what had been done. Upon which *Cartwright*, being convened, and refusing to renounce his principles, was deprived of his professorship; and as he gave out that his assertions were rather suppressed by authority, than
refuted

refuted by reason, our Author took an effectual method to obviate that calumny. In the mean time, at the chancellor's request, he likewise wrote a confutation of some of the chief of those principles, and sent them to archbishop *Parker*, in a letter dated *December 29*, with an intention to publish them, but was prevented. In 1671, he served the office of vice-chancellor. The same year an order was made by the archbishop and bishops, that all those who had obtained faculties to preach, should surrender them before the third of *August*; and that upon their subscription to the thirty-nine articles, and other constitutions and ordinances agreed upon, new licences should be granted. This being signified to the university, and an order sent, requiring them to call in all the faculties granted before, our Author in pursuance thereof surrendered his former licence, obtained in 1566, and had another granted him *September 17*, 1571, wherein he was likewise constituted one of the university-preachers. *June* the nineteenth, in consequence of the queen's nomination, he was elected dean of *Lincoln*, into which dignity he was installed *August* the second following. *October* the thirty-first he obtained a dispensation from the archbishop, empowering him, together with this deanery, his prebend of *Ely*, and rectory of *Teversham* (besides the mastership of *Trinity-college*) to hold any other benefice whatsoever. Towards the end of the same year he preached the *Latin* sermon at the meeting of the convocation, being then proctor for the clergy and chapter of *Ely*. *May* the fourteenth, the next year, he was presented to the lower house for their prolocutor and chosen. In *August* the same year, he resigned the rectory of *Teversham*.

He was now, by particular appointment from the archbishop of *Canterbury*, writing his answer to the Admonition, which requiring more ease of mind and leisure hours than the execution of his office as master of *Trinity-college* (where he met with much trouble and opposition) seemed to allow of, he even desired to leave the university. However, the heads applied to the chancellor in a letter dated *September* the twenty-eighth, to prevent it. He had a little before, in the same month this year, expelled *Cartwright* from his fellowship, for not taking orders in due time, according to the statute of the colleges. *November* the second, by the appointment of the bishop of *London*, he preached at *Paul's Cross*; and before the expiration of the year came out his answer to the 'Admonition.'

As archbishop *Parker* was the chief person that set *Whitgift* about this work, so he gave him considerable assistance therein; and the several parts of the copy as it was finished were sent to him to revise; and *Cooper*, bishop of *Lincoln*, another of the most learned bishops of that time, together with other bishops and learned men, were consulted with. For, in *September 1572*, the doctor having made an end of his confutation, as soon as he had written out fair the first part of it, he sent it to the bishop of *Ely* (*Dr. Cox*), *Dr. Perne* (dean of *Ely*), and some other learned men, for them to peruse; and then afterwards, for the last perusal of it, it was by him sent to the archbishop of *Canterbury*, accompanied with a letter, dated from *Trinity-college*, *September* the twenty-first; and shortly after having transcribed the second part, which the bishop of *Lincoln* had read over, he sent that also to the archbishop, with a letter, bearing date *October* the twenty-first, from *Ely*, desiring his grace to peruse it, and to correct it as should seem good to him; he likewise desired to be directed by the archbishop to whom he should dedicate it, whether to the queen or parliament, as *Cartwright* had done, or any other; and lastly he prayed his grace, that the printer might be charged not to give a copy of it, or a sheet of it, till all were printed. In this letter he acquainted the archbishop, that he had an Epistle of *Mr. Gualter* (the learned divine of *Zurich*) written of late to the bishop of *Ely* (a copy of which he sent him inclosed), which would be, he said, a very fit answer for the Epistle of the same eminent foreigner set at the end of the Admonition by the compilers of it, as favoring their cause. He did not know the bishop of *Ely's* pleasure, whether he would have it printed; but he told his lordship the archbishop, that he would resort unto his lordship of *Ely* for the same. It appears that he had that bishop's leave, this letter being published in *Latin* and *English* at the end of his book, with this preface: And forasmuch as the authors of the Admonition, for their better credit, had set down in print the Epistles of *Mr. Beza* and *Mr. Gualter*, so he thought good to set down an Epistle of *Mr. Gualter*, revoking the same upon better information; as also another of *Mr. Bullinger*, chief minister of *Zurich*, concerning the same subject. So that (as *Mr. Strype* observes), in this book, taking in his defence printed a year or two after, may be seen all the arguments and policy used in those times for laying episcopacy and the liturgy aside, and all the exceptions to them drawn up to the best advantage;

vantage; and herein also are subjoined a full and particular answer and refutation of the one, and vindication of the other; together with the favorable sense of the learned men abroad, as *Peter Martyr*, *Bucer*, *Zuinglius*, *Bullinger*, *Calvin*, *Gualter*, expressed in their letters, or other writings of their's, and their approbation of this church's frame and discipline, and the government of it by bishops. Mr. *Strype* was of opinion, that this book may be justly esteemed and applied to as one of the public books of the church of *England* concerning her profession and principles, and as being of the like authority in respect to its worship and government, in opposition to the disciplinarians, as bishop *Jewel's* Apology and Defence in respect of the Reformation and doctrine of it, in opposition to the Papists. It was first printed in 4to, and reprinted the year following, with this title: An Answer to a certain Libel, intituled, An Admonition to the Parliament, by *John Whitgift*, D. of Divinity, newlie augmented by the Authour, as by Conference shall appear. Imprinted at *London* by *Henrie Bynneman*, for *Humfrey Toy*, Anno 1573. To this a reply being published by Mr. *Cartwright* the next year, 1573, our Author wrote his defence the same year.

In 1575 a Rejoinder being published by *Cartwright* to our Author's Defence, he consulted his friends upon it, who advising him to let it pass as not worthy his notice, he yielded to that opinion. Amongst others who dissuaded him, the learned Dr. *Whitaker*, (though himself much inclined to favor Puritanism) was one; who, in a letter to Dr. *Whitgift* upon this occasion, has these words: *Quem Cartwrightus nuper emisit libellum ejus magnam partem perlegi: Ne vivam, si quid unquam viderim dissolutius ac pene puerilius. Verborum satis ille quidem lautam novamque supellectilem habet, rerum omnino nullam, quantum ego judicare possum. Deinde non modo perverse de principis in rebus sacris & ecclesiasticis autoritate sentit, sed in Papistarum etiam castra transfugit, a quibus tamen videri vult odio capitali dissidere. Verum nec in hac causa ferendus, sed aliis etiam in partibus tela a Papistis mutuatur. Denique, ut de Ambrosio dixit Hieronymus,—verbis ludit, sententia dormitat, & plane indignus est, qui a quoquam docto refutetur.* Thus translated by Dr. *Bancroft*: 'I have
' read a great part of that book which Mr. *Cartwright*
' hath lately published. I pray God I live not, if ever
' I saw any thing more loosely written, and almost more
' childishly. It is true, for words he hath a great store,

‘ and those both fine and new ; but for matter, as far as
 ‘ I can judge, he is altogether barren. Moreover, he
 ‘ doth not only think perversely of the authority of princes
 ‘ in matters ecclesiastical, but also flyeth unto the Pa-
 ‘ pists holds, from whom he would be thought to dissent
 ‘ with a mortal hatred. But in this point he is not to be
 ‘ endured, and in other points also he borroweth his argu-
 ‘ ments from the Papiſts. To conclude, as *Jerom* ſaid
 ‘ of *Ambroſe*, he playeth with words, and is lame in his
 ‘ ſentiments, and is altogether unworthy to be confuted
 ‘ by any man of learning.’

At the ſame time *Whitgift* appeared, with that warmth that was natural to his temper, againſt a deſign, then on foot, of abolishing pluralities, and taking away the impropriations, and tythes, from biſhops, and ſpiritual (not including temporal) perſons, for the better proviſion of the poorer clergy. *March* the 24th, the laſt day of the year 1576, he was nominated to the biſhopric of *Worceſter*, to which being confirmed, *April* 16, he was conſecrated *April* the 21ſt, 1577 ; and as this biſhopric brought him into the council for the marches of *Wales*, he was preſently after appointed vice-preſident of thoſe marches in the abſence of Sir *Henry Sydney*, lord preſident, made lord lieutenant of *Ireland*. He did not reſign his maſterſhip of *Trinity-college* till *June* ; and in the interim procured a letter from the chancellor, in order to prevent the practice (then in uſe) of taking money for the reſignation of fellowſhips.

The queen had it in her eye to raiſe him to the higheſt dignity in the church before her intentions took place, and ſhewed an inclination, as was ſaid, to put him into archbiſhop *Grindal*’s room before that prelate’s death. So much is certain, that *Grindal*, in the condition he then was, had been deſirous to reſign, and as deſirous of *Whitgift* for his ſucceſſor ; but *Whitgift* could not be perſuaded upon to comply with it ; and in the queen’s preſence begged her pardon for not accepting thereof upon any condition whatſoever, during the life of the other. But upon *Grindal*’s death, which happened the ſixth of *July*, 1583, the queen nominated *Whitgift* to ſucceed him, *Auguſt* the fourteenth following ; and accordingly he was elected the twenty-third of the ſame month, and confirmed the twenty-third of *September*. On the ſeventeenth of *November*, the queen’s acceſſion happening on a *Sunday*, he preached at *Paul’s Croſs* upon this text, *Put them*
 in

in mind to be subject to principalities, &c. Titus iii. At his first entrance upon this charge he found the archbishopric over-rated, and procured an order for the abatement of one hundred pounds to him and his successors, on the payment of first-fruits. He shortly after recovered from the queen, as part of the possessions of the archbishopric, *Long-Beach Wood* in *Kent*, which had been many years detained from his predecessor by Sir *James Croft*, comptroller of her majesty's household. But that which most concerned him was to see the established uniformity of the church in so great disorder as it was from the non-complying Puritans, who, taking advantage of his predecessor's easiness in that respect, were possessed of a great many ecclesiastical benefices and preferments, in which they were supported by some of the principal men at court. He therefore set himself with extraordinary zeal and vigor to reform these infringements of the constitution, for which he had the queen's express orders. With this view, on the fifth of *December* this year, he moved for an ecclesiastical commission, which was soon after issued to him with the bishop of *London*, and several others. To the same purpose in 1584, he drew up a form of examination, containing twenty-four articles, which he sent to the bishops of his province, enjoining them to summon all such clergy as in their respective dioceses were suspected of nonconformity, and to require them to answer those articles severally upon oath *ex officio mero*, likewise to subscribe to the queen's supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the thirty-nine articles of religion.

At the same time he held conferences with several of the Puritans, and by that means brought some to a compliance; and when others appealed from the ecclesiastical commission to the council, he resolutely asserted his jurisdiction, and vindicated his proceedings at the peril of his life, and even in some cases against the opinion of lord *Burleigh*, who was his chief friend there. He waited this year also, about these matters, upon the queen, who had been solicited in favor of some of the innovators against the liturgy, and soon after sent her highness his answer to all their most plausible objections that were commonly urged by them, and gave her several reasons why the discipline was rather to be suppressed, than by writing confused. In the mean time he prevailed to have some of the sees filled, that had been vacant ever since the ejection of the popish bishops; and obtained a promise from

from *Burleigh* to complete the whole bench. Nor did his zeal for the established ecclesiastical polity display itself with less warmth in opposing the election this year of Mr. *Walter Travers* to the mastership of the temple, and in advising a restraint to be laid upon the press at *Cambridge*. Several petitions being offered to this parliament in favor of the Puritans, for receiving their new platform and book of public prayer, as also against pluralities and the court of faculties, the archbishop answered them; and presented his answer to the queen in person. He sent notes also upon them to lord *Burleigh*, December 26. However, being made sensible of the justness of a complaint against the excessive fees taken in spiritual courts, he set about drawing up a new state of those fees, according to antient custom, and at the same time prevailed with the queen not to give her assent to some bills that had passed both houses, which affected the present good estate of the clergy; namely, one giving liberty to marry at all times, another for the trial of ministers' sufficiency by twelve laymen, and such like. This last was a precedent for a like act past and rigidly executed against the Royalists during the rebellion and usurpation of *Cromwell*.

In the same parliament he procured an act for the better foundation and relief of the poor of the hospital of *Eastbridge* in *Canterbury*; and, before the year was expired, he found means to put a stop to a commission that was then upon the anvil for a *melius inquirendum*. In 1585, by special order from the queen, he drew up rules for regulating the press; which were confirmed and set forth by the authority of the star-chamber, June 23d. In all his transactions for uniformity, he had constantly both the permission and countenance of the queen, as well as the general concurrence of *Burleigh*, *Leicester*, and *Walsingham*. Yet in his proceedings with the Nonconformists his grace had received sometimes, even from these his friends, very hard words. Upon which account, about this time, he joined himself in a more close friendship with Sir *Christopher Hatton*, then vice-chamberlain to the queen, to whom he now (July 16) opened his mind, and complained of the other's usage of him. The earl of *Leicester* particularly, not content with having made *Cartwright* master of his hospital newly built at *Warwick*, attempted by a most artful address to procure a licence for him to preach without the subscription; but the archbishop peremptorily refused to comply. Presently after this, the same earl applied to him to declare his judgement about the

the queen's aiding the *Low Countries*, to which he gave a very wary answer. This was in the end of *July*; and before the end of *August* he prevented the issuing of a commission for farming out the first fruits and tenths, with a view of enhancing those payments, to the detriment of the clergy. This year he silenced Mr. *Travers* from preaching at the *Temple*; notwithstanding, about the same time being called upon for his judgement in the dispute betwixt him and *Hooker*, he gave his opinion less in favor of the Papists than *Hooker* had done.

On *Candlemas-day* he was sworn into the privy council, and the next month framed the statutes of cathedral churches, so as to make them comport with the Reformation. And the year was not expired, when he sent a prohibition to *Cartwright*, forbidding him to publish his answer to the *Rhemish Bible*. In 1586, his name appears among those counsellors who condemned secretary *Davison* for procuring the execution of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, without the consent of his sovereign; and upon the discovery of *Babington's* design to marry the said queen, the archbishop put forth some prayers under the title of *A Form of Prayer* for these dangerous Times. This year likewise he granted a licence to an *Italian* merchant-book-seller to import several popish books. The reason of this may be seen in the licence itself, of which the following is a copy:

“Whereas sundry books are from time to time set forth
“in the parts beyond seas by such as are addicted to the
“errors of Popery, yet in many respects expedient to be
“had by some of the learned in this realm, containinge
“alsoe oftentimes matter in them against the state of this
“land, and slaunderous unto it, and therefore not fit
“books to pass through every man's hand freely; in
“consideration whereof I have tolerated *Ascanio de Ré-*
“*nialme*, merchant-book-seller, to bring into this realme,
“from the parts beyond seas, some few copies of every
“such sort of books, upon this condition onlie, that any
“of them be not had or dispersed abroad, but first
“brought to me, or some other of her majesty's privy-
“council, so that they may be delivered, or directed to
“be delivered furth unto such persons onlie, as by us or
“some of us shall be thought most meet men, upon good
“considerations and purposes, to have the reading and
“perusal of them.

“Given at *Lambeth*, the day of *October*, 1586.

“*Anno Regni Regine Elizabeth. 28.*”

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The lord chancellor's place becoming vacant by the death of Sir *Thomas Bromley*, April 12, 1587, the queen made the archbishop an offer of that post, which he declined; but recommended Sir *Christopher Hatton*, who on the twenty-ninth of April was made lord chancellor in his Grace's palace at *Croydon*. The following year, 1588, he joined with lord *Burleigh* in restoring to his fellowship at St. *John's-college*, at *Cambridge*, Mr. *Everard Digby*, who had been expelled by Dr. *Whitaker* the master, and some of the fellows, upon suspicion of Popery; and about the same time gave an answer to a captious syllogism, in which he was concluded, by practice of popish tyranny, to endanger her majesty's safety.

Upon the alarm of the *Spanish* invasion this year, he procured an order of the council to prevent the clergy from being cessed by the lord lieutenants for furnishing arms, and wrote circular letters to the bishops, to take care that their clergy should be ready with a voluntary appointment of arms, &c. This year came out a virulent pamphlet, entitled, *Martyn Marprelate*, in which the archbishop was severely handled in very coarse language. The university of *Oxford* losing their chancellor, the earl of *Leicester*, this year, several of the heads and others signified to the archbishop their intention to choose him into that post. This offer, being a *Cambridge* man, he declined for himself, but made use of it to recommend his friend Sir *Christopher Hatton*, who was elected: By which means the archbishop came into a great share of the government of that university. In 1590, *Cartwright* being cited before the ecclesiastical commission for several misdemeanors, and refusing to take the oath *ex-officio*, was sent to the *Fleet* prison; and the archbishop drew up a paper containing several articles, more explicitly against the Disciplinarians than the former, to be subscribed by all licensed Preachers. The next year, 1591, *Cartwright* was brought before the star-chamber, and upon giving bail for his quiet behavior, was discharged at the motion of the archbishop, who this year was appointed, by common consent, to be arbitrator between two men of eminent learning in a remarkable point of scripture chronology. These were *Hugh Broughton*, of *Christ's-college* in *Cambridge*, the greatest scholar in *Hebrew* and *Jewish* learning in those times, and Dr. *Reynolds*, of *Corpus Christi* in *Oxford*, divinity professor there. The point in dispute was, 'Whether the chronology of the times from *Adam* to *Christ* could be ascertained by the holy scriptures?

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The first held the affirmative, which was denied by the latter. The same year in the vacancy of the see of *Sarum* by the translation of Dr. *Piers* to the archbishopric of *York*, our archbishop presented and instituted Mr. *Hooker* into the living of *Boscomb*, in *Wiltshire*, and to the prebend of *Nether-baven*, in the church of *Sarum*.

In 1592, he visited *All-souls-college*, and the following year Dr. *Bancroft* published his *Survey of Discipline*, wherein he censured *Beza's* conduct in intermeddling with the *English* affairs in respect of church-government, upon which that minister complained of this usage in a letter to the archbishop, who returned a long answer, in which he not only shewed the justice of Dr. *Bancroft's* complaint, but further also vindicated *Saravia* and *Sutcliff*, two learned men of the *English* church, who had written in behalf of the order of episcopacy against *Beza's* doctrine of the equality of ministers of the gospel, and a ruling presbytery. In 1594, fresh complaints being made in parliament of the corruption of the ecclesiastical courts, the archbishop made a general survey of those courts and their officers; and the same year he put a stop to the passing of some new grants of concealed lands belonging to the cathedrals. This year he likewise procured of the queen for Mr. *Hooker* the good rectory of *Bishops-bourne*, near *Canterbury*. The same year he summoned the famous *Hugh Broughton* to give an account of some of his doctrines concerning the article of *Christ's* descent into hell. In 1595, when the tumults of the Disciplinarians appeared to be in a good measure appeased, there sprung up the *Prædestinarian* controversy, which occasioned the drawing up of the '*Lambeth Articles*,' wherein the archbishop had the direction, and sent a copy of them to *Cambridge*, with a letter and private directions to teach the doctrine contained in them in that university; and praying that nothing should be publicly taught there against them, notwithstanding he was sensible at the same time, that this step was not agreeable to the queen. See page 286. *Note*.

This year he obtained letters patent from her majesty, and began the foundation of his hospital at *Croydon*. The same year he protected the hospital of *Harbledown*, in *Kent*, against an invasion of their rights and property: And the queen having made a grant to him of all the revenues belonging to the hospital of *Eastbridge*, in *Canterbury*, he found out and recovered the next year some lands wrongfully withheld from it. In 1597, the fore-

gate of his hospital at *Croydon* was finished, and in 1599, the whole building being completed, it was consecrated by Dr. *Bancroft*, then bishop of *London*. The founding of this hospital (the largest then in the kingdom) having given rise to an invidious report of the archbishop's immense wealth and large revenues, he drew up a particular account of all his purchases since he had been bishop, with the sums given for the same, and the yearly value of the lands, and to what and whose uses, together with the yearly value of the archbishopric. The mayor of *Canterbury* having this year summoned the choir of that church to muster with the militia, he opposed it with great warmth.

Mr. *Hooker* dying in *November* before he had published his three last books of his Ecclesiastical Polity, the archbishop made the most diligent search after the copy, and not being able to find any thing but some rough draughts of them, these, as it is said, he put into the hands of a particular intimate friend of the Author, who at the archbishop's request finished the design.

This year, 1600, he suspended a clergyman for three years, for executing a clandestine marriage between *Edward* earl of *Hertford* and *Francis Pranel*. *Thomas Cartwright* dying this year, the archbishop had the satisfaction of finding the opinion, he had not long before given of his good inclinations towards the established constitution of the church, confirmed. After *Cartwright* was admitted to bail at the archbishop's motion, he always acknowledged the obligation, as appears by several letters of his to the archbishop. In one, dated *March 24*, 1601, he acknowledges 'his bond of most humble duty so much the 'stricter, because his Grace's favour proceeded from a 'frank disposition, without any desert of his own;' and the archbishop, says *Sir George Paul*, hath been heard to say, 'that if Master *Cartwright* had not so far engaged 'himself as he did in the beginning, he thought verily 'in his latter time he would have been drawn to conformity; for when he was freed from his troubles, he often 'repaid to the archbishop, who used him kindly, and 'was contented to tolerate his preaching in *Warwick* 'divers years, upon his promise not to impugn the ecclesiastical establishment, but persuade and procure as much 'as in him lay the estimation thereof, which he performed; but when her majesty came to know of the 'archbishop's connivance, she was displeased with it.' *Sir Henry Velverton* assures us, that his last words on his death,

death-bed were, ' that he sorely lamented the unnecessary troubles he had caused in the church by the schism he had been the great fomentor of; and wished he was to begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways; and in this opinion he died.' The next year *Whitgift* constantly attended the queen in her last illness, and composed a prayer upon that occasion; he was principal mourner at her funeral, received the offering, and had the banners presented to him. *K. James* being proclaimed *March 24, 1602*, the archbishop sent *Dr. Nevil*, dean of *Canterbury*, into *Scotland* to his majesty, in the name of the bishops and clergy of *England*, to tender their allegiance, and to understand his majesty's pleasure in regard to the government of the church, and though the dean brought a gracious message to him from the king, assuring him that he would maintain the settlement as his predecessor had left it, yet the archbishop passed this summer of the year 1603 in some pain about its preservation.

The Puritans had, immediately upon the death of queen *Elizabeth*, conceived fresh hopes of some countenance, if not establishment of their new discipline, and began to talk loudly of challenging forthwith all exemption from the censure of, and subjection to, the ecclesiastical authority. A book had been printed the year before by that party, entitled, *The Plea of the Innocents*, and this year in *April* there came out *The humble Petition of the thousand Ministers for redressing Offences in the Church*, at the end of which they required a conference; and in *October* a proclamation was issued touching a meeting for the hearing and determining things pretended to be amiss in the church. The archbishop's diligence in this affair is seen in a letter which he wrote to the earl of *Shrewsbury* soon after, by which it appears also, that he was then (*viz. in December*) so much indisposed with the jaundice (a disorder incident to his constitution) as not to be able to wait upon the king and court abroad that summer. Before the conference he sent some queries to his old friend *Dr. Hutton*, then archbishop of *York*, of matters that should be concerted at this conference, for his judgment. The conference was held at *Hampton-court*, and lasted three days, *June 14, 16, and 18*. An account of it was afterwards written by *Dr. Barlow*, then dean of *Chester*, at the particular request of the archbishop: One principal design of which was thereby to wipe off an aspersi^{on}

asperſion that was thrown upon him, and ſome other biſhops, at the cloſe of it.

The time of the parliament's meeting now drawing near, the archbiſhop, that he might be the better prepared, appointed a meeting at the biſhop of *London's* houſe at *Fulham*, to confer with ſome of the biſhops and judges of his court concerning the affairs of the church, which were then to be treated on. As he was thus going in his barge on a very cold day, and having his barge-cloth tied up (as his cuſtom was) to the top of the bales, the wind blew ſo ſharp, that the young gentlemen in waiting deſired to have the cloth down, which he would by no means permit, becauſe the water was rough, and he would therefore ſee his way. At night he complained of having taken a great cold in his head. However, the next *Sunday* being the firſt *Sunday* in Lent, he went to *Whitehall*, where the king held a long diſcourſe with him and the biſhop of *London* about the affairs of the church. Going thence, after faſting till near one o'clock, to the council chamber to dinner, he was taken with a fit, which ended in the dead palsy on the right ſide, and his ſpeech taken away, whence he was carried to the lord treaſurer's chamber, and thence (after a while) conveyed home to *Lambeth*. On *Tuesday* he was viſited by the king, who told him 'he would pray to God for his life, and that if he could obtain it, he ſhould think it one of the 'greateſt temporal bleſſings that could be given him in 'this kingdom.' The archbiſhop would have ſaid ſomething to the king, but his ſpeech failed him, ſo that he uttered only imperfect words. But ſo much of his ſpeech was heard, repeating it once or twice earneſtly (with his eyes and hands liſted up) *pro eccleſia Dei: i. e.* "for "the church of God." And as he would have ſpoken his mind to the king being preſent, ſo he made two or three attempts to write his mind to him, but could not, the pen falling out of his hand by reaſon of the prevailing of his diſeaſe, which put an end to his life the day following, being the twenty-ninth day of *February*, 1603-4.

Camden, notwithſtanding he aſſigns the palsy for the immediate apparent cauſe of his death, yet expreſſly declares, that 'he died with grief, as he found the king 'began to contend about the liturgy, and judged ſome 'things therein fit to be altered. *Dum de liturgia recepta 'Rex contendere cœpit, & nonnulla in ea mutanda cenſuit, 'Johannes Whitgiſius Archiepiſc. ex mœrore obiit.*' This ſeems

seems also to be the general opinion, by the account which another author gives us, that upon his death-bed he should use these words: *Et nunc, Domine, exaltata est anima mea, quod in eo tempore succubui quando malle episcopatus mei Deo reddere rationem, quam inter homines exercere*: 'And now, O Lord, my soul is rejoiced that I die in a time wherein I had rather give up to God an account of my bishopric, than any longer to exercise it among men.' He was interred the twenty-seventh of March in the parish-church of *Croydon*, where a monument is erected with an inscription to his memory. His funeral was graced with the presence of the earl of *Worcester*, and the Lord *Zouch*, who attended the hearse carrying his banners; and Dr. *Babington*, bishop of *Worcester*, preached his funeral sermon with great applause on 2 Chron xxiv. 15, 16.

In his person he was of a middle stature, a grave countenance, and brown complexion, black hair and eyes. He wore his beard neither long nor thick. He was small boned and of good agility, being straight and well shaped in all his limbs to the light habit of his body, which begun somewhat to spread and fill out towards his latter years. His learning seems to have been confined to the *Latin* language, as *Hugh Broughton* often objected to him; neither doth he appear to have been much skilled in deep points of theology. He was a popular and a diligent preacher, and took delight in exercising his talent that way, yet his mind led him chiefly to ecclesiastical government, in the administration of which he was both indefatigable and intrepid.

After he left *Trinity-college*, while he was bishop of *Worcester* and archbishop of *Canterbury*, he took for many years into his house a number of young gentlemen, several of quality, to instruct them, as their tutor, reading to them thrice a day in mathematics and other arts, as well as in the languages, giving them good allowance and preferments as occasion offered; besides these, he kept several poor scholars in his house till he could provide for them, and prefer them (as he did several to good estates) he also maintained several others at the university. His charitable hospitality extended to foreigners. He relieved and entertained in his house for many years together several distressed ministers (recommended by *Beza* and others) out of *Germany* and *France*, who were driven from their own homes, some by banishment, others by reason of wars and extremity, shewing no less bounty to them at their

their departure; Sir *George Paul* assures us, that he remitted large sums out of his own purse to *Beza*.

In the execution of his charge in the ecclesiastical commission, every *Thursday* in term being a solemn court-day; the archbishop had a sermon in his chapel, and entertained the commissary and the attendants at great expence. That day was seen a senate of the greatest counsellors of state, with the assistance of the chief prelates; justices, judges, and sufficient lawyers of both professions that those times afforded. This kept up the reputation of the court, through the neglect of which its credit sunk afterwards, till at length by several great abuses that crept into it, this court became so odious, as to be utterly abolished. He gave audience to suitors twice a day at set hours, entertaining them hospitably. His courage and resolution in this court appears from what has been already related; but there is one remarkable instance, which ought not to be omitted. It happened before he was made privy-counsellor, when a gentleman of good account perceiving which way the court leaned in his cause (not according to his desire) told the archbishop; that upon another occasion there grew some speech of that cause before the lords of the council, and their lordships were of another opinion than his grace and the rest of the commissioners seemed to be: "What tellest thou me" (said the archbishop) of the lords of the council? I tell thee, they are in these cases to be advised by us; and not we by them." Upon such like occasions he would oftentimes say to his private friends towards the latter part of his time, when in familiar discourse they observed his courage and stoutness, "that two things did help much to make a man confident in good causes; namely, *Orbitas & Senectus*, age and want of children; and (said he), they steed me both."

He was naturally of a choleric disposition, which however was so tempered with grace and prudence, that his choler rather served for a whetstone of his courage in just causes, than to be a weapon whetted against the person, goods, or good name of any other. When *Pickering* was censured in the *Star-chamber* for libelling him after his death, it was observed by the earl of *Salisbury* (*Cecil*) who knew him well, 'that there was nothing more to be feared in his government, especially towards his latter time, than his mildness and clemency.' This part of his character is sufficiently confirmed by the judicious *Hooker*, who, with that majestic simplicity which distinguishes

guishes his pen, expresses it thus: 'He' (the archbishop, says he), 'always governed with that moderation, which useth by patience to suppress boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer.' As the reducing both the popish Recusants and Presbyterian Puritans to conformity with the established church, was what lay nearest to his heart, he plied both these kinds of people as well with his power and authority, as with his lenity and persuasion; and was so assiduous in preaching, that even after he was bishop of *Worcester*, unless extraordinary business of the *Marches of Wales* hindered him, he never failed to preach every *Sunday*, either in the city or in some neighboring parish church. The like he did also when he was archbishop, and lay at *Croydon*, the queen being in her progress. Neither did any *Sunday* escape him in *Kent*, and he often preached the morning lecture both in *Worcester* and *Canterbury*, early enough to be present afterwards at sermon in the cathedral.

Upon the whole, Mr. *Strype* remarks, that he lived and died in great reputation, and particularly happy in being highly esteemed for his wisdom, learning, and piety, by both his sovereigns, *Q. Elizabeth* and *K. James*; who both consulted with him in all matters of the church, and in making laws and orders for the well government of it: And likewise in taking always his advice for proper men to be placed in the chief preferments of it; and who seeing the great danger of the overthrow of the religion as it was reformed at first, that is, of the doctrine of it by Papists, and its discipline and constitution by the new Reformers, devoted himself, his pains, his studies, his learning, and his interest to the preserving of it, wherein he had success to the end of his days, though through much opposition.

Our Metropolitan printed no Books besides those above mentioned against *Cartwright's* 'Admonition.' His genius was turned not to a sedentary but an active life, which was handsomely intimated to the *French* ambassador *Boys Sici*, to whom, upon his enquiring what works the archbishop had published, for that he would willingly read 'his' books, who was reputed 'The peerless prelate for piety and learning in our days,' and whom in conference he found so grave, godly, and judicious; it was answered, That he only published certain books in the *English* tongue in defence of the Ecclesiastical Government; and being incidentally told, that he founded an hospital and a school, the ambassador immediately broke out into this expression: *Profecto hospitale*

hospitale ad sublevandam paupertatem, et schola ad instruendam juventutem, sunt optimi libri quos archiepiscopus [aliquis] conscribere potuit. 'Truly an hospital to sustain the poor, and a school to train up youth, are the worthiest books that an archbishop could set forth.'

THEODORE BEZA.

THIS great minister of *Geneva* was one of the chief pillars of the Reformed church. He was born the twenty-fourth of *June*, 1519, at *Vezelay*, a city of *Burgundy* in *France*, where his family was in great esteem, and he was nobly descended by both parents. His father was called *Peter de Beza*, and was bailiff of the town. His mother's name was *Mary de Bourdelot*. *Beza* tells us this himself; as also, that he was not the offspring of monks; and that his family, if it could recover what it had superstitiously bestowed on monks for two hundred years, would be very wealthy. He was sent to *Paris* very young, where he was tenderly educated under the care of his uncle *Nicholas Beza*, counsellor of the parliament, till 1528, when he was sent to *Orleans*, to study under *Melchior Wolmar*, a *German*, and professor of the *Greek* language at *Bourges*; but he left that employment, and returned to *Germany* in 1535. *Beza* then began to study the law at *Orleans*; but he spent the best part of his time in composing verses, and reading the classics. He distinguished himself in a very particular manner by his poetry, which made him caressed by the most learned men of the university, and highly extolled by the best poets of that time.

His uncle the counsellor, who designed him for the church, died in 1532: But another uncle, abbot of *Froidmont*, had the same kindness for this nephew, and intended to resign his abbey to him, which was worth fifteen thousand livres a year. *Beza* took his licentiate's degree in 1539, when he was in his twenty-first year, and then went to *Paris*, where some good preferments were provided for him, which he might well expect from the interest of his friends, his great talents, and uncommon reputation. The allurements of pleasure, the sweets of fame



From the Medal of Dacier.



same, and the hopes of the greatest honors, gave him very pleasing sensations, and combated for some time the resolution he had taken to follow *Wolmar*, and make a public profession of the Reformation.

The temptations of the world made him irresolute about renouncing popery; but he provided against the temptations of the flesh by a marriage of conscience. He was handsome and polite, as well as witty and learned; and he paid his addresses to *Claudia Denossa*, who was a very amiable woman, and of noble extraction, if *Ancillon* is to be credited: But he says her name was *Frances de St. Marcel d'Avencon*, sister of a bishop of *Greenoble*; in which he was greatly mistaken. Her name was *Denossa*, and *Scaliger* says, she was the daughter of an advocate. He made this lady a solemn promise to marry her publicly, as soon as the obstacles which hindered him at that time should be removed; and not to engage himself in the ecclesiastical state till after the celebration of their nuptials. He faithfully performed these two promises; and says himself, that "he entered into a contract of marriage, " but secretly; yet with the privacy of one or two of his " pious friends, partly that he might not offend the rest, " and partly because of his ecclesiastical benefices."

Beza had published some poetical pieces which were esteemed worthy even of the *Augustan* age: But afterwards some new pieces of his, especially a witty Epigram that he composed, being censured as licentious and too free; and some envious persons calumniating his life; he quitted his priory of *Lonjumeaux*, and retired to *Geneva* in 1548. His poems, entitled *Juvenilia*, have raised great clamors. They were printed at *Paris* in 1548, by *Conrad Badius*, with a licence of the parliament for three years. The Author was then twenty-nine years, and dedicated these poems to his professor *Melchior Wolmar*. They consist of *Silvæ*, *Elegies*, *Pictures*, *Icones*, and *Epigrams*. It cannot be denied that they contained verses too licentious, and little becoming the chastity of a Christian mind; but if the Author's enemies had been reasonable, they would rather have praised him for the grief he expressed for them, than have put an ill construction upon the epigram on *Candida* and *Audebert*. These poems of *Beza* should be placed among the sins of his youth, for which he asked pardon both of God and the world. He endeavored by all means to suppress them, after his conversion; but the Papists, in order to vex and disgrace him, often reprinted them. One of that generation, objecting to him the loose

poems of his youth, he answered; "That man vexeth himself, because *Christ* hath vouchsafed me his grace."

Mezerai treats *Beza* very ill: He adopts the story for truth, which had been spread, of an accusation of sodomy entered against that minister before the parliament of *Paris*; and another story of his running away with *Candida*, his taylor's wife. This appears unworthy of a judicious historian; for he warrants the thing, and can bring no proof. He charges *Beza* with simony and adultery, which is most shameful in so famous and illustrious an historian, who has greatly injured himself with persons of judgement, for leaving such slanders, unsupported by authentic acts. *Maimbourg* only paraphrased *Mezerai* when he drew an horrible picture of *Beza*; except that he quotes *Bolsce*, *Spondanus*, *Florimond de Remond*, and *Claudius de Xaintes*. *Beza* has publicly maintained, that those stories were enormous calumnies; that he had lived an unblameable life at *Paris*; that he left it neither out of fear, nor for debt, but for his religion; and that he had never attempted his neighbor's wife any more than the *Indies*. If the fact in question be of such a nature that it may be proved authentically; and if the accusers want neither good-will, nor industry; it must be concluded, if they do not prove it, they are calumniators; and this is sufficient to convict *Beza's* accusers of calumny.

The honor which *Beza* afterwards acquired in zealously maintaining the Reformation, caused his poems to be remarked, without which they had never been exclaimed against. Cardinal *Richelieu* has charged *Beza* with imitating the lewdness of *Ovid* and *Catullus* in his poems: But this proceeded from his negligence in transcribing some of the rhapsodies, which were thrown out against *Beza* by his inveterate enemies. We can never sufficiently deplore the malice or ignorance of men, when we remember that *Beza* was accused of an abominable crime, on so frivolous a ground as his epigram, *D: sua in Candidam et Audebertum benevolentia*. *Maimbourg* renewed this accusation in his history of Calvinism: But he is very fully refuted by an examination of the piece itself, without strengthening the apology from the great merit of *Audebert*, who was a worthy man, a good *Latin* poet, and president in the court of assessors of subsidies in *Orleans*. *Audebert* justified *Beza*, who made use of the same argument, and says to one of his enemies; "What, when you are transported to such a pitch, as even to construe my most intimate friendship and familiarity, with a man of the highest honour,

‘ honour, into so wicked and abominable a crime as I
 ‘ cannot so much as mention without horror; though it
 ‘ serves you in your cells for jest and sport, must you
 ‘ not be detested by all good men?’ *Audebert* died in
 1599; and his epitaph, in the church of the *Holy Cross*
 at *Orleans*, says, that he was ennobled, with all his poste-
 rity, and knighted by *Henry III.* for his virtue only.
 ‘ Such an authentic piece alone (says a learned minister),
 ‘ seems to me capable of putting an end to the abominable
 ‘ calumny which has hitherto been charged on the me-
 ‘ mory of that excellent and religious man.’ He meant
Beza, of whom he wrote a small *Latin* apology.

Beza was of opinion, that the equality of pastors is of
 divine right, and that the ecclesiastical hierarchy is a fun-
 damental corruption; meaning undoubtedly the perverted
 system of the church of *Rome*; for it appears (says *Mr.*
Strype) ‘ that afterwards *Beza* and *Sadeel*, in the name of
 ‘ the church of *Geneva*, professed, in a letter written to
 ‘ our archbishop *Whitgift*, their respect, honour, and ap-
 ‘ probation of the church of *England*, by way of contra-
 ‘ diction to some persons, who, under sanction of the *Ge-*
 ‘ *neva* form, attempted to overthrow its constitution.’

He fled to *Geneva* with his intended bride, and arrived
 there the twenty-fourth of *October*, 1548. He was ac-
 companied by *John Crispin*, a particular friend. But
Beza went to see *Melchior Wolmar*, at *Tubingen*; and the
 following year, he accepted the professorship of the *Greek*
 tongue at *Lausanne*, a city in the canton of *Bern*. He
 then married *Claudia Denossa*, with whom he lived forty
 years lovingly and honorably: For she was a lady of great
 merit, diligent, frugal, and particularly careful of her
 husband.

Beza soon became very famous for his *Latin* compo-
 sitions and particularly for his excellent Translation of
 the *Psalms* of *David* in verse. And he wrote a Treatise
 of the Rights that Magistrates have to punish Heretics.
 The last was upon the occasion of *Michael Servetus*, whom
 the senate of *Geneva* had ordered to be burnt.

He published several other books at *Lausanne*, particu-
 larly, “A Short Explanation of Christianity; an Answer
 to *Joachim Westphalus* concerning the Lord’s Supper;
 Two Dialogues on the same subject against *Heshusius*;
 and an Answer to *Castalio* concerning the Doctrine of
 Predestination.” *Beza*, at this time, had not tempered his
 fire, and moderated his gay disposition, which made him
 let fall many railleries in his works; It is true, he called
 them

them pious raileries ; but they exposed him to the censure of his adversaries.

Beza went frequently to *Geneva*, to visit *Calvin*, during the vacations. *Calvin* was delighted with his poetry ; but exhorted him to dedicate his talents to the service of the church ; and particularly advised him to finish what *Marot* had begun. *Beza* followed this advice, and translated into *French* verse, the hundred Psalms, which remained undone by *Marot*. The translation of the remainder of *David's* Psalms shews what *Beza* could do ; though he has not so happily succeeded as *Clement Marot* in his fifty. This Translation was made into *French*.

During the nine years that *Beza* continued at *Lausanne*, he would not confine himself to *Greek* lectures. He read some also in *French* on the New Testament, which were for the instruction and consolation of several refugees of both sexes, who lived at *Lausanne* : But they have been considered as the seeds of his *Latin* translation of the New Testament with notes, which he first published in 1556 : A second edition was published ten years after, and dedicated to *Elizabeth* queen of *England* : The fifth edition came out in 1528, which he dedicated again to the same queen by a new epistle, and suppressed the first wherein he had largely explained his method and design. He revised this work several times, and made many corrections in it, for which he has been cruelly reproached. It was said, that many at *Cambridge* disregarded religion ; being induced by *Beza* to believe that the New Testament was corrupt ; as they had been, by *Edward Livilejus*, that the Old one was very much so. But no man, who is sensible of the difficulty of such a work, will think it strange, that *Beza* should make some alterations in each edition.

Calvin had a thorough knowledge of men, and intended *Beza* for his successor. He often commissioned him to confer with the Lutherans, and at last invited him to *Geneva*. Before *Beza* quitted the professorship which he exercised at *Lausanne*, he made a journey into *Germany*, in the character of a deputy, and had the pleasure of conferring with *Melancthon* as he passed through *Frankfort* in 1557, when he went with *Parel* and *John Budæus* to the courts of the elector palatine, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the duke of *Wirtemberg*, to desire the intercession of those princes for the vallies of *Piedmont*, which were then in possession of the *French* king.

Beza taught *Greek* about ten years at *Lausanne*, and returned and settled at *Geneva* in 1559. His enemies gave out

out that he was expelled the former city; and *Reboul*, that satyrical writer, who was beheaded at *Rome* for his *Pasquinades*, says it was because *Beza* got his maid with child. This is false: If it had been true, it would have been known at *Geneva* as well as at *Lausanne*; and he would not have gone away honorably, as he tells his preceptor *Wolmar*. He would not have come every year, as he did, to *Lausanne*, and have been so well received: They shewed him so much respect, that they used to go out and meet him, as their public memoirs testify. *Beza* himself says, "that he returned from *Lausanne* to *Geneva*, "that he might dedicate himself wholly to divinity." *Viret*, and other learned men, also went to *Geneva* for certain reasons which it was not thought proper to declare; but we may conjecture, that it was owing solely to consistorial or academic factions.

Beza strongly attached himself to *Calvin* at *Geneva*, where he soon became his colleague in the church, and university. He succeeded *Claudius Pontanus* as minister; and composed his Confession of Faith in *Latin*, which he had formerly wrote in *French*, to justify himself to his father, and with a view of converting the old man. He published this *Latin* confession in 1560, dedicated to *Wolmar*.

The *Guises* had invaded the royal authority under the reign of *Francis II.* to the prejudice of the princes of the blood. *Beza* was sent to *Nerac*, at the instigation of some great persons of the kingdom, to convert *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, king of *Navarre*, and to confer with him about matters of consequence. That king signified, both by letters and deputies to the senate of *Geneva*, that he desired *Beza* should assist at the conference of *Poissy*, to which the senate readily consented. No better choice could have been made for the good of the cause; and *Beza* went to the conference that was held there in 1561. The king of *Navarre* had been engaged in behalf of the Protestants by *Jane d'Albret's* wife. She had received the chief sectaries of *Luther*, who were come into *France*, in hatred of *Julius II.* which furnished *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* with a pretence to seize upon *Navarre*. *Q. Catharine* of *Medicis* sometimes cruelly persecuted the Protestants, and sometimes favored them; for she made all things subservient to her passion for dominion.

There were then at the *French* court several ambassadors from the *German* princes, who came to congratulate *Charles IX.* upon his accession. The king of *Navarre* began to take

take measures with them to engage the Protestant princes to defend and promote the pure doctrine of the Reformation. The ambassadors represented to him, on the part of their masters, that he ought to establish, and cause to be received, the doctrine, which was according to the confession of *Augsburg*, composed in part of that of *Luther*, and not of *Calvin*, which was according to the confession of the *Switzers*. The prince replied, 'that, this latter being already established in *France*, it must be suffered to continue in the state it was in: That it was of small import, whether the doctrine of *Luther* or *Calvin* was followed, since they were both equally opposite to the pope in all things, and differed from each other but in very few points: And that the two confessions ought to be considered as containing the same doctrine, since they were equally contrary to the common enemy, the pope.'

The continual disputes, subsisting among the *French* subjects about religion, at last determined the bishops to appoint a conference between the *French* subjects and the Protestant ministers. It was held at *Poissi*, where the princes, the cardinals, and the greatest lords of the kingdom assisted, and the king himself presided. It was opened on the ninth of *September*, 1561. The chancellor *De l'Hospital* declared, that the king's intention in assembling them was, to discover, from their sentiments, a remedy for the disorders which arose in his kingdom on the subject of religion; that they should therefore endeavor to correct such things as required it; and that they should not separate, till they had put an end to all differences by a sincere reconciliation. The chancellor, in his harangue, made no scruple to give the title of National Council to this conference; and compared it to the provincial synods of *Orleans*, *Arles*, and *Aix*, which the emperor *Charlemagne* had caused to be held.

This conference continued near two months: Great disputes arose upon the contested points: And a secretary was always present to take down minutes of every thing that was said or done. The Protestant doctors, and particularly *Beza*, spoke with great freedom. He had a ready wit, and much learning: He knew the world, and spoke well. His speech was heard with great attention, till he touched upon the real presence, when an expression which he made use of caused a murmuring. The expression was this: "We say, that the body of *Jesus Christ* is as far from the bread and wine, as the highest heaven is re-

“ mote from the earth.” It is surprizing, that such a grave historian as *Mezerai* durst say, that this proposition of *Beza* was passionate and offensive; that *Beza* was ashamed of it himself; that it strangely offended the ears of the Catholics; and that the prelates trembled with horror at it. *Mezerai* might think these tremblings reasonable; but he made himself ridiculous by it; for it is the same thing to say, ‘ the body of *Jesus Christ* is not present in the holy sacrament;’ and to say, ‘ it is at a very great distance from it.’ *Bayle* observes, that ‘ this single expression, though many others as contrary and repugnant to the doctrine of the church of *Rome* had been said by him, was the cause that the prelates began to stir, and to murmur. Some cried out, *blasphemavit*; others arose to be gone, not being able to do any thing worse, because of the king’s presence. The cardinal *De Tournon*, dean of the cardinals, who was seated in the chief place, required of the king and the queen, that silence might be imposed on *Beza*; or that he, and his whole company, might be permitted to retire. Neither the king, nor any of the princes, stirred; and audience was given to proceed. Silence being made, *Beza* said; “ I desire you, sirs, to hear the conclusion, which will satisfy you :” And then he returned to his discourse, which he continued to the end.’ Nothing will better discover the weakness of the human mind. An old cardinal, and many bishops, are scandalized, are going away, and cry out *blasphemy*: For what? Because they heard a minister say, that *Jesus Christ* is not corporeally present in the symbols of the bread and wine of the eucharist. Can there be a worse grounded, or more childish, cause of offence? When people teach, that the body of *Jesus Christ* is present but in one place at one time, and that it is always seated in *Paradise* at the right-hand of GOD, they plainly maintain, that it is as remote from the sacrament of the eucharist, as *Paradise* is from the earth. Now the prelates of the conference at *Poissy* could not be ignorant, that the Protestants taught, that the humanity of *Jesus Christ* is always in heaven, at the right hand of GOD; and that it can be present but in one place at one time; and they could not expect that *Beza* would neglect to explain the doctrine of his persuasion: Therefore, they should not have been offended with this expression; or else they went to the assembly with this opinion, that the Protestant ministers would betray their cause, and only endeavor to deceive the king. *Catharine*

rine de Medicis said, in her letter to *M. de Rennes*, ambassador of *France* at the emperor's court, that '*Beza*, speaking of the sacrament, forgot himself, in a comparison, so absurd and offensive to the ears of all the assistants, that she was near silencing him, and sending all the ministers away, without suffering them to proceed any farther.'

In the remaining part of this conference, *Beza* behaved like a man of great capacity, and never suffered himself to be surprized by the artifices of the cardinal of *Lorrain*. But they at last separated, without coming to any conclusion; the catholics not being disposed to make concessions in any one article.

In the course of one of the debates, a doctor of the *Sorbonne*, irritated at the strength of his adversary's arguments, pointed with his finger to *Beza*, and said in a threatening manner, 'If we could but once catch thee within the walls of the *Sorbonne*, thou shouldest not get out again.'—A lively argument truly!

Beza did not return to *Geneva* when the conference was ended; for, being a *Frenchman*, *Catharine de Medicis* would have him stay in his own country. He preached frequently before the queen of *Navarre*, the prince of *Conde*, and in the suburbs of *Paris*. The king of *Navarre*, though of the religion of the Protestants, declared himself against them, to preserve the title of viceroy: But the prince of *Conde*, the *Coligny's*, and several others, being discontented at the absolute government of the triumvirate, and incensed by the ill treatment of the Protestants, whose doctrine they had embraced, retired from court, and began to make the Protestants take up arms in their own defence. The pope, the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the catholic *Swiss* cantons, entered into a league against the prince of *Conde*, and undertook to prevent the Protestant princes from raising troops to succor his party. This league made very strong impressions upon the minds of the people in *France*, *Germany*, and all the northern nations, where they were so highly disposed in favor of the Protestants, that they furnished them with one hundred thousand crowns to carry on the war; and the prince of *Conde* obtained leave to raise troops among all the Protestant princes.

The prince took *Orleans*, *Roan*, *Lyons*, and several other places, in 1562, without effusion of blood, except *Tours*, which was taken by assault. The victorious soldiers broke open the churches, and pulled down the images and

and statues of the saints: But the vessels of gold and silver, and the sacred ornaments, which were very numerous, were saved. The king of *Navarre* took *Roan*, but was mortally wounded at the siege, and died when he was no more than twenty-five years of age. Some hours before his death he received the sacrament, according to the antient custom of the church; but he declared, that if GOD was pleased to restore him to his health, he would publicly embrace the confession of *Augsburg*.

Beza attended the prince of *Conde* during this civil war, and was at the battle of *Dreux*, in 1562, as a minister. The fortune of this engagement was very uncommon; for the generals of both parties were taken prisoners. The constable *Montmorency* was carried to *Orleans*; and the prince of *Conde* to the camp of the king's troops: After which, the duke of *Guise* commanded the Royalists, and *Coligny* commanded the Protestants. *Claudius de Xaintes* reproached *Beza* for being in arms: But *Beza* answered him, that he was present at the battle in the habit of his order, not armed; nor could he be justly charged with the slaughter of one man, or with flight.

During the imprisonment of the prince of *Conde*, *Beza* always kept with admiral *Coligny*, and did not return to *Geneva*, till after the peace of 1563. The duke of *Guise* was pistoled before *Orleans* by *Polrot*, a Protestant gentleman, who was taken, and brought before the queen. He was interrogated in her presence, and answered like a madman; sometimes declaring that he had committed this action at the solicitation of *Coligny*, *Soubize*, and *Beza*; at other times denying this; and again saying things contradictory to both these. The duke of *Guise* was esteemed one of the greatest men of his time; and his party accused *Beza* of having a hand in the murder. The great and universally acknowledged probity of admiral *Coligny* did not suffer the public to believe he had any concern in so detestable an action, nor even that he had the least knowledge of it: But the princes of the house of *Guise* were of another opinion; and looked upon him as the author of the murder. *Polrot* was condemned to be torn in pieces by four horses. Before the execution he was put to the rack, and denied that *Coligny*, *Soubize*, and *Beza* were privy to his crime. The constable *Montmorency*, and the prince of *Conde*, were afterwards both killed in battle.—*Coligny* was assassinated, and the Protestants were massacred throughout all *France*.

When *Beza* returned to *Geneva*, he succeeded *Calvin*. He wrote an apology for his *Latin* translation of the New Testament, which had been censured by *Sebastian Castalio*, whom *Beza* charges with openly endeavoring, in a preface on the perversion of the sacred books, to destroy the sufficiently evident authority of the divine word. *Sainte Aldegonde* wrote to *Beza*, that ‘there was a new kind of enthusiasts, who from the *German* theology, translated into *Latin* by *Castalio*, from *Taulerus* a crazy monk, and from the ravings of other heretics both antient and modern, patch together those rhapsodies which are so very agreeable, not only to the superstitious and ignorant vulgar, but to men of moderate learning and no contemptible piety, that they all press to the books of these men, as to some hidden treasure. It would be tedious to reckon up all their wild notions; nor can you be ignorant of most of them, who have often been obliged to encounter these monsters, among whom I reckon *Castalio* not the least considerable.’ *Beza* was persuaded, that *Castalio* had translated that book into *Latin*; yet he would not affirm it in a public work, before he had informed himself whether it could be possible to produce good proofs of it, if *Castalio* should deny it. A wise precaution; for *Castalio* denied, before the ministers of *Basil*, that he had any share in that book.

Nicholas Beza, who was bailiff of *Vezelai*, fled to *Geneva*, on account of his religion, in 1568, and died there soon after of the plague, at the house of *Theodore Beza*, his brother by the father’s side. *Theodore* took a journey to *Vezelai*, to settle the affairs of the family of the deceased. He endeavored to persuade a sister which he had in a nunnery, to forsake the church of *Rome*: But she was an old nun, very obstinate in her religion, and would not listen to his remonstrances.

On *Beza*’s return to *Geneva* from *Vezelai*, he attacked *Brentius*, and *James Andreas*, upon their doctrine of ubiquity. He also attacked the errors of *Flaccius Illyricus*; and wrote his book *De Divortiis & Repudiis*, against *Ochinus*, who had written in favor of polygamy. He answered *Selnecerus* and *Pappus*. He turned the *Psalms* of *David* into all sorts of *Latin* verses; and translated the *Canticles* into lyric verse. He published a treatise of the sacrament; and some sermons on the passion of *Christ*.

The religious war in *France* destroyed many thousands on both sides, and *Beza* returned again to that kingdom

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in 1571, to assist at the national synod of *Rochelle*, of which he was elected moderator. The Papists broke the peace of 1568, by the massacre of *Paris* in 1571, which was called the massacre of *St. Bartholomew*. Above thirty thousand Protestants were murdered; and the king of *Navarre*, with the young prince of *Conde*, the only two persons saved, were compelled to abjure the Reformed religion. This horrid business, commonly called the wedding of *Paris*, has been scandalously represented by *Gabriel Naude* as a master-piece in policy. But all the Europeans looked upon this action with the utmost abhorrence; saying, that, in the accounts of the most barbarous nations, there was not an example of such horrid cruelty.

The *Hugonots* recommenced the war with great animosity; and *Beza*, in 1572, assisted at the synod of *Nismes*, where he opposed the faction of *John Morel*, who designed to introduce a new discipline. The royal army besieged *Rochelle*, which was so gallantly defended by the Protestants, that peace was granted them in 1573.

The fifth civil war began the next year, when *Charles IX.* died, and was succeeded by his brother, *Henry III.* The prince of *Conde* at that time sent for *Beza* to *Strafsburg*, that he might carry on a negotiation with prince *John Casimir*, administrator of the palatinate; which shews, it was well known, that *Beza* understood other things besides lectures and books. He succeeded so well, that *Casimir* brought an army from *Germany* to assist the *Hugonots*, who obtained a peace upon more advantageous terms than any of the former.

Beza returned to *Geneva*, where *James Arminius* was sent in 1582, to perfect his studies, at the expence of the magistrates of *Amsterdam*. He chiefly followed the lectures of *Beza*, who at that time expounded the epistle to the *Romans*. *Arminius* was afterwards professor of divinity at *Leyden*; and formed a separate sect, which was condemned in a national synod; for he opposed *Beza* as a Supralapsarian; and acknowledged no other election, but that which was grounded on the obedience of sinners to the call of GOD by *Jesus Christ*, or, in other words, that there is really no such thing as election at all, in which he agreed with the Papists, Pelagians, and other heretics.

Beza wrote his *De cæna Domini*, against *Harchius*; and afterwards continued quietly at *Geneva* till 1586, in which time there had been three other civil wars in *France* about religion.

religion. The duke of *Guise*, and his brother the cardinal, were assassinated by order of the king, who, in 1589, was stabbed in his turn by *James Clement*, a monk, and died of the wound. The line of *Valois* ended in this prince, who was succeeded by *Henry IV.* a Protestant of the *Bourbon* branch, and king of *Navarre*.

Some gentlemen had left *France* for religion, and fled to *Montbelliard*, in the *Franche-Comte*. The count of that country, in compliance with the desire of these refugees, desired the canton of *Bern* to name deputies, to confer with the divines of *Wirtemberg*; and he also desired the republic of *Geneva* to send *Beza* to the conference. *Beza*, and *Anthony la Faye*, came as deputies from *Geneva*; *Musculus*, and *Huberus*, were the *Swiss* deputies; and *James Andreas*, and *Luke Osiander*, were the chief deputies of *Wirtemberg*. The dispute was left to *Beza* and *Andreas*. The former would have the dispute managed syllogistically; but he was obliged to yield to the desires of his adversary, who would not be confined to such rules. *Andreas* used a long and declamatory way of speaking, which obliged *Beza* to do the same; and the dispute was not cleared up, though it lasted many days. Each party boasted to have gained the victory, and published an account accordingly. This conference was held more for political than theological reasons. The count of *Montbelliard* had been an Ubiquitarian, till he heard *Beza's* sermons and lectures, when he altered his opinion, and gave protection to the refugees: But his aim in holding this conference was to clear himself from the suspicion of Calvinism, that the emperor might favor his succession to the duchy of *Wirtemberg*.

Beza lost his wife in 1588; but this domestic affliction did not prevent him from going to the synod at *Bern*, where the doctrine of *Samuel Huberus*, concerning our justification, which, he said, consisted in an inherent quality, was condemned. *Beza* grieved for his wife, who has been praised for several good qualities, and chiefly for her conjugal affection; he was now near seventy; yet, the same year, he was married again to a widow, who survived him. The name of this second wife was *Catharine de la Plane*, who also took care of him as long as he lived.

The inconveniences of old age began to come upon him in 1597, and obliged him to speak but seldom in public. In that year a report was spread throughout *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Holland*, that *Beza* had renounced his

his religion before the senate, and had exhorted the magistrates to reconcile themselves to the church of *Rome*; and that, by a special order from the pope, the bishop had absolved him before his death. They who invented and spread this story were little acquainted with the true interests of their church. The falsehood was easily confuted by the ministers of *Geneva*, who published two pieces, one in *Latin* and the other in *French*, attended with all the authenticity necessary to refute this foolish lie. *Beza* confuted it in a letter to *William Stuckius*; and the jesuit *Clement du Puy*, who was looked upon as the inventor of this fable, had a shower of satyrical verses on himself in particular, and on his own order in general, which *Beza's* muses, old as they were, made very formidable.

The last time that *Beza* preached was on the day that peace was proclaimed in 1598, when he expounded the eighty-fifth *Psal*m, *Thou hast made peace, Lord, with thy people*. The last verses which he composed were a *Votiva Gratulatio*, to *Henry IV.* after he had been kindly received by that monarch near *Geneva*, in the month of *December*, 1600. The king had been obliged to embrace the Romish religion in 1593: But, in 1598, he published an edict at *Nantz*, to quiet the minds of the Protestants, by securing to them the free exercise of their religion. He concluded a peace with *Spain* at *Vervins*, and then attacked the duke of *Savoy*, whose dominions he had almost conquered, and lay encamped at *St. Catharine's-fort*, about two leagues distant from *Geneva*, when he received the deputies at *Luysel*, a quarter of a league from the fort. *Dr. Spon* reports the speech which *Beza* made to that prince, and the king's answer. *Beza* praised the piety of *Henry*, in rescuing the churches of *GOD* from oppression; and contented himself in "saying and applying to human things, what *Simeon* said of divine, *Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; seeing that mine eyes have seen, before I die, not only the deliverer of us, but of all France, and of the faithful in general.*" The king answered, 'Father, these few words, which signify much, are worthy the reputation you have acquired.' He then granted the deputies what they desired, which was the demolition of *St. Catharine's-fort*: And *Thuanus* says, that the king made *Beza* a present of five hundred crowns: But *Collier* says five hundred pistoles, for the good services he had done his father and mother.

Beza

Beza preserved his senses to the last day of his life. His memory was very good as to things which he had learnt, during the vigor of his mind; for he could repeat all the *Psalms* in *Hebrew*, and all *St. Paul's* epistles in *Greek*, by heart: But it was very bad as to things present; for he soon forgot many things, of which he had been speaking. He continued in this condition almost two years, if we may believe *Thuanus*: And *Casaubon* affirms, that, in point of erudition, *Beza* shewed himself, in the latter years of his life, such as he had appeared twenty years before. He discoursed so clearly upon antient history, that it seemed as if he had just been reading *Plutarch*, and the like authors: But, after having amply discoursed on the subject of the new king of *England*, he would often ask, in the same conversation, whether it was true that *Q. Elizabeth* was dead. His last sermon was preached in *January*, 1600, when he was eighty-one years of age, on these words; *Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven*. In his last illness he was afflicted with tedious watchings, lying awake all the nights; but he sweetened the time by holy meditations: And speaking to his friends of it, he used the words of the Psalmist: *My reins also instruct me in the night season. I have set the Lord always before me. In his favor is life. My soul is satisfied as with marrow and fatness, when I remember thee upon my bed, and meditate on thee in the night watches*. He often used the words of the apostle; *We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus to good works*. Likewise those of *St. Augustine*; 'I have lived long, I have sinned long: Blessed be the name of the Lord.' He often repeated the following prayer; "Cover, Lord, what has been: Govern what shall be. O perfect that which thou hast begun, that I suffer not shipwreck in the haven." Likewise from *Bernard*: 'Lord, we follow thee, through thee, unto thee: We follow thee, because thou art the truth; through thee, because thou art the way; and to thee, because thou art the life.'—On the Lord's day in the morning, *October* 13, he rose and prayed with his family; and then desiring to go to bed again, he sat down on the side of the bed and asked; "if all things were quiet in the city?"—He was answered, 'They were.' And being perceived to be near his end, a minister was sent for and immediately came; and while he was praying with him, *Beza*, without the least pain or noise, yielded

up his spirit to GOD, in the year 1605, aged eighty-six years, three months, and nineteen days*.

He was a robust man, and of a strong constitution; and, what is very unusual among hard students, never felt the head-ach.

In his last will he expressed his thankfulness, "That GOD had called him to the knowledge of the truth at sixteen years of age; though he walked not answerably to it, till the Lord in mercy brought him home and carried him to *Geneva*, where under that great man *Calvin*, he learned *Christ* more fully: That having returned to *Geneva*, after many dangers, he was there chosen pastor, while he deserved not to be one of the sheep: That not long after, he was made colleague with that excellent man, *John Calvin*, in reading divinity; and that God had preserved him in manifold dangers."

He never had any children; and he left *Catharine de la Plant*, his wife, who supported his old age, and placed all her glory in taking the greatest care of him for seventeen years, sole heiress of his estate at *Geneva*. He was interred in *St. Peter's* cloister, and not in the burying-place of the *Plein-palaix*; because the *Savoyards* gave out, that they would take up his corps, and send it to *Rome*.

* *Beza* in his younger years, after the Lord had touched his heart by the word, was one day in the church of *Charenton*, where he providentially heard the ninety-first *Psalms* expounded. It was followed with such power to him, that he not only found it sweet at present, but was enabled to believe that the Lord would fulfil to him all the promises of that *Psalms*. At his death, he declared to his Christian friends, that he had found it so indeed! That as he had been enabled to close with the second verse, in taking the Lord for his GOD, and got a sure claim that he should be his *refuge and fortress*; so he had found remarkably in the after changes of his life, that the Lord had delivered him from the snare of the fowler; for he had been in frequent hazard by the lying in wait of many to ensnare him: And from the noisome pestilence; for he was sometimes in great hazard from the pestilence, in those places where he was called to reside. And amidst the civil wars which were then so hot in *France*, he had most convincing deliverances from many imminent hazards, when he was called to be present sometimes with the Protestant princes upon the field, where thousands did fall about him. And thus, when near his end, he found that *Psalms* so observably verified, on which he was caused to hope, that he went through all these promises, declaring the comfortable accomplishment of them. How he had found the Lord giving his angels charge over him, often answering him when he called upon him; how he had been with him in trouble, had delivered him, and had satisfied him with long life. "And now (says he), I have no more to wait for, but the fulfilling of these last words of the *Psalms*, I will shew him my salvation; which with confidence I long for."

Beza was a man of extraordinary merit, and very instrumental in conducting the Reformation. He was looked upon as the chief of the Protestants of *France* and *Switzerland*. The Romanists commonly called him the *Hugonot* pope: And pope *Sixtus V.* caused two conferences to be held, at which himself was present, to deliberate about the means of depriving the Protestant party of the great support they had in the person of *Beza*. They would have assassinated, or poisoned him, if it had been possible that any enterprize against his person could succeed. What could be said more to the honor of this minister, than the representing him as a man who made the pope and cardinals uneasy, as to affairs of state; for there was no controversy in the case?

His WORKS. He wrote a great number of books, besides those already mentioned, particularly the "*Icones* of illustrious persons, who assisted in the Reformation; and the Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches." This last work is very curious, and extends from 1521, to the thirteenth of *March*, 1563. His Annotations upon the New Testament have ever been much esteemed. Our archbishop *Grindal*, to whom *Beza* presented a copy, gave them very particular commendations; and indeed, for their learning and piety, they are invaluable.

Henry IV. survived *Beza* but a few years; for he was stabbed in his coach by *Francis Ravillac* in 1610. Thus this hero, after having surmounted innumerable difficulties in his way to the crown, and stifled above fifty conspiracies, most of them formed by churchmen, against his life, died by the hands of a villain. Hostilities were recommenced against the *Hugonots* in 1625, when their strength was entirely broke, and an end was put to the wars which had so long ravaged *France* on a religious account. Historians say, that these wars cost above a million of lives, in which two kings were murdered, and above one hundred and fifty millions of livres, or seven millions and a half of pounds sterling, were spent: And that nine cities, four hundred villages, twenty thousand churches, two thousand monastries, and ten thousand houses were burnt, or otherwise destroyed, during their continuance. *Lewis XIV.* revoked the edict of *Nantz* in 1685, whereby the Protestants were prohibited the exercise of their religion, and their churches demolished. The consequence was, that *France* lost above five hundred thousand inhabitants; a prodigious quantity of specie; and, above all, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves.

JOHN

JOHN RAINOLDS, D. D.

THIS singular man of infinite reading, this treasury of all learning, both divine and human, (says Dr. Featly) *John Rainolds*, was born at *Pinto* in *Devonshire*, in 1549, and sent to *Merton-college*, in *Oxford*, in 1562. He removed to *Corpus Christi-college*, of which he became first scholar, and then fellow. He took both the degrees in arts and divinity. In 1598, he was made dean of *Lincoln*; but, being unwilling to quit an academical life, he exchanged his deanry the year following, for the presidentship of *Corpus Christi-college*. *Q. Elizabeth* offered him a bishopric; but he modestly refused it, and said (what is not very usual), *nolo episcopari* in real earnest. The learned have bestowed most uncommon praises upon this divine. *Bishop Hall*, a very competent judge, observes, that 'he alone was a well-furnished library, full of all faculties, of all studies, of all learning. The memory, the reading of that man, were to a miracle.' *Dr. Crakenthorp* says, that 'for virtue, probity, integrity, and piety, he was so eminent, that as *Nazianzen* speaks of *Athanasius*, to name him is to commend virtue itself.' He had a hand in translating part of the Old Testament, by command of *K. James I.* He was inclined to Puritanism, but with such moderation, that he continued a conformist to the Church of *England*. He was thought to shorten his life by too severe application to his studies; but when his friends urged him to desist, he used to reply, that he would "not lose the very end of living for the sake of life: *Non propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.*"

He was a most able adversary, as well as his friend *Dr. Whitaker*, against *Bellarmino* and *Rome*.

He departed this life with great comfort and testimony of faith, much lamented by all learned and good men, on the twenty-first of *May*, 1607, in the fifty-eighth year of his Age.

His WORKS. Those that have been printed are: 1. "Two Orations, printed in the year 1576. 2. Six Theses, in 1579. 3. His conference with *Heart*, in

1585; and afterwards translated into *Latin* by *Henry Pary*, bishop of *Gloucester*, and printed by command of archbishop *Bancroft*, in 1610. 4. *De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Idololatria*, in 1596. 5. An Apology for his Thesis, in 1602. 6. Since his death, certain Epistles between him, Dr. *Gager* and *Albericus Gentius*, concerning Stage Plays. 7. A Treatise of Divorce, and marrying again in case of Adultery. 8. A Censure of the *Apocrypha* in two tomes, containing two hundred and fifty of his Lectures in the divinity Schools. 9. Epistles and Orations, in *Latin*, published by *H. Jackson*. 10. His Lectures upon *Obadiah*, with a Thanksgiving Sermon for the Queen's deliverance from a dangerous Treason, published by *Hinde*.

Those in manuscript are: 1. A Commentary upon *Aristotle's* Three Books of Rhetoric, in *Latin*. 2. The materials and first draught of six books, *De Idololatria Romanæ Ecclesiæ*. 3. Sermons upon *Haggai*, preached in *Oxford*. 4. His learned Answer to *Sanders De Schismate Anglicano*, in defence of the Reformation, the Regal Supremacy, and the book of Ordination of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. 5. A Defence of the *English* Liturgy against *Robert Browne*, the Separatist. 6. A Treatise of the Beginning and Progress of Popish Errors, shewing, that for the first three hundred years after Christ, bishops ruled their own dioceses without subjection to the pope. 7. A Treatise of *Daniel's Weeks*, against *Hugh Broughton*, dedicated to archbishop *Whitgift*."

THOMAS HOLLAND, D. D.

LEARNING, with grace, is a happy advantage both to the church and to the souls of the possessors: But learning, without grace, becomes too often the instrument of error and mischief, and, instead of leading men to GOD, only involves them, under the shew of ingenuity, in the deeper destruction. Human knowledge, at the best, is but a specious kind of ignorance; and, while it pretends to extend the mental capacity, too often swells it with a windy pride, which not only leaves no room for better things, but commonly raises a thousand prejudices against them. On the contrary, the knowledge which cometh from
GOD,

GOD, at once exalts the soul and humbles it; enables it to set a due value upon all earthly attainments, and puts it upon the keenest pursuit after those which are divine.

The truth of these reflections was exemplified in the life of this excellent man. He thought all knowledge proportionably estimable, as it led him to GOD, and might be employed for him. This is the true end of our being: And nothing can deserve the name of wisdom, which does not lead us to it.

He was born in *Shropshire*, in the year 1539, and received his academical tuition at *Exeter-college, Oxford*, in which university he took his degrees with much applause. In process of time, he commenced doctor in divinity, was chosen master of *Exeter-college*, and, upon account of his excellent learning, was appointed *Regius* professor, or doctor of the chair, in succession to the learned Dr. *Humfrey*s. In this station, he distinguished himself so much by every kind of desirable attainment, divine or human, that he was esteemed and admired not only in our seminaries of learning at home, but also by the universities abroad. Like the eloquent *Apollos*, he was mighty in the scriptures; and like the learned apostle, faithful in explaining them. His example followed his doctrines; and he lived himself what he preached to others. He was a zealous advocate for the Reformed religion, and was so possessed with aversion in himself, and with fear for others, concerning the superstition and idolatry, from which the nation had lately emerged, that, whenever he set out upon a journey from his college, he constantly called the society together, and commended them to the love of GOD, and to the abhorrence of popery. This was the more needful; as the Papists had many secret favorers, at that time, in both our universities.

He continued in this respectable office for twenty years, with great reputation and usefulness. And as he approached nearer and nearer to his journey's end, he spent more and more time in meditation and prayer. In his declining years, sickness and infirmities increased upon him: And these served to increase his ardor for his heavenly habitation. He loved and he longed for GOD, for the presence of GOD, and for the full enjoyment of him. His soul was framed for heaven, and could find no rest till it came there. All the comforts he found on earth, resulted from heaven, or related to it. His end (as might be expected) was peace. When he found his

dissolution approaching, and his departure at hand; he often sighed and prayed—"Come; O come, Lord Jesus, thou morning star! Come, Lord Jesus; I desire to be dissolved, and to be with thee!"

His request was granted; and he departed to his Master in the year 1612, after having sojourned here seventy-three years.

R I C H A R D F I E L D.

THIS eminent divine, of the church of *England*, was born of a reputable family at *Hempstead*, in *Hertfordshire*, on the fifteenth of *October*, 1561; and at sixteen years of age, admitted of *Magdalen-college* in the university of *Oxford*: But after taking his first degree removed to *Magdalen-hall*. He continued seven years in this situation, distinguished as a great divine, a great preacher, and an acute disputant: And then in 1594, being bachelor of divinity, was chosen reader in that faculty to the honorable society of *Lincoln's-inn* in *London*. He gave so much satisfaction here, that one of the members of the house became his patron, and gave him the living of *Burroclere*, in *Hampshire*. Soon afterwards he had the offer of *St. Andrews* in *Holborn*, *London*, a living of greater value, and more in the way to preferment; but he chose to continue where he was, liking a reserved life, where he might, says *Mr. Wood*, serve GOD and follow his studies. In 1598, being then doctor of divinity, he was made chaplain to *Q. Elizabeth*; and about that time commenced a friendship with the famous *Mr. Richard Hooker*, whom he much resembled in his great learning and humility. Upon the accession of *K. James*, he was made chaplain in ordinary to him; and, by his majesty's own appointment, was sent for to *Hampton-court*.

In the year 1604, he became canon of *Windfor*; and the same year, when the king was to be entertained at *Oxford* with all sorts of scholastic exercises, he was sent for out of the country to bear a part in the divinity-act. In the year 1609, he became dean of *Gloucester*; and the year after published a second edition, augmented with a fifth book and an appendix, of his *Four Books of the Church*.

Church. This famous work is dedicated to Sir *George Villiers*, afterwards duke of *Buckingham*; and confirmed all men in the high notions they had conceived of his great parts and deep learning. He was esteemed a perfect oracle in his way; and divines of even the first order scarce ever went to him, without loading themselves with questions. When *K. James* heard him preach the first time, he said, 'This is a *FIELD* for God to dwell in.' An expression like that of *Thomas Fuller*, who citing something out of his books upon the church styleth him, 'that learned divine, whose memory smelleth like a *FIELD* which the Lord hath blessed.' The Reader will remember, that this was the age of *punning*. Even books and sermons were too often loaded with witticisms and quibbles of this kind. The king had once an intention to send him into *Germany*, with a view of composing the differences between the Lutherans and Calvinists; but something put him off.

His majesty however retained the same good opinion of him to the last, and designed him for a bishopric. *Salisbury* was first fixed on, but the solicitation of great personages carrying that elsewhere, the king was resolved to bestow *Oxford* upon him; and Sir *George Villiers*, in a letter dated *July 11, 1616*, told him, that if he was minded to take that see upon him, he should repair to the court, kiss the king's hand, and hold his benefices *in commendam* with it. *GOD*, however, was pleased, says *Mr. Wood*, to prefer him to a better place; for on the twenty-first of *November* following he died, aged fifty-five years.

He was esteemed, says the same author, 'a principal maintainer of *Protestancy*, a powerful preacher, a profound schoolman, an exact disputant, and so admirably well-knowing in the controversies between the *Protestants* and *Papists*, that few, or none, went beyond him. He had a great memory; and any book he read he was able to carry away the substance of. He was one that much labored to heal the breaches of *Christendom*, and was ready to embrace truth, wheresoever he found it. His desire, his prayers, his endeavours were for peace, to make up the breaches of the church, not to widen differences, but to compose them. He was a good and faithful pastor, and his care reached unto all churches. He was a loving husband, a tender father, a good master and neighbour, and willing to do good to all, &c.' A very great and amiable character!

His

HIS WORKS. His Books upon the Church were reprinted at *Oxford* in 1628, folio. Besides these, he published a Sermon preached before the king at *Whitehall*, upon *Jude* ver. 3. in 1604; and a little before his death he had almost composed a book entitled, *A View of the Controversies in Religion*, which in these last Times have caused the lamentable Divisions of the Christian World. But this book, not being finished, was never published, though a preface was written to it by its Author. Perhaps, he would have been thanked by few, if he had lived to publish it. There are not too many Christians, who live above the rage and the cause of a party; which last has sometimes appeared of more consequence to some professors of religion, than the cause of religion itself. The profane world, glad of the occasion, throw the scandal upon piety; not perceiving, that the want of piety is the real source of all the evil.

ROBERT ABBOT,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

ROBERT ABBOT was elder brother to the excellent archbishop *George Abbot* (whose life will follow in course), and born at *Guildford*, in *Surry*, in the year 1560. He was brought up with his brother under the same schoolmaster; till being sufficiently qualified for the university, he was sent to *Baliol-college*, in *Oxford*, in 1575. He took his master of arts degree in 1582; became a noted preacher there, also a constant lecturer at *St. Martin's church*, in the *Quadrivium*, and sometimes at *Abingdon*, in *Berkshire*. His preferment was remarkably owing to his merit, particularly in preaching; notwithstanding the distinction which some have affected to make, between the talents and tempers of these two brothers; that *George* was the more plausible preacher, *Robert* the greater scholar; *George* the abler statesman, *Robert* the deeper divine: Gravity did frown in *George*, and smile in *Robert*; such the qualities of this *Robert* evidently were; that upon the first sermon he preached at *Worcester*, he was made lecturer in that city, and soon after rector of *All-Saints*

All-Saints there; and upon a sermon he preached at *Paul's Cross*, he was presented to the rich benefice of *Bingham*, in *Nottinghamshire*, by one of his auditors, *John Stanhope*, Esq; as *Dr. Featley* has observed in his life. In 1594, he became no less eminent for some of his writings; particularly, against a certain Papist, on the sacrament. He then took his degrees in divinity; that of doctor being completed in 1597.

In the beginning of the reign of K. *James I.* he was made chaplain in ordinary to him; and this king so highly esteemed for his writings, that, with the second edition of *Dr. Abbot's* book, *De Antichristo*, in 1608, his majesty ordered his own commentary upon part of the *Apocalypse* to be printed; An honor, which that king did to no other of the great clerks in this kingdom. And, in truth, the doctor's pen had now brought him also into general esteem, for what he had hitherto published in defence of *William Perkins's* Reformed Catholic, against *Dr. William Bishop*, now a secular priest, but afterwards, in the pope's style, a titular bishop, of the aerial diocese of *Chalcedon*. It is my author's assertion, that *Dr. Abbot* has herein given that *William Bishop* as great an overthrow, as *Jewel* to *Harding*, *Bilson* to *Allen*, or *Reynolds* to *Hart*. At the end of this excellent work is added a particular treatise, he soon after wrote, entitled, *The true ancient Roman Catholic*, which he dedicated to prince *Henry*; to whom it was so acceptable, that he returned him many thanks in a letter written with his own hand, and promised his assistance, upon the next vacancy, to advance him higher in the church. And though by that prince's untimely death the doctor lost some hopes, yet, in course of time, his deserts found other friends to do him that justice.

In 1609, he was unanimously elected master of *Baliol-college*. Here (says *Dr. Featley*), he was careful and skilful, to set in this nursery the best plants; and then took such care to water and prune them, that in no plat, or knot, throughout the university of *Oxford*, there appeared more beautiful flowers, or grew sweeter fruit, than in *Baliol-college*, while he was master. His diligent reading to his scholars, and his continual presence at public exercises, both countenanced the readers, and encouraged the hearers. These regulations and improvements he further wrought, by establishing piety, which had been much neglected; restoring peace, which had been long wanted; and making temperance more familiar among them, which had been too great a stranger in that society.

In *May*, 1610, we find him nominated by the king, among the first fellows of his majesty's royal college at *Chelsea*, then newly founded, and designed as a kind of fortress for controversial divinity; being thus, as it were, engarrisoned, with the most able and select champions for the Protestant cause, against all assaults of popery. In *November* the same year, he was made prebendary of *Normanton*, in the church of *Southwell*. Upon his preaching a sermon before the king, during his month of waiting at court, in 1612, when the news of *Dr. Thomas Holland's* death was brought from *Oxford*, his majesty named him successor in the theological chair, usually called the king's professor of divinity; but he modestly refused the same, till his brother procured a mandate from the king for him to hold it. Some notable circumstances we meet with of him in this station*; and herein, he has had the character given him of a profound divine; most admirably well read in the fathers, councils, and schoolmen; and a more moderate Calvinian, than either of his two predecessors in the divinity chair, *Holland* and *Humfrey*, were; which he expressed by countenancing the sublapsarian

* Among the rest, while he was professor in the chair at *Oxford*, was, his preaching a sermon before the university; in which, he so significantly laid open the oblique methods then used by those who secretly favored popery, to undermine the Reformation; and *Dr. Laud*, then present, was so notoriously suspected to be one who used those methods, as to have the said reflections applied by the whole auditory to him; that in great vexation he wrote to his patron, *Dr. Neal*, then bishop of *Lincoln* (therefore about the year 1614), to know whether he should not make a direct reply to it. The passage *Laud* objected to, was, that *Abbot* should say, 'There were men, who, under pretence of truth, and preaching against the Puritans, struck at the heart and root of that faith and religion now established among us; which was the very practice of *Parsons*' and *Campion's* counsel, when they came hither to seduce young students; who, afraid to be expelled, if they should openly profess their conversion, were directed to speak freely against the Puritans, as what would suffice: So these do not expect to be accounted Papists, because they speak only against Puritans; but because they are indeed Papists, they speak nothing against them: Or if they do, they beat about the bush, and that softly too, for fear of disquieting the birds that are in it.' Hereupon, *Laud*, in his letter to the said bishop of *Lincoln*, complains, 'That he was fain to sit patiently at the rehearsal of this sermon, though abused almost an hour together, being pointed at as he sat; yet would have taken no notice of it, but that the whole university applied it to him; and his friends told him, he should sink in his credit, if he answered not *Dr. Abbot* in his own: Nevertheless, he would be patient; and desired his lordship to vouchsafe him some direction.' But, as we hear not that *Laud* did answer it, the bishop might perhaps vouchsafe him rather directions to be quiet.

way

way of predestination. Lastly, upon the king's perusal of his *Antilogia*, against the Apology for Garnet, and the fame of his incomparable lectures in the university, upon the king's supreme power, against *Bellarmino* and *Suarez* (printed after his death), his majesty, when the fee of *Salisbury* fell void, sent his *Conge d'Elire* for him to the dean and chapter.

Thus, as he set forward, one foot in the temple of virtue, his other, still advanced in the temple of honor, though indeed, but leisurely; which is imputed to his own humility, the obstruction of his foes, who traduced him for a Puritan (though cordial to the doctrine of the church of *England*), and the unwillingness of some friends to adorn the church with the spoil of the university, and mar a professor to make a bishop. He was consecrated by his own brother the archbishop, on *December 3, 1615*, in his chapel at *Lambeth*. Herein equalizing the felicity of *Seffridus*, some time bishop of *Chichester*, who being a bishop himself, also saw his brother, at the same time archbishop of *Canterbury*. Other bishoprics were voiced upon him; but the business of the nullity (before-mentioned, in his brother's life), made a nullity for a time, says my author, in his Grace's good intentions; insomuch, that *K. James*, when the doctor, newly consecrated bishop of *Sarum*, came to do his homage, said pleasantly to him, 'Abböt, I have had very much to do to make thee a bishop; but I know no reason for it, unless it were, because thou hast written against one;' alluding to the name of the popish priest before-mentioned.

In his way to *Sarum*, he made a farewell oration at the university, with great applause. We have some fragments of it preserved, in the original *Latin* by two authors; and a translation of it, or epitome in *English*, by a third. His brethren, the heads of houses, and other *Oxford* friends, parted with him on the edge of his diocese with tears for grief; and the gentry of *Sarum* received him with those of joy. He soon observed the beautiful old cathedral to be much decayed, through negligence, and the covetousness of those who filled their purses, with that which should have stopped the chinks. Therefore he used such means with the prebendaries, as drew from them five hundred pounds, which he applied to the reparation of this church; and then labored to repair the congregation, both by doctrine and discipline; visiting his whole diocese in person, and preaching every Sabbath-day,

day, whilst his health would permit, which was not long; for that sedentary course, to which he had accustomed himself, by his close application to study, brought upon him the gravel and stone. But in all the bodily tortures of his last fit, his soul was at ease; and his heavenly hopes disposed him contentedly to resign all earthly enjoyments.

He was so far from needing the advice of patience, to make the remainder of life supportable, that he gave it others. Even to the judges, who in their circuit came to visit him on his death-bed, he spared not his Christian admonitions; and besides his precepts, gave them his example, of the comforts that flowed from a clear conscience. And for the inhabitants; he mourned less to leave the world, than they to part with him; who had so much endeared himself to them, by diligence in his pastoral charge, by his hospitality, and bounty to the poor; and humble carriage to all.

Having summoned his domestics, with desire to declare his faith, he was persuaded to refrain, it being manifest in his writings. Thus, with exhortations, benedictions; and the pains of his disease, quite worn out, he lay a while slumbering; and at length, with eyes and hands uplifted for some space, gave up the ghost, on *March 2, 1617*, (and not, as some have mistaken, the year after) in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and before he had completely filled this see two years and three months; being one of the five bishops which *Salisbury* saw in six years. His last words were, "*Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly: Finish in me the work which thou hast begun! Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; for thou hast redeemed me, thou God of truth. Save thy servant, who hopeth and trusteth in thee alone. Let thy mercy be shewed upon me. In thee have I hoped; let me not be confounded for ever!*"

He was buried over-against the bishop's seat in the cathedral: Having been twice married; the last time, with some displeasure to the archbishop, about half a year after his promotion to the said see. He left one son, or more, and also one daughter, named *Martha*, who was married to *Sir Nathaniel Brent*, warden of *Merton-college* in *Oxford*; and their daughter *Margaret*, married *Dr. Edward Corbet*, rector of *Haseley* in *Oxfordshire*; who gave some of the bishop's MSS. to the *Bodleian* library*.

His

* There was another *Robert Abbot*, a minister, and author also of several devout pieces; who though he was scarcely a writer before bishop

His WORKS. Those in print are, "The Mirror of popish Subtilties: Discovering the Shifts which a caveling Papist, in behalf of *Paul Spence*, a Priest, hath gathered out of *Saunders* and *Bellarmino*, &c. concerning the Sacraments, &c. Dedicated to archbishop *Whitgift*, London, 4to. 1594. 2. The Exaltation of the Kingdom and Priesthood of *Christ*. Sermon on the hundred and tenth *Psalms*. Dedicated to bishop *Babington*, 4to. London, 1601. 3. *Antichristi Demonstratio; contra fabulas Pontificias, & ineptiam Bellarmini*, &c. Dedicated to K. *James*, London, 4to. 1603, and in 8vo. 1608. This is much commended by *Scaliger*. 4. Defence of the Reformed Catholic of Mr. *W. Perkins*, against the Bastard Counter-Catholic of *Dr. William Bishop*, Seminary Priest. Dedicated to K. *James*: The first part, 4to. 1606, the second part, 4to. 1607, third part, 4to. 1609. A most elaborate work, as one calls it; and another wishes, that *W. Bishop* had answered all the said Reformed Catholic; then we should have had, in *Abbot's* encounter, a whole system of controversies exactly discussed; and the truth of the Reformed Religion, in all points solidly confirmed, by scripture, fathers, and reason. From a small typographical error in one author, there is another also, who has made a great blunder about this book: For the former, mentioning 'Dr. *Abbot's* two volumes against *Bishop's*,' (next to another book, which was written by his brother, the archbishop) has, by not obliterating the last letter of the last word, and by neglecting to distinguish it as a proper name, in *Italics*, given a foreigner occasion to make his said brother the archbishop, author of a Treatise against *bishops*; which, as hath been truly observed, would be somewhat extraordinary in a Metropolitan. 5. The old Way; a Sermon, at *St. Mary's, Oxford*. 4to. London, 1610. Dedicated to archbishop *Bancroft*, and translated into *Latin* by *Thomas Drax*. 6. The true ancient Roman Catholic: Being an Apology against *Dr. Bishop's* Reproof of the Defence of the Reformed Catholic. 4to. 1611. Dedicated to prince *Henry*, as was before observed. 7. *Antilogia: Adversus Apologiam, Andreae Eudæmon-Johannis, Jesuitæ, pro Henrico Garnetto Jesuitæ proditore*. London,

bishop *Abbot* died, is yet here mentioned, that some Readers may not confound him with this bishop of *Salisbury*, as others have divided him into three distinct persons; because so many different livings are mentioned to his name in his books: Never considering that one man might, by removal, or successively, enjoy them all, as was the case here: That *Robert Abbot* being first beneficed in *Kent*, afterwards in *Hampshire*, and lastly in *London*.

4to. 1613. Dedicated to K. James. The said apology was printed three years before, with the true name of its jesuitical author, as may be seen in the life of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, before the last edition of his history. 8. *De gratiâ & perseverantiâ Sanctorum, Exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxoniensi.* Lond. 4to. 1618, & Franc. 8vo. 1619. Dedicated to prince Charles. 9. *In Ricardi Thomsoni, Angli-Belgici, Diatribam, de amissione & intercessione Justificationis & Gratiæ, animadversio brevis:* Also printed after his death; London, 4to. 1618: For he finished this book the last day of his life; and then, his brother the archbishop, directed Dr. *Featley*, the bishop's domestic chaplain, to draw up, from his Grace's notes, the attestation which is affixed to it. 10. *De supremâ Potestate Regiâ, exercitationes habitæ in Academia Oxoniensi, contra Rob. Bellarmine & Franc. Suarez.* Lond. 4to. 1619. Dedicated by his son, to George, archbishop of *Canterbury*."

He also left behind many compositions in manuscript, as his Sermon at St. *Mary's* in Vindication of the *Geneva* Bible from Judaism and Arianism; which Dr. *Howson* opposed, till K. James turned his edge from *Geneva* to *Rome*; and then, he as fiercely declared against the pope; 'That he'd loosen him from his chair, though he were fastened thereto with a tenpenny nail.' Our Author also left other Sermons, which he had preached at *Paul's Cross*, and at *Worcester*; and some in *Latin*, at *Oxford*, &c. Lectures on St. *Matthew*. Examination of Mr. *Bishop's* Reproof of his Dedication, &c. to the Answer of his Epistle to the King. Preface to be inserted after the dedication of his book *De Antichristo*: Besides Commentaries on some parts of the Old Testament. And a Commentary in *Latin*, upon the whole Epistle to the *Romans*; which is called an accurate work, in large Sermons upon every text; in which he has handled all the controverted points of religion, and enclosed the whole magazine of his learning: And it is regretted, that the church should be deprived of such a treasure, particularly that of *Worcester*; to which he seems to have bequeathed it, in his Epistle to the sermons he dedicated to bishop *Babington*: This work, in four volumes folio, was given by Dr. *Corbet* before-mentioned, to the *Bodleian* library, where it remains. To conclude with the words of our last quoted Author; 'If all he wrote on the history of *Christ's* Passion, the prophet *Esay*, and the Epistle to the *Romans*, had seen the light; he had come near unto, if not overtaken, the three prime-worthies of our university, *Jewel*, *Bilson*, and *Reynolds*.'

JOHN

JOHN JAMES GRYNÆUS.

WE gave some account of the lives of two excellent persons of this family in our last volume: And we have here the satisfaction to relate some chief memoirs of a third, not less eminent for learning and piety.

John James Grynæus, descended from a family of husbandmen, was born at *Bern* in *Switzerland*, in the year 1540. His father, who was possessed of a pastoral charge at *Rontela*, and died of the plague in the year 1564, and his mother, *Adelheida Stuberin*, were godly persons. He had his school education at *Basil*, and in the year 1551, was admitted into the university. The next year he fell sick of the plague; but it pleased GOD to restore him again; and he applied himself most diligently to his studies. In the year 1559, he began to preach, and was ordained deacon. In 1563, he went to *Tubing*, and the year after was made doctor in divinity: And the year following was sent for to succeed his father in the pastoral charge at *Rontela*; where, besides his ordinary labors, he read twice a week privately to the deacons; which work of faith, and labor of love, GOD was pleased abundantly to own and bless.

In the year 1564, he married, and lived happily with his wife forty years, by whom he had seven children. About the same time the 'Form of Concord' (between the Lutheran and Zuinglian parties, touching the corporal presence of *Christ's* body in the Lord's supper) was much insisted on, which set *Grynæus* upon reading the scriptures, and the divines, antient and modern, upon that subject; for hitherto he had been a Lutheran; but now, having studied the matter, he declared his opinion in favor of *Zuinglius*, which lost him many friends of the contrary party. But in the year 1575, he was sent for to *Basil*, to be a professor in interpreting the Old Testament; and, beginning with an exposition of the book of *Genesis*, the *Psalms*, and the *Prophets*, was made exceedingly profitable to the people, and happily instrumental in healing the differences and uniting the Lutheran and Zuinglian churches. Many noblemen and gentlemen came from other countries and

boarded with him, for the sake of his agreeable and profitable conversation. After the death of *Lewis*, prince elector *Palatine*, prince *Cassimire* sent for him to *Heidelberg*, where he read divinity and history almost two years; when he was recalled to succeed *Sculcer* in his pastoral office at *Basil*; which cure he discharged with great fidelity and success for the remainder of his life.

In the latter part of his life, he was almost blind, and often tormented with the cholice; and besides the infirmities of old age, he lost his wife and all his children, except one daughter, and his son-in-law *Polanus*, and also most of his friends; but he bore all with admirable patience, and in the midst of his afflictions and pains would say,—“To die in *Christ* is sweet, but to rise in Him is sweeter. *Christ* is sufficient both in life and death. On earth are troubles: In the grave is rest. At the last day we shall have lasting joys.” Writing to his friend *Chytræus*, he said, “If we never see one another again in this world, yet we shall meet in that place, where *Luther* and *Zuinglius* agree very well together.” In his last sickness, he gave himself up wholly to prayer, experiencing many sweet foretastes of the joys of heaven, and wishing much *to be dissolved, and to be with Christ*. His wishes were at length gratified, and the Lord took him to himself on the thirtieth of *August*, in the year 1617, aged seventy-seven, after having been a Preacher at *Basil* twenty years. He used to be up at his study, winter and summer, before sun-rising; and to spend the day in prayer, writing, reading, and visiting the sick. A little before his departure, he declared to doctor *Meier*, that he died in the same faith which he had taught to others; that he had earnestly besought GOD to provide his people with an able and faithful pastor, &c. concluding, (almost in the words of *Tully*) “O happy day, when I shall depart out of this troublesome and sinful world, to go to heaven, to those blessed souls already departed!”

He was ever a most affectionate friend and relation to his family and all good men, and of the strictest temperance with respect to himself. His great learning and worth was well understood by his contemporaries; and travellers from all parts, who had any concern for religion and science, constantly visited him. He had great wit, tempered with an amiable gravity. This rendered his company not less pleasant than profitable. He was remarkably patient under wrongs, which he revenged only
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by Christian silence, and regarded not the reproaches of men, if his Master could by any means be glorified in his sermons and writings.

HIS WORKS. 1. A Summary of the Old Testament. 2. *Συναγραφὰ Θεολογικῆς*, or, An Outline of Divinity. 3. The Character of Christians. 4. An Explication of certain Psalms, and some of the Minor Prophets. 5. An Exposition of the ten first Chapters of St. *Matthew*. 6. An Illustration of the Epistles to the *Romans*, *Colossians*, *Hebrews*, and of the first and second of St. *John*. 7. Theological Propositions and Difficulties, in three parts. 8. The Demonstrations afforded by the Evangelists, that *Jesus* is the *Christ*, and that Believers have Life in his Name. 9. Theological Theses and Disputations held at *Basil*. 10. A Commentary upon *Irenæus*. 11. An Ecclesiastical History. 12. Chronology of the Gospel-History. 13. An Apology upon the Lord's Supper. 14. His Letters to his Friends, which *Melchior Adam* extols very highly.

WILLIAM COWPER, BISHOP OF GALLOWAY.

WE cannot better gratify our Readers, respecting an account of this excellent person, than by giving them a memoir of his life, written by his own hand, in *January*, 1616, about three years before his death, and found among the papers in his study.

“ My life hath not been such, that I am ashamed to live longer, if my gracious God have any further service to employ me withal in his church: Neither am I so desirous to live; but yet I am willing, and heartily content to remove out of this body, that I may be with my Lord, freed from these restless temptations, which on every side have sore pressed, but, through his grace, never oppressed me.

“ In my younger years I was trained up with the wrestlings of God; from my youth I have borne his yoke, exercised with his terrors; yet so, that many a time his sweet consolations have refreshed my soul. In my old

days men have risen against me, but without a cause: Betwixt these two my days are spent: My witness is in heaven; he knoweth that in every state of life my heart was ever toward the Lord; it was my joy to serve him, and my grief when I sinned against him.

"Being of the age of eight years, about *Martinmas* I was carried by my father from *Edinburgh* to *Dunbar* school; I could not write, nor read any *Latin* then. I tarried there till my twelfth year; even then did the Lord begin to acquaint my heart to seek him: We went two and two to the church; he put then this prayer in my heart every day in the way, "Lord, bow mine ear, "that I may hear thy word." In the school many a time have I turned on my face, seeking from God knowledge and understanding. In the space of four years and leiss, I learned the whole course of grammar, wherein God made me to prosper, not inferior to others in the company with me.

"From thence I was called by my parents to *Edinburgh*, and, in the entry of my thirteenth year, sent over to *St. Andrews*, and passed in course of philosophy there in the sixteenth year: There made I not such progress in knowledge, as I had done before in my other studies, either mine age not being capable of it, or my wife and merciful Father not thinking it expedient for me; yet even there was the seed of grace still working in me, inclining me to a careful hearing and penning of sermons, and theological lessons, as I could have occasion to hear them. And here satan, working in corrupt nature, sought many a time to trap me in his snares, intending in my young years to give me that wound; that might have been a mark of shame to me in my old age, when the Lord should call me to do his work: But as on the one part I felt my weakness compared with the strength of corrupt nature; so, though then I could not discern it, afterward I had proof it was the Lord's preventing mercy that kept me from being an offence unto his Church. It is his mercy that he pardoned the vanities and ignorances of my youth, and his mercy also that he preserved me in all my life from any that could make me a shame to his saints, or a scorn and reproach to his enemies.

"Having passed my course in *St. Andrews*, at the age of sixteen years, I returned to my parents in *Edinburgh*: I was pressed by them to enter into sundry sorts of life I liked not; for my heart still inclined to the study of the holy scriptures: Whereupon I resolved to go into *England*,
where

where I evidently perceived the Lord going before me, and providing for me at *Hodsdon*, within eighteen miles of *London*, my mean portion which I had being all spent (I speak it to his glory that cared for me) in that same place: That same day was I desired by our kind countryman Mr. *Guthrie*, to help him in the teaching of a school; with whom I remained some three quarters of a year, but after did the Lord lead me further: For having occasion to go to *London*, without my knowledge, or any suit of mine, I was called to the service of a learned divine, Mr. *Broughton*, unto the which with the good will of Mr. *Guthrie* I entered, and there remained about a year and a half, daily exercised under him in the study of theology. To him under God, and some other learned divines of that city, do I acknowledge myself bound for these beginnings of knowledge I then received.

“ In the nineteenth year of my life I returned again to *Edinburgh*, where having the commodious occasion to be with my elder brother, then one of the ministers of *Edinburgh*, I still continued in the same study, and at length was required to give a proof of my gift privately, which I did in the new church in presence of Mr. *Robert Pont*, and Mr. *Robert Rollock*, with sundry others of the ministry: Then, after that, I was required to teach publicly in the new church on a Sabbath in the afternoon. And the next week I was commanded to teach publicly in the great church, in time of a fast, on a *Thursday* in the afternoon. Thus did the Lord train me up, and these were the beginnings of my ministry, which I recount to the praise of his grace, who counted me faithful, and put me into his service.

“ A little after that, in the beginning of my twentieth year, there ensued a general assembly of the church at *Edinburgh*, and by their authority was I sent out, and appointed pastor of *Bothkenner*, in *Stirlingshire*; for that church had been desolate ever since the Reformation, and the people had given in their supplication to the assembly for a pastor. This calling of God and his church I embraced, and went unto them, where I found the desolation so great, that except the walls, which were ruinous also, neither door, nor window, nor seat, nor pulpit, nor any part of a roof was there at all; yet it pleased God to give such a blessing to the ministry of his word, that their hearts thereby were stirred up cheerfully to build the Lord's house, which most willingly they fully resolved within half a year, not content to build their own part of

the house, but the choir also, which of due should have been done by the parson: There needed here no letters of horning, nor other compulsitories; neither content to have built it only, they adorned it within and without, not inferior to any other church of such quality round about it. This was my first external seal, and confirmation of my calling to the ministry.

“ In this service I remained seven or eight years, subject to great bodily infirmities, by reason of the weakness [or marshiness] of the soil in winter, and the unwholesome waters thereof. And here did the Lord first begin to acquaint me with his terrors, and the inward exercises of sundry sorts of temptations; so that between these two, my life was almost wasted with heaviness; yet I bless the Lord for it, it was unto me like the wilderness of *Midian* to *Moses*, a school of temptation, whereby I learned daily more and more to know *Christ Jesus*, gathering some store of knowledge thereby, inward exercises, and outward studies, which the Lord afterward called me to give out in more public places in his church, for the necessity of increasing, disease forcing me to bethink of a transportation, the purpose of my mind was to another church unplanted in the south, about eight miles from *Edinburgh*, but the Lord still continued his calling, and drew me another way northward: For at the same time there intervened a general assembly of the church at *Perth*: There was I nominated, and with consent of the assembly and people was I written for to that ministry, as the letters of both, sent to me out of *Perth*, with my dear brother, Mr. *Patrick Simson*, yet extant do bear. Thus did the Lord clear my way before me, and lead me there, where I thought never to have gone; yet two or three days before did the Lord give me some signification of it, but I understood it not, till the event did teach me: For in my thoughts in the night there seemed a man to lead me by the hand to a little pleasant city, in a plain valley on a river's side, having some banks lying at the shore thereof, (as indeed it had the first time, that after this I was brought to it, such a sight got I of it, in that vision, as afterward I saw with my eyes) he led me a long time up and down the streets of that town from one to another, at length carried me over the water to an hill, and led me up unto it, by many turnings and windings from one earth to another, very near unto the top thereof. Then did I awake, my face looking to the south-west. This made such an impression in my mind, as after that I could never forget it. Let no
man

man here impute to me the superstition of Papists: I know, there is no revelation now of doctrine, or new article of faith, to be sought out in dreams. The Lord hath spoken once for all now unto us by his Son in the Word; but that the living Lord, who sleeps not, can give warnings to the souls of his servants, when their bodies are sleeping, no man acquainted with his working, I trust, will deny.

“ After this three or four days, as I said, returned Mr. *Patrick Simson*, from the general assembly at *Perth*, to *Sterling*, and delivered me letters from the assembly, and the town, containing my calling to that ministry. The town shortly after sent their commissioners, to transport myself and my family. There I continued doing the work of God, for the full space of nineteen years. How I did carry myself in my open conversation, living among them, not as one separate from them, but mixed myself in all their fellowships, as a comfort to the best, and a wound to the worst inclined sort, this age will not want loving witnesses to record it. My diligence in like manner in the ministry, not only on the ordinary days, but on others, which I voluntarily chose thrice a week in the evening; to wit, *Wednesday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*, for a preparation to the Sabbath, (for these days they had no preaching in the morning) it would have done a Christian heart good, to have seen those glorious and joyful assemblies, to have heard the zealous cryings to God among that people with sighings and tears, melting hearts and mourning eyes. I speak the truth in modesty, and not all the truth. It is not vain-glorying, I abhor that; not I, but his grace in me. Why shall it offend any man, that I eat the fruit of my labour, and that my conscience this day enjoys the comfort of my former painfulness and fidelity? my witness is in heaven, that the love of *Jesus* and his people, made continual preaching my pleasure, and I had no such joy, as in doing his work. Some witnesses also I want not to remain: For albeit my charge was to teach five times in the week, yet this was more, that I penned thereafter, whatsoever I preached whereof some are already extant; others, by God's grace, if the Lord spare my days, shall come in their time. And in outward things, what care I had to see the house of God there honoured, the welfare of that people every way, there are monuments standing to witness for me, when I am dead.

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"All this time, except some little intermissions and breathing-times, did the Lord still exercise me with inward temptations. O what a vicissitude of estates! O what a variety of combats! It were tedious here to set them down all, as they were done and fought: But this I must say, the end of all and every one of them were unspeakable joy. And once for all, in greatest extremity of horror, and anguish of spirit, when I had utterly given over, and looked for nothing but confusion, suddenly did there shine (in the very twinkling of an eye) the bright and lightsome countenance of God proclaiming peace, and confirming peace with invincible reasons. O what a change was there in a moment: The silly soul that was even now at the brink of the pit, looking for nothing, but to be swallowed up, was instantly raised up to heaven, to have joyful fellowship with God in *Christ Jesus*; and from this day forth my soul was never troubled with such extremity of terrors. This confirmation was given me on a *Saturday* in the morning; there found I the power of religion, the certainty of the word: There was I touched with such a lively sense of a divinity, and power of the Godhead, in mercy reconciled with man, and with me in *Christ*, as I trust, my soul shall never forget: Glory, glory, glory be to the joyful deliverer of my soul out of all adversities for ever!

"In the midst of these wrestlings with God, all this time wanted I not combats with wicked men, like those beasts at *Ephesus*, with whom *St. Paul* did fight. All the time of my residence-years continued this battle; as one left off, another still renewing the battle: But the greatness of my inward conflicts made me regard lightly all their outward contradictions, and I esteemed them but like the bitings of a flea. I resolved with myself, It was no marvel to see satan stir up his wicked instruments to disquiet me, since I professed myself a disquieter of him, and his kingdom: Yea, my comfort was, that I had never a controversy with any of them but for their sins. God knows I loved their persons and estates; therefore did the Lord assist me, the power of his word hammering down their pride, they were all of them by course brought to the acknowledgment of their sins.

"But at length, as God turned the heart of *Pharaoh* and his people from the *Israelites*, when the time came that he would have them to remove out of *Egypt*: So by little and little did the zeal and love of the most of this people, at least, in my sense, fall away; so that at last my

battle was not with such as were like the publicans and sinners, (for these now were turned my favourers and comforters), but with such as seemed before justiciars, I mean, unrebukable men for outward offences: These men found I stuffed with such pride, self-conceit, disdain, and intollerable contempt, as carried them further from their duty, then any of the former: Yea, such as above others should have been my comforters, were my crossers: That I had cause to say with *Micah*, *The best of them are briers*, but I trust it repents them ere now: And therefore I pray God not to lay it to their charge. I will have none of my words extended to that handful there, which truly fear the Lord.

“ Now about this time God had opened to me a door, and called me to the charge of the churches in *Galloway*, in the south-west part of this kingdom: For being named with others, by the general assembly of such as they thought meet to be preferred to the episcopal dignity (whereof I ever acknowledged myself not worthy), and recommended by the fathers of our church; it was his majesty's pleasure to present me to that benefice, due to the office whereunto the church had called me. God knows this was done without my knowledge, or seeking, directly or indirectly: For I could have been contented all my days with a private life, resolved to give honour and obedience in God to such as were called to these places; after that it was once established by order in our church, and I had considered the lawfulness, antiquity, and necessity of it among us.

“ Here was I neither guilty of ambition, nor of any precipitate embracing of it; for between the date of his majesty's presentation, and my acceptance, there intervened eighteen weeks.

“ Yet as the calling to this work was greater, than any other whereto I had been led before, so greatest opposition was there made unto me by men, whose lying libels and carnal contradictions forced me to spend more time unprofitably, then I had done before since my entry to the ministry. The Lord forgive them, and me also, where in the manner of my answering, I have been sharper than became Christian meekness. For as to the matter itself, unfainedly I followed my light, I esteem it a lawful, ancient, and necessary government; I see not, nor have not read of any church that wanted it before our time: Only the abuses of it by pride, tyranny, and idleness, have brought it in misliking. From these evils, I pray
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the Lord preserve his servants, that now are, or hereafter shall be called to those places; but there is no reason why a thing good in itself, should be condemned or rejected for the evil of abuse: For so no good thing at all should be retained in the church. And in this calling how I have walked, and what my care was to advance the gospel there, I trust I shall not, nor yet do want witnesses.

"In this estate do I now live; my soul always in mine hand, ready to be offered to my God; where, or what kind of death, God hath prepared for me I know not: But sure I am, there can be no evil death to him that liveth in *Christ*, nor sudden death to a Christian pilgrim, who, as *Job* says, every day waits for his change, yea, many a day have I fought it with tears, not out of impatience, distrust, or perturbation, but being weary of sin, and fearful to fall into it. Concerning those who have been my enemies without cause, and charged me with many wrongful imputations, from which my conscience clears me, excusing me of these things, love of gain and glory, or such like, whereof they accused me: The Lord lay it not to their charge. I go to my Father, and wish his blessing to them, to rectify their judgements, and moderate their affections, with true piety, from faith and love."

Amongst the same papers were found three meditations, with which he comforted himself, whilst he found his death approaching, written also with his own hand, and bearing date the seventh day of *December*, in the year 1618.

"Now my soul be glad: At all parts of this prison, the Lord hath set to his pioneers to loose thee, head, feet, milt and liver are fast failing; yea, the middle strength of the whole body, the stomach, is weakened long ago. Arise, make ready, shake off thy fetters, mount up from the body, and go thy way.

"Let me tell you that which I know, yea foreknow, yet I, after others, have foretasted before you. Death is somewhat dreary, and the streams of that *Jordan* between us and our *Canaan* run furiously; but they stand still when the ark cometh. Let your anchor be cast within the veil, and fastened on the rock *Jesus*: Let the end of the three-fold cord be buckled to the heart, so shall ye go through what threads the cord is made of; I cannot now tarry to tell you, who knows? But if ye ask, God will teach you.

"I saw not my children when they were in the womb; there the Lord fed them without my knowledge: I shall
not

not see them when I go out of the body; yet shall they not want a father."

We will subjoin an account of this good man's death, written by the editor of his Works, which is the whole that we can gather of him. The bishop appears to have been a man of a calm and a catholic spirit, not at all fitted for the contentious times he lived in, or for the active and turbulent dignity he was called to support. This is the frame of the most excellent spirits, who indeed make least noise in the world, but are those *secret ones* of the Lord, who pass, unobserved by man, from the lowest earthly humiliation to the most exalted state of glory. *The kingdom of God cometh not with observation*: And the greatest saints desire human observation the least of any. Worldly ostentation is no proper object of their pursuit; nor worldly riches, nor worldly views. They are pilgrims and strangers upon earth, passing through it, as an unpleasant wilderness, to a better country and a heavenly kingdom. And the more they possess of this pilgrim spirit, and the more they are abstracted in their affections from the world and all its *lying vanities*; the more happy they are in their own hearts, and the sweeter enjoyment do they find in every one of GOD's blessings and mercies. To return,

' This faithful servant of God (says his Editor), who from the time of his entry into the ministry had always shewed himself diligent and painful in his calling; notwithstanding his sickness grew daily upon him, was no way deficient in his duties of ordinary preaching. Besides his labour and studies, the grief he received for the backwardness of unruly spirits, in giving obedience to the articles concluded in the assembly, and ratified by authority, to the great disturbance of the peace of the church, which he laboured carefully through all his life to procure, did hasten him not a little to his end. In the beginning of *January*, 1619, his infirmity increasing, he was compelled to keep at home; yet as his weakness permitted, he gave himself to revise his writings, and dispose of his worldly affairs, that he might be ready for his passage, which every day he expected. And some ten days before his departure, having his mind freed of all earthly business; to those that visited him, he manifested a great contentment he had in his approaching death. The *Wednesday* before, which was the tenth of *February*, the bishops and some other brethren being assembled at *Edinburgh* for certain affairs of the church, took occasion to

meet at his house because of his sickness, which he took most kindly, and continued with them that whole afternoon, giving very wholesome advice in matters propounded, and shewing himself as pleasant in conversation as ever before. Nevertheless, even then he signified to them that his death was drawing near, and declared his mind with great composure, concerning his successor. The days following, he kept with all that came to visit him in most holy and divine conferences, expressing a great willingness of exchanging this life for a better. And upon *Monday*, the fifteenth day of *February*, 1619, at one o'clock in the afternoon, feeling his strength and spirits to decay, after he had uttered a most heavenly prayer, in the company of those that were by him, he desired to be laid in bed (for the days before he arose always, and either walked or sat in his chamber), which being done, after he had again commended himself most devoutly to Almighty God, he took some quiet rest: After which he spake not many words, but those that he uttered, shew his memory and other senses to have been perfect, his tongue only failing him; and in this manner, about seven o'clock at night, he rendered his soul to God in a most quiet and peaceable manner. On the seventeenth of *February* his body was interred, according to his own direction, in the church-yard, called the *Black-fryars*, at *Edinburgh*, on the south side of the new church, and was conveyed to the place by the earl of *Dumfermline*, chancellor, and the rest of the honourable lords of council, with the magistrates of the city, and many others. The funeral sermon being preached by the archbishop of *St. Andrews*.

The following is a list of his WRITINGS, published together in one folio volume: "1. Heaven Opened, in three Parts, from the whole of the eighth chapter to the *Romans*. 2. The Triumph of a Christian, or *Jacob's* wrestling with GOD; *Gen.* xxxii. 24. 3. A Conduit of Comfort; *Rom.* viii. 28. 4. A Preparative to the Lord's Supper; *1 Cor.* xi. 28. 5. The Anatomy of a Christian; *2 Cor.* v. 19. 6. A holy Alphabet for *Zion's* Scholars, or, a Commentary on the hundred and nineteenth *Psalms*. 7. A Mirror of Mercy, or the Prodigal's Conversion; *Luke* xv. 11, &c. 8. A Desance to Death; *2 Cor.* v. 1. 9. The Genealogy of *Christ*; *Matt.* i. 23. 10. The Baptism of *Christ*; *Luke* iii. 2. 11. The Combat of *Christ* with Satan; *Matt.* iv. 1, &c. 12. Meditations for Instruction and Consolation. 13. Seven Days Conference between a Catholic-Christian, and Catholic-Roman.

man. 14. A Treatise of the heavenly Mansions; *John* xiv. 1, 2, 3. 15. The Praise of Patience; *Luke* xxi. 19. 16. Good News from *Canaan*, or, an Exposition of the fifty-first *Psalms*. 17. A Comfortable and Christian Dialogue between the Lord and the Soul. 18. Two Sermons preached before the King, in *Scotland*. One from *Psalms* cxxi. 8. and the other from *Psalms* lxxx. 17. 19. A Sermon preached the sixth of *August*, in the year 1615, at the Translation of the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* to that See, from *Titus* ii. 7, 8. 20. PATHMOS: Or, a Commentary on the Revelation of *St. John*, divided into three Prophecies."

ANDREW WILLET, D. D.

DR. ANDREW WILLET, a laborious and learned divine, was born at *Ely*, in *Cambridgeshire*, of pious parents, who to a religious education added their own good example. His father, *Thomas Willet*, was in the younger part of his life subalmoner to *K. Edward VI.* and when *Q. Elizabeth* came to the throne was made rector of *Barley*, in *Hertfordshire*. His mother was rich in good works, abounding in acts of charity; who, when her children were gone from her, and settled in life, used to feed her poor neighbors in her own house, and say, 'Now again have I my children about me.' *Andrew* had his instructions in the rudiments of grammar in the collegiate school of *Ely*; where, says our Biographer, I have heard his school-master say, that he was the most industrious of all his scholars; his eye and countenance had the characters of ingenuity, and in quickness of apprehension, strength of memory, and solid judgement, he outstript his fellows, and so became the delight of his teacher. His parents were under a necessity of inventing different kinds of recreation in order to draw him from too close an application to his books, which endangered his health.

At about fourteen years of age, his father sent him to the university, under the care of *Dr. Andrew Perne*, then master of *Peter-house*, *Cambridge*, and his god-father: He afterward removed to *Christ-college*, where meeting with *Dawnham*, *Perkins*, and others of his own standing, a

laudable emulation took place amongst them, and young *Willet's* extraordinary application and proficiency in his studies soon appeared in a performance, published at the age of twenty-two, entitled, *De animæ naturâ & viribus*. Among other anecdotes related of him while at *Cambridge*, tending to shew the promising greatness of his abilities, is the following: The proctor of the college, being prevented, by some unforeseen accident, executing his office at the commencement, just at hand, none could be found to stand in his place but *Willet*, who acquitted himself so well, that his orations gained the approbation and applause, both of the university and strangers, and the entire admiration of all those, who knew how short a time he had to prepare for it.

After he had spent thirteen years in the university, his father, now grown old, resigned his prebend in the church of *Ely*, and his rectory of *Barley*, which by favor of *Q. Elizabeth* (*sede vacante*) were conferred upon the son: Upon which he married a wife, a relation of *Dr. Goad*, provost of *King's-college*, by whom he had a numerous issue. He never sought after other preferments, which he rather studied to deserve than to obtain, observing that commonly some enjoy promotions, while others merit them, and that a work of the divine should be reckoned as a part of his wages, it being no small honor to be employed for *GOD*.

He engaged himself most sedulously in digesting the fathers, councils, ecclesiastical histories, the civil and canon law, and other authors. In short, he read so much, and understood what he had read so well, that he (as well as his contemporary *Rainolds*), was called very justly *εμψυχὸς βιβλιοθήκη*, a living library; for his learning was, like ready cash, always at hand.

Our Author was not only diligent in his study, but very laborious in his proper work of the ministry. He constantly preached three times in the week in his church at *Barley*, and paid great attention to catechizing the children—an excellent practice, now, like many other excellent things, too much disused. But how it became thus disused, and how those, who have great or double cures attend only to the profits of them, may hereafter be demanded of some by that *GREAT BISHOP of Souls*, (*1 Peter ii. 25.*) who never yet granted a dispensation to any Pastor for ceasing to feed his flock.

His manner of teaching was plain and simple, accommodated to the capacities of his people, Those he esteemed for

for the best sermons, which were most owned of GOD, not those which were most admired by men. If souls were edified, he rejoiced: And he knew that edification was not effected by labored discourses or curious questions, which suit those hearers best, who enjoy the least experience of the gospel.

As he possessed a very amiable and engaging countenance, so his mind was of a pleasant and gentle turn, rather drawing by persuasion than driving by fear, and rendering religion a delightful business instead of a sour or gloomy kind of drudgery. His excellence lay in binding up the broken-hearted; and administering those rich consolations of the gospel, which he had so abundantly tasted himself.

His conduct at home, was such as became his preaching and his profession abroad. He *lived*, as well as preached, the gospel. 'His house was a little model of a church and house of God. Here morning and evening sacrifices were offered unto God daily. His children after supper read some part of the holy scripture; and he required of every one present, that they should remember some one sentence or other; and afterwards he himself, as he judged convenient, would rehearse the same again, adding an exposition, or an application of the matter.'

He was not only benevolent himself, but excited others to the performance of charitable exercises. His success in this respect was very remarkable. Mr. Sutton made his most munificent foundation principally by Dr. Willet's motion: And he himself stated, that the pious donations of the Protestants, from the Reformation under K. Edward VI. to his time, amounted, in one shape or other, to the sum of a million sterling. From whence, he made a challenge, in his excellent *Synopsis Papismi*, for the Papists to shew any thing like such charitable works, for the same space of time, at any period under the papal authority; and concluded by confuting that common calumny of the Romish persuasion, that the doctrine of justification by faith only, is an enemy to good works.—Well would it have been, if none but Papists had maintained this outcry, which, if the doctrine of faith had been truly understood, could not have been made.

In his Epistle dedicatory, prefixed to his *Hexapla* upon *Exodus*, he uses this remarkable expression; "It is most honourable for a soldier to die fighting, and for a bishop or pastor praying; and if my merciful God shall vouch-
safe

“ safe to grant me my request, my earnest desire is, that
 “ in writing and commenting upon some part of the scrip-
 “ ture, I may finish my days.” This request was granted
 him; for he was called hence as he was composing a
 commentary upon *Leviticus*. He did not ask (like good
 archbishop *Leighton*) to die in an inn, but it was the ap-
 pointment of Providence that he should. The apparent
 occasion of his death was a fall from his horse, as he was
 riding home from *London*, by which he broke his right leg,
 and was detained at *Hodsdon* in *Hertfordshire*, of course
 incapable of being moved. While he was in this situa-
 tion, he dictated most heavenly contemplations to his son,
 upon the song of *Hezekiah*, *Isaiah xxxviii*. And he fre-
 quently called together the people of the house to give
 them his exhortations, which he did with such a spirit,
 as though he felt no pain, ‘ which (says *Dr. Smith*, his
 ‘ son-in-law, who wrote his life) puts me in mind of
 ‘ that saying of *Tertullian*; ‘ The leg feels nothing in the
 ‘ nerves, when the mind is (as it were) rapt into heaven.’

Upon the tenth day after his hurt, having supped chear-
 fully in the preceding evening, and reposed himself to rest,
 early in the morning, being wakened by the tolling of a
 bell, he discoursed with his wife, who lay in the same
 chamber with him, about the joys of heaven, and the
 knowledge which departed saints would have of each other
 there. After this conversation, they sang an hymn, of
 his own composition, with which they usually praised
 GOD for their preservation and rest during the past night,
 and prayed for his blessing upon the ensuing day. After
 this, being in a happy frame of soul, they continued their
 melody, and sang the hundred and forty-sixth *Psalms*,
 upon which he commented, and made applications from it
 to his own condition. Soon afterwards, upon turning
 himself, he suddenly gave a deep groan, and fell into a
 swoon. His wife, alarmed, presently called in assistance,
 and upon means being used, he seemed to raise himself a
 little; but immediately said, “ Let me alone: I shall be
 “ well. Lord *Jesus*” — and with this last word ren-
 dered up his spirit to GOD. This was on the fourth of
December, 1621, and in the fifty-ninth year of his age.
 His body was buried in the chancel of his church at *Bar-
 ley*, and is covered with a marble. But his more excellent
 and durable monument are,

His WORKS; whose titles are as follow: Printed in
Latin: “ 1. *De Animæ naturâ & viribus*. 2. *Sacra Em-
 blemata*. 3. *De universali vocatione Judæorum*. 4. *De
 Conciliis*,

Conciliis. 5. *De universali gratiâ.* 6. *De Antichristo.* 7. *Epithalamium.* 8. *Funebres Conciones.* 9. *Apologia serenissimi regis JACOBI defensio.*

In *English*: 10. *SYNOPSIS PAPISMI*, in five books. 11. *Hexapla* on *Genesis* in two books. 12. *Hexapla* on *Exodus* in two books. 13. An Harmony on the first and second books of *Samuel.* 14. *Hexapla* on *Daniel.* 15. *Hexapla* on the Epistle to the *Romans.* 16. On the twenty-second *Psalms.* 17. On the seventeenth of *John.* 18. On the Epistle of *Jude.* 19. *Tetrastylon Papismi.* 20. A Catalogue of good Works. 21. *Limbomastix.* 22. *Lædoremastix.* 23. *Epithalamium* in *English.* 24. Funeral Sermons. 25. A Catechism. 26. A Retraction. 27. An Antilogy. 28. *Hexapla* on *Leviticus.*

In *Latin*, not printed: 29. *Defensio Aristotelis contra Tempellum.* 30. *Catechismus Latinus.* 31. *Gemitus Columbæ, seu Comment. in Jonam.* 32. *Sacri Paralleli.* 33. *Heptaphonon.* 34. *Scala Cæli.* 35. *Antithesis Pontificiæ & Evangelicæ Doctrinæ.* 36. *Varia læctiones in Pentateuchian.*

In *English*: 37. An Exposition on *Genesis.* 38. Marginal Annotations on the Pentateuch. 39. The Doctrine of the Christian Sabbath."

His *Synopsis Papismi* is his most celebrated work, and hath passed through many editions.

MELCHIOR ADAM.

SO faithful and eminent a Biographer of divines has a just title to be placed, in a work of biography, among them. With gratitude we speak of *Melchior Adam*, to whom we are exceedingly obliged for many informations and collections, which, but for him, had undoubtedly been lost.

This pious and learned man was born in the territory of *Grotkaw* in *Silesia*, and educated in the college of *Brieg*, where the dukes of that name, to the utmost of their power, encouraged learning and the Reformed Religion as professed by *Calvin.* Here he became a firm Protestant, and was enabled to pursue his studies by the liberality of a person

a person of quality, who had left several exhibitions for young students.

He was appointed rector of a college at *Heidelberg*, where he published his first volume of illustrious men in the year 1615. This volume, which consisted of *philosophers, poets, writers on polite literature, and historians, &c.* was followed by three others; that which treated of *divines* was printed in 1619; that of the *lawyers* came next; and, finally, that of *physicians*: The two last were published in 1620. All the learned men, whose lives are contained in these four volumes, lived in the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century, and are either *Germans or Flemings*; but he published in 1618 the lives of twenty *divines* of other countries in a separate volume; which volume is now generally bound up with his lives of *German divines*, and serves by way of appendix to it. All his *divines* are Protestants.

He has given but a few lives, yet the work cost him a great deal of time, having been obliged to abridge the pieces from whence he had materials, whether they were lives, funeral sermons, eulogiums, prefaces, or memoirs of families.

He omitted several persons who deserved a place in his work as well as those he has taken notice of. "Reader, says he, (*Præfat. Theolog. Germanorum*) I must acquaint you with, or request some things of you. First, that you would not think the many persons, who are not mentioned in this work, as unworthy a place in it. The fault, Reader, is not mine, but is owing to the scarcity of materials, which I could by no means procure. I chose therefore to be wholly silent about many excellent persons, rather than to say but a very little (after the manner of the man speaking of *Carthage*) or to use those trite expressions; *He was born; he died.* Yet this deficiency may be supplied, if good men and lovers of their country will contribute their assistance to the second volume of this work. The same I desire may be understood concerning the lives of the lawyers, statesmen, physicians, and philosophers."—We may be permitted to use the same apology in this our work. It would be impossible, in the compass of it, to give even a concise account of all the worthies, who deserve to be remembered. We have endeavored to select such, as ought never to be forgotten.

The Lutherans were not pleased with our Author, for they thought him partial; nor will they allow his work

to be a proper standard, whereby to judge of the learning of Germany. The reason is, they are partial themselves; and he was not of their party. He wrote also other works besides his Lives, and died in the year 1622.

His WORKS. "1. *Apographum monumentorum Heidelbergensium*. 2. *Notæ in Orationem Julii Cæsaris Scaligeri pro M. T. Cicerone contra Ciceroniarum Erasmi*. 3. *Parodiæ & Metaphrasæ Horatianæ Diarium Biograph. Henningi Witte.*"

In the catalogue of the Bodleian library, he is said to have been the author of *Historia Ecclesiastica Hamburgensis & Bremensis*: But this work, according to Mr. Bayle, was written by one Adam, a canon of Bremen, who lived in the eleventh century.

DAVID PARÆUS, D.D.

DAVID PARÆUS, or *Paré*, without the Latin termination, a celebrated divine of the Reformed religion, was born on the thirtieth of December, 1548, at *Francolstein* in *Silesia*, and put to the grammar school there, apparently with a design to breed him to learning; but his father marrying a second wife, this step-mother prevailed with him to put his son apprentice to an apothecary at *Bresslau*; and not content with that, he was taken thence, and, at her instigation, bound to a shoemaker. However, he was not long abandoned to the shameful ill usage of a step-mother; Providence had ordained better things for him, and many years had not passed when the good old man his father resumed his first design; and David was not above sixteen years of age when he was sent to the college school of *Hermberg*, in the neighbourhood of *Francolstein*, to prosecute his studies under *Christopher Schilling*, a man of considerable learning, who was rector of the college.

It was customary in those times for young students, who devoted themselves to literature, to assume some Greek or Latin name, instead of that of their family. *Schilling* was a great admirer of this custom, and easily persuaded his scholar to change his German name of *Wongler* for the Greek one of *Paré*, both denoting the same thing in the

different languages. *Wange* in the German tongue signifies a cheek, as *παια* does also in the Greek; so that his name in English was *David Cheek*, or *Cheke*, no uncommon name in that country. He was christened *David* because he was born on St. *David's* day, which is the thirtieth of *December*, so that this must be a different saint from the *Welch* saint of that name, whose feast is kept on *March* the first. His father was sheriff or alderman of *Franscolstein*, his native place, and was the son of a rich peasant, who lived above an hundred years, and saw himself a father of twenty children all living.

Young *Paré*, for so we must now call him, soon became a great boy with his master, by his excellent parts and industrious application; and his step-mother's ill humour was presently appeased by his success. He had not lived above three months at his father's expence, when he provided for his own support, partly by means of a tutorship in the family of an honest citizen, whose name was *James Schilder*, and partly by the bounty of *Albertus Kindler*, one of the principal men of the place, and lord of *Zackenstein*. *Paré* lodged in this gentleman's house, and wrote an Epicedium upon the death of his eldest son, which so highly pleased the father, that he not only gave him a gratuity for it, but encouraged him to cultivate his genius, setting him proper subjects, and rewarding him handsomely for every poem which he presented to him.

In the mean time, his school-master, not content with making him change his surname, made him also change his religious creed, with regard to the doctrine of the real presence, turning him from a Lutheran to a Sacramentarian, as he also did the rest of his scholars. This affair brought both master and scholar into a great deal of trouble. The first was driven from his school at the instance of the minister of the place, and the latter was near being disinherited by his father; and it was not without the greatest difficulty that he obtained his consent to go into the *Palatinate*, notwithstanding he made use of an argument which is generally very prevailing, that he would finish his studies there without any expence to his family. As soon as he was at liberty he followed his master, who had been invited by the elector *Frederic III.* to be principal of his new college at *Amberg*. The allowance which *Paré's* father gave him for his journey was so short, that he was obliged to beg on the road. He arrived at *Amberg* in 1566, and was sent shortly after with ten of his school-fellows to *Heidelberg*, where *Zachary Ursin* was professor

professor of divinity, and rector of the college of *Wisdom*, who, upon perusing the recommendation of their master, admitted them into his college. The university was at that time in a most flourishing condition, with regard to every one of the faculties; so that *Paré* had here all the advantages that could be desired, for making the most considerable proficiency both in the learned languages, and in philosophy and divinity.

He was received a minister in 1571, and in *May* that year sent to exercise his function in a village called *Schlettenbach*. This was a difficult cure, on account of the contests between the Protestants and Papists at that time. The elector *Palatine* his patron had asserted his claim by main force against the bishop of *Spire*, who maintained that the right of nomination to the livings in the corporation of *Alsfeld* was vested in his chapter. The elector allowed it, but with this reserve, that, since he had the right of patronage, the nominators were obliged by the peace of *Passau* to present such pastors to him whose religion he approved. By virtue of this right he established the Reformed religion in that corporation, and sent *Paré* into the parish of *Schlettenbach*. The Papists shut the doors against him; but they were broke open, and the images and altars pulled down; yet, after all, he could get nobody to clear away the rubbish.

However, he was going to be married there before winter, when he was called back to teach the third form at *Heidelberg*. He acquitted himself so well in that charge, that in two years time he was promoted to the second class; but he did not hold this above six months, being made first pastor of *Hemsbach* in the diocese of *Worms*. Here he met with a much more tractable congregation than that of *Schlettenbach*. For when the elector *Palatine*, as patron of the parish, resolved to reform it*, and caused the church doors to be broke open,

* The incident which brought on this reformation is remarkable. The curate or popish priest, who had been drinking all the night before *Easter*, was sleeping himself sober at the time of divine service. Being waked at last by the sexton, he goes to church, and after singing gets into his pulpit, delivers his preamble, and, according to custom, kneels down to say the *Ave-Mary*, and falls asleep. The people imagine, that his being so long upon his knees was owing to an extraordinary zeal; but as it continued too long, the sexton pulls his gown. He gets up half asleep, and cries out, *Ich ken begm sacrament nicht predigen*, 'by the sacrament (a common oath in Germany), I cannot preach.' The bishop of *Worms* being informed of this scandalous conduct, sends the cure to prison, but puts another in his stead who had seven battards.

Paré took care to have all the images taken down, and had them burnt with the people's consent. Thus happily situated, he soon resolved to be a lodger in a public house no longer; and in order to obtain a more agreeable home, he engaged in the matrimonial state four months after his arrival, with the sister of *John Stibelius*, minister of *Heppenheim*, and the nuptials were solemnized on the fifth of *January*, 1574, publicly in the church of *Hemsbach*, a sight which had never before been beheld in that parish: As for concubines and bastards of the priests, more than enough. It was not a sight, which, like the other, had something wonderful in it. However, the people were easily reconciled to the new practice, when they came to know what *St. Paul* teaches concerning the marriage of a bishop, *1 Tim. iii. 2.* and *Titus i. 17.*

Yet such was the unhappy state of this country, rent by the continual contests about religion, that no sooner was popery, the common enemy, rooted out, than new disturbances arose, through the contests and animosities between the Lutherans and Calvinists, who ought to have been friends. After the death of the elector *Frederic III.* his son *Lewis*, who was a very zealous Lutheran, established every where in his dominions those ministers, in the room of the Sacramentarians. By this means, *Paré* lost his living at *Hemsbach* in the year 1577. On this occasion he retired into the territories of prince *John Casimir*, the elector's brother, and was minister at *Ogersheim*, near *Frankental*, three years, and then removed to *Witrenge*, near *Neustadt*; at which last place prince *Casimir* in 1578, had founded a school, and settled there all the professors that had been drove from *Heidelberg*. This rendered *Witzingen* so much more agreeable, as well as more advantageous; and upon the death of the elector *Lewis* in 1583, the guardianship of his son, together with the administration of the *Palatinate*, devolved upon prince *Casimir*, who restored the Calvinist ministers, and *Paré* obtained the second chair in the college of *Wisdom* at *Heidelberg* in *September*, 1584.

He commenced author two years afterwards, by printing his *Method of the Ubiquitarian Controversy*. He also printed the *German bible* with notes, at *Neustadt*, in 1589.

In *January*, 1591, he was made first professor in his college, and counsellor to the ecclesiastical senate in *November* the following year, and in 1593 was admitted doctor of divinity in the most solemn manner. He had already held several disputes against the writers of the
Augsburg

Augsburg Confession, but that of 1596 was the most considerable. Among other things, he produced a Defence of *Calvin* against the imputation of his favoring Judaism, in his commentaries upon several parts of scripture. Two years after this he was promoted to the chair of divinity professor for the Old Testament in his university, by which he was eased of the great fatigue which he had undergone for fourteen years, in governing the youth who were educated at the college of *Wisdom*; an employment so toilsome, that *Zachary Ursinus* declared he was happy in being banished by the Lutherans, as it delivered him from the dreadful charge of ruling these untractable and headstrong youth. *Daniel Tossanus*, professor of divinity for the New Testament, dying in 1602, Dr. *Paré* succeeded to that chair, and a few years after he bought a house in the suburbs of *Heidelberg*. Herein, in 1607, he built in the garden an apartment for his library, which he called his *Paræanum*. He took great delight in it, and the whole house went afterwards by that name. The elector honored it with several privileges and immunities, and the doctor had two inscriptions, one in *German*, and the other in *Latin*, put upon the frontispiece. At the same time his reputation, spreading itself every where, brought young students to him from the remotest parts of *Hungary* and *Poland*.

In 1617, there was kept an evangelical jubilee, in memory of the church's deliverance from popery an hundred years before. The solemnity held three days, during which there were continual orations, disputations, poems, and sermons, on the occasion. Our doctor also published some pieces upon the subject, which drew upon him the resentment of the jesuits of *Mentz*, who wrote a sharp censure of his work, and the doctor published a suitable answer to it. The following year, 1618, at the instance of the *States General*, he was pressed to go to the synod of *Dort*; but he excused himself, on account of his age and infirmities, which he said would not permit him to undertake so long a journey, nor bear the inconveniences of such an alteration of diet as must unavoidably attend it. Otherwise he was a proper person for that assembly, being a great enemy to all innovations in points of doctrine. He would not suffer any man to deviate a tittle from the catechism of his master *Ursinus*, as had been done by some divines, who added no less than three sorts of imputation to those which that professor had laid down concerning justification, namely, the imputation of *Christ's* death,

death, that of his righteousness, and of habitual holiness. In the same spirit, when there arose some controversies in 1604, about the seventy-sixth question of the same catechism of *Heidelberg*, which treats of the efficacy of the eucharist, *Paré*, like a brave champion for the established doctrine, would not suffer the least alteration to be made therein. These innovations he alleged were a removal of the boundaries of truth, which ought to be sacred and immovable. He even maintained that the humor of innovating foreboded an approaching ruin to the church. In the year 1614 he wrote, it is true, to the Lutherans, exhorting them to peace, and to acknowledge that they agreed with the Calvinists or Sacramentarians, in the fundamental and essential points of the Christian faith; and as to the rest, there ought to be a mutual toleration on each side: Yet four years after, at the time of the synod of *Dort*, he absolutely condemned the Remonstrants, or Arminians, and said their doctrine ought to be banished both from the churches and the schools. He wrote to the synod, and recommended his letter with a memoir, in which he gave an account of his own sentiments upon the subject of the articles of the Remonstrants, which was read in that synod.

After this time he enjoyed but little tranquillity. The apprehensions which he had of the ruin, which his patron the elector palatine would bring upon himself, by accepting the crown of *Bohemia*, put him upon changing his habitation. When he saw the workmen employed in improving the fortifications of *Heidelberg*, he said it was so much labor lost; and considering the books which he had wrote against the pope and *Bellarmino*, he looked upon it as the most dreadful calamity that could happen to him, to fall into the hands of the monks, and for that reason gladly complied with the advice that was given him, to provide in time for his own safety. Accordingly he chose for his sanctuary the town of *Anweil*, in the duchy of *Deux Ponts*, near *Landau*, and arrived there in *October*, 1621. However, he left that place some months after, and went to *Neustadt*; nor did he stay long here, for he determined to return to *Heidelberg*, in the resolution to fetch his last breath at his beloved *Parcanum*, and so to be buried near the professors of the university. Accordingly his wish was fulfilled. He died at *Parcanum* in *June*, 1622, and was interred with all the funeral honors, which the universities in *Germany* are used to bestow on their members,

To conclude, it cannot be denied, that in regard to religion, our Author was none of those untractable divines who will not yield the least thing for the sake of peace*. The *Irenicum* he published proves the contrary; yet his extreme watchfulness against the most trifling innovations, will not allow us to say that he had any great stock of toleration†.

His WORKS. Our Author's exegetical works have been published by his son at *Frankfort* in 1647, in three volumes, folio. Among these are his "Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, in 1617," which gave such offence to K. James I. of England, as containing some anti-monarchical principles, that he caused it to be burnt by the common hangman; and the university of *Oxford* condemned it in the most disgraceful manner §.

* He used to say with *Luther* of such turbulent Reformers, *A doctore glorioso, & pastore contentioso, & inutilibus questionibus, liberet ecclesiam suam Dominus!* "From a vain-glorious doctor, a litigious pastor, and useless questions, deliver thy church, good Lord!"

† He extended this spirit against innovations to all the new ways of speaking and teaching, and could not bear *Peter Ramus*, because he had dared to remove the boundaries of our ancestors; upon which occasion he wrote an epigram against him, as follows:

*Quæ mutas perdis, dixit Democritus,
Et quæ servas in physicis sunt, Epicure, mea.
Nonne idem Aristotelis in Ramum mastiga dicat;
Quæ mutas perdis; quæ retines mea sunt?*

i. e. "What you alter in natural philosophy, said *Democritus* to *Epicurus*, you spoil; and what you keep is mine. Might not *Aristotle* say the same to that rogue *Ramus*, What you alter you spoil, and what you retain is mine?"

§ It was refuted by *David Owen*, a Welshman, who was D. D. and chaplain to *John Ramsay* viscount *Haddington* and earl of *Holderness*, in a piece entitled, *Anti-Paræus, sive determinatio de jure regio habita Cantabrigiæ in scholis theologicis*, 19 April, 1619, contra *Davidem Paræum*, caterosque reformatæ religionis antimonarchos, *Cantab.* 1632, 8vo. He had before published the Concord of a Papist and Puritan, for the coercion, deposition, and killing of kings. *Camb.* 1610, 4to.

 JOHN WELCH.

JOHN WELCH was born, about the dawn of the Reformation in *Scotland*, A. D. 1570, at *Colliestoun*, in the shire of *Nithsdale*, where his father possessed a competent estate, and called in that country, LAIRD of *Colliestoun*.

He was a monument of free and sovereign grace: But the night preceded the day; for he was a most hopeless, extravagant youth. He frequently played truant; and at last, while very young, he left his studies and his father's house, and went and joined himself to the thieves on the *Borders* of the then two kingdoms, who lived by robbery and plunder. After he had suffered many hardships among them, and, like the prodigal in the gospel, began to be in great misery, *and no man gave unto him*; he took the prodigal's resolution, to return home to his father's house. He made *Dumfries* in his way homewards, where lived a Mrs. *Forstyth*, his father's cousin; her he earnestly entreated to bring about a reconciliation for him with his father.

He had not been long with this lady before his father came providentially to visit her; to whom, after conversing a while, she said, 'Cousin, have you heard any thing of your son, *John*?' 'Oh! cruel woman, (said the father, with great grief) how can you mention his name to me? The first news I expect to hear of him is, that he is hanged for a thief.' She answered, 'Many a profligate boy has become a virtuous man:' And endeavored to comfort him, but in vain. At length, he asked her, if she knew whether his lost son was yet living? She answered, 'Yes, he was alive;' and hoped he would make a better man than he was a boy: At the same time she introduced him to his father. The youth came in weeping, and threw himself at his father's feet, beseeching him, for *Christ's* sake, to pardon his misbehavior, earnestly, and with much apparent sincerity, promising future amendment. His father reproached and threatened him; but, upon the importunities of Mrs. *Forstyth*, he was persuaded to a reconciliation. He then besought his father

father to send him to college; saying, "That, if ever he misbehaved again, he would be content his father should disclaim him for ever." His father granted him this request, and after a little time spent there, not only a thorough Reformation, but a saving Conversion took place in him; and he became so diligent a student, that, in much less time than could be expected, he went through all his necessary studies, and entered early into the ministry.

Our young divine first entered upon his ministerial labors at *Selkirk*, a rude and dark country. His ministry was admired by some, but (like his Master's) received only by few; for he was, according to a proverb in use in those times, attended with the prophet's shadow, the *batred of the wicked*. The ministers also were more ready to find fault with him than to follow his doctrine, as may be seen to this day in their synodal records, where we find he had many to censure, and only some to defend him. However, it is said, that though he labored for the Lord but a short time in this place, yet he labored not in vain. Mr. *Welch*, being a single man, boarded in the house of one Mr. *Mitchel*, whose son, then but a child, received such impressions from his conversation and under his prayers, as not only terminated in his conversion, but remained on his mind with comfort to his dying day, though he lived to a great age.

Mr. *Welch* was reported, in this place, when very young, to have been a strict copyer of his great Exemplar, JESUS CHRIST. His custom was to preach publicly once every day; and to spend his whole time in spiritual exercises; and, from his entering into the ministry to his death, he reckoned the day ill-spent, if he spent not seven or eight hours of it in prayer. The great opposition, that he met with in this place, caused him to listen to a call he had from *Kirkcudbright*. And what determined his acceptance of their call was the following circumstance. Among other persecutors was a prophane gentleman, a Mr. *Scot of Hawickshaw*, (whose family soon after became extinct) who sought by all means to injure Mr. *Welch*; because, as it is supposed, Mr. *Welch* had reproved him for his sinful practices: At length, when he could do no more, Mr. *Welch* always keeping two good horses for his use, he, either with his own hands, or by his servants, cut off the horses' tails close by the rump, upon which they both bled to death. His enemies carried their resentment to every extremity; for when he wanted his books, and

what little furniture he had, to be removed to *Kirkcudbright*; through dislike in some, and others being deterred by the great, he could not get any one to carry them, till at last a young man, named *Ewart*, who had two horses, conveyed every thing safe for him to *Kirkcudbright*. When the young man took his leave, in order to return home, Mr. *Welch* put a piece of gold in his hand, exhorting him to fear GOD, and promised him, he should never want: Which promise GOD in his providence made good, through the whole course of the man's life, which was observed by many of his neighbors.

Mr. *Welch* did not stay long at *Kirkcudbright*; notwithstanding he had a plentiful harvest of converts to GOD, which subsisted long after his departure, and made a part of Mr. *Samuel Rutherford's* flock; though not his parish, while he was minister at *Anwirth*. Before he left this place, he met with a gay young gentleman, Mr. *R. Glendoning*, just come home from his travels, dressed in scarlet and silver, whom he greatly surprised by the following address; "Sir, it behoves you to change your garb and way of life, and betake yourself to the study of the scriptures; for you shall be my successor in the ministry at *Kirkcudbright*;" which accordingly came to pass soon after.

He accepted of the call to *Air*, A. D. 1590, where he continued till he was banished the kingdom. Here he had a hard beginning, but a very blessed end. Such was the wickedness of the country, and their hatred of religion, that no one would let him a house, till Mr. *John Stewart*, an eminent Christian, and some time provost of *Air*, accommodated him with an apartment in his house, and was to him a very able friend. Mr. *Welch* first addressed himself to the arduous task of healing their divisions, uniting their factious parties, and putting an end to their daily battles; which were so desperate, that no one could walk in the street, at day-time, without the most imminent danger of being wounded. His method was this; after he had put an helmet on his head, he would go between the two parties of fighting men, already covered with blood, but he never took a sword, which convinced them that he came not to fight, but to make peace. When he had brought them by little and little to hear him speak, and to listen to his arguments against such brutish proceedings; he would order a table to be spread in the street, and beginning with prayer, persuade them to profess themselves friends, and to sit down, and

eat and drink together; which, when done, he would finish this labor of love with singing a psalm. Thus, by degrees, laboring among them in word and doctrine, (for he preached every day) and setting them a good example, he brought them to be a peaceable, happy people; and he grew at length in such esteem among them, that they made him their counsellor, to settle all their differences and misunderstandings; and would take no step of importance in civil affairs without his advice.

There was also in *Air*, before Mr. *Welch* came to it, an aged minister, who was of so easy a disposition, that he used many times to be drawn aside, by his neighbors, to unbecoming practices; among the rest, he used to go to the bow-buts and archery on the Lord's day in the afternoon, which gave Mr. *Welch* great uneasiness. As he was an elderly man, Mr. *Welch* used policy rather than severity, in order to reclaim him, and therefore sent him an invitation to spend the Lord's day afternoons with himself, and a few select friends, in religious conference and prayer; which, as a minister, he thought he could not well refuse. By this means, he was not only diverted from every thing scandalous, but was also brought to a more watchful and edifying behavior in the remainder of his life. Mr. *Welch's* great diligence rendered it doubtful whether his painful laborious sowing, or his abundant harvest of success, was the greater; for it is said, that, 'if either his spiritual experience in seeking the Lord, or his fruitfulness in converting souls, be considered; they will be found unparalleled in *Scotland*.' And many years after Mr. *Welch's* death, Mr. *David Dickson*, at that time a flourishing minister at *Irvine* was frequently heard to say, when people mentioned to him the success of his ministry, 'that the grape-gleanings in *Air*, in Mr. *Welch's* time, were far greater than the vintage of *Irvine* in his own.' Mr. *Welch's* preachings were truly evangelical, animated and searching; his deliverance tender and affecting; and, laying aside, as much as possible, all scholastic phrases, he accommodated himself to the capacities of the most unlearned of his hearers. One of his congregation (who was afterwards minister of *Moor-kirk*, in *Kyle*), was heard to say, 'that it was almost impossible for any one to hear him and to forbear weeping; he was so fervent in spirit, so persuasive, and so moving in his manner.' *Luther* used to say, 'Three things made a preacher, prayer, meditation, and temptation;' according to which, Mr. *Welch* was well qualified;

lified; for he spent one-third of his time in prayer and meditation.

And such were his temptations, that frequently, before he went out to preach, he would send for his elders and tell them, that he was so grievously tempted, and seemingly so entirely deserted, that he was afraid to go up into the pulpit; nor could he be prevailed upon till one or more of them had prayed for him: Then venturing into the pulpit, it was observed; these humbling severe exercises were generally attended with an extraordinary degree of the presence and power of GOD; so near neighbors many times are contrary dispositions and frames, sore temptations and great manifestations of the divine presence. He used often to retire to the church of *Air*, which was at some distance from the town, and there to spend the whole night in prayer; because, probably, it afforded him an opportunity to give his affections full scope, and to cry unto the Lord with a loud voice. It is presumed, that his being at some such time overheard, was what gave rise to the ignorant and malicious slander of his being a wizard.

Mr. *Welch* married *Elizabeth Knox*, daughter to the famous Mr. *John Knox*, minister of *Edinburgh*, commonly called the Apostle of *Scotland*, who lived with him from his youth till his death; and by whom he had three sons. The first was a doctor of physic, unhappily killed, through an innocent mistake, in the *Low Countries*. Another was lost at sea, who, when the ship sunk, swam to a rock, but perished for want of food; he was found sometime after in a praying posture, upon his knees, with his hands lifted up to heaven. The third, was Mr. *Josias Welch*, minister at *Temple-patrick*, in the north of *Ireland*; a man highly favored of GOD, both as to grace and gifts; and commonly called the COCK OF THE CONSCIENCE, because of his extraordinary talent in awakening and rousing the consciences of sinners. He was one of that blessed society of ministers, instrumental in that extraordinary work of GOD in the north of *Ireland*, about the year 1639; but was himself exceedingly troubled with doubts and fears about his own salvation, and would often say, 'That minister was much to be pitied, who was called to comfort weak saints, and had no comfort himself.' He died a young man, and left for his successor Mr. *John Welch*, minister at *Iron-gray*, in *Galloway*, the place of his grandfather's nativity: Where he [Mr. *John Welch*], in some of the most dreadful times of persecution, that *Scotland* ever knew, maintained his dangerous post of preaching

preaching the gospel upon the mountains of *Scotland*, notwithstanding the threatenings against him, and the price set upon his head, with all the fierce industry of his enemies. It is well known, that one *Claverhouse*, a bitter persecutor, upon secret information from his spies, that Mr. *Welch* was to be found in some lurking place, though at forty miles distance, made that long journey in a winter's night, that he might take him; but, through the interposition of divine Providence, he always missed his prey. There was scarce ever a man that endured more toil, went through greater dangers, and escaped more snares than Mr. *John Welch*. When his friends used to advise him to be more cautious, and not to endanger himself so much; he would answer, "That he firmly believed dangerous undertakings would be his security; and that, whenever he should give over that course, and retire himself, his ministry would come to an end:" Which accordingly came to pass; for when, after the great slaughter made at *Bothwell-bridge*, he retired to *London*, the Lord called him by death, and he was honorably buried, in *Westminster*.

Notwithstanding, he walked with GOD, like *Enoch* of old, he forgot not to conduct himself with propriety towards man; for he frequently dined abroad with such friends as he thought might maintain the communion of saints: And, once a year, invited a great number of his friends in the town to dine with him, whom he treated as became a minister and a Christian.

Mr. *Welch* continued in his ministry with great success, till the troubles arose in *Scotland*, about the year 1602, upon the attempt to establish episcopacy by K. *James I.* We will not trouble our Readers with the disgusting recital of those broils which then were kindled upon outward church government, and which, in almost all ages, have miserably rent and distracted the Christian world. Nor will we presume to justify many of the public measures then taken, nor yet the bitterness and bigotry of spirit with which they were often opposed. Suffice it for us to relate, according to truth, that Mr. *Welch* was one of those, who thought himself bound in conscience to oppose the episcopal system, and that he did it with all his might. He was therefore taken up and tried for disseminating sedition, and afterwards condemned to be banished. This was in the year 1605.

While he was under confinement at *Blackness*, he wrote his letter to the countess of *Wigtown*, which, as it hath been

been much celebrated and admired by the religious people in *Scotland*, we presume will not be unacceptable to our Readers.

"The consolation of the Holy Ghost be multiplied unto you by Jesus Christ."

*"O*FTEN and many times, Christian and elect lady, I have desired the opportunity to be comforted with that consolation wherewith it hath pleased God, of his free grace and mercy, to fill and furnish you. Your remembrance is very sweet and comfortable to my very soul: Since the time I knew you in *Christ Jesus*, I have ever been mindful of you unto the Lord, and now, not being able to refrain any longer, I could not omit this occasion; not knowing how long it may please the Lord to continue my being in this tabernacle, or give me further occasion of writing to any.

Although I have not great matter at this time, yet, in remembrance of your labour of love, hope, and patience, I must needs salute your ladyship, knowing assuredly, you are the chosen of God, set apart before ever the world was, to that glorious and eternal inheritance. Being thus comforted in your faith and hope, I am fully assured, though we never have the occasion of meeting here, yet we shall reign together in the world to come.

My desire to remain here is not great, knowing, that so long as I am in this house of clay, I am absent from God; and if it were dissolved, I look for a building, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. In this I groan, desiring to be clothed upon, with my house which is in heaven: If so that being clothed, I shall not be found naked. For I that am within this tabernacle do often groan and sigh within myself; being oftentimes burdened: Not that I would be unclothed, but clothed upon; that mortality might be swallowed up of life. I long to eat of that tree which is planted in the midst of the paradise of God, and to drink of the pure river, clear as cryстал, that runs through the streets of the *New Jerusalem*. I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the last day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy my body, yet in my flesh shall I see God: Whom I shall see for myself, and not another for me; and mine eyes shall behold him,

"though

" *though my reins be consumed within me.* I long to be re-
 " freshed with the souls of them that are under the altar,
 " who were slain for the word of God, and the testimony
 " they held, and to have these long white robes given
 " me, that I may walk in white raiment, with those glo-
 " rious saints who have washed their garments, and have
 " made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Why
 " should I think it a strange thing to be removed from
 " this place to that, wherein my hope, my joy, my
 " crown, my elder brother, my head, my Father, my
 " Comforter, and all the glorious saints are; and where
 " the song of *Moses* and the Lamb are sung joyfully;
 " where we shall not be compelled to sit by the rivers of
 " *Babylon*, and to hang our harps upon the willow-trees;
 " but shall take them up and sing the hallelujah, blessing,
 " honour, glory, and power, to him that sits upon the
 " throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever? What is
 " there under the old vault of the heavens, and in this
 " old worn earth, which is under the bondage of cor-
 " ruption, groaning and travelling in pain, and shoot-
 " ing out the head, looking, waiting, and longing, for
 " the redemption of the sons of God? What is there, I
 " say, that should make me desire to remain here? I ex-
 " pect that new heavens, and that new earth, wherein
 " righteousness dwelleth, wherein I shall rest for ever-
 " more. I look to get entry into the *New Jerusalem*, at
 " one of those twelve gates, whereupon are written the
 " names of the twelve tribes of the children of *Israel*.
 " I know that *Christ Jesus* hath prepared them for me.
 " Why may I not then, with boldness in his blood, step
 " into that glory, where my head and Lord hath gone
 " before me? *Jesus Christ* is the door, and the porter;
 " who then shall hold me out? will he let them perish
 " for whom he died? will he let them, poor sheep, be
 " plucked out of his hand for whom he hath laid down
 " his life? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of the
 " man for whom *Christ* hath died, or rather risen again?
 " I know I have grievously transgressed, but where sin
 " abounded, grace will superabound. I know my sins
 " are red as scarlet and crimson, yet the red blood of
 " *Christ* my Lord can make them as white as snow or
 " wool: *Whom have I in heaven but him, or whom desire*
 " *I in the earth besides him?* Psalm lxxiii. 25. *O thou the*
 " *fairest among the children of men,* Psalm xlv. 2. The
 " light of the Gentiles, the glory of the Jews, the life
 " of the dead, the joy of angels and saints, my soul pant-
 " eth

"eth to be with thee; I will put my spirit into thy hands,
 "and thou wilt not put me out of thy presence; I will
 "come unto thee, for thou castest none away that come
 "unto thee, O thou the delight of mankind! Thou
 "comest to seek and to save that which was lost; thou
 "seeking me hast found me, and now being found by
 "thee, I hope, O Lord, thou wilt not let me perish; I
 "desire to be with thee, and do long for the fruition of
 "thy blessed presence, and joy of thy countenance:
 "Thou, the only good shepherd, art full of grace and
 "truth; therefore I trust thou wilt not thrust me out of
 "the door of grace: The law was given by *Moses*, but
 "grace and truth came by *Thee*: Who shall separate me
 "from thy love? Shall tribulation, or distress, or per-
 "secution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?
 "Nay, in all these things I am more than conqueror,
 "through thy majesty who hast loved me: For I am per-
 "suaded, that neither death, nor life, nor principalities,
 "nor powers, nor any other creature is able to separate
 "me from the love of the majesty which is in *Christ Jesus*
 "my Lord. I refuse not to die with thee, that I may
 "live with thee: I refuse not to suffer with thee, that I
 "may rejoice with thee. Shall not all things be plea-
 "sant to me, which may be the last step, by which, and
 "upon which, I may come unto thee? When shall I be
 "satisfied with thy face? When shall I be drunk with
 "thy pleasures? Come, Lord Jesus, and tarry! not.
 "The spirit says, come; the bride says, come; even so,
 "Lord Jesus, come quickly, and tarry not.
 "Why should the multitude of my iniquities, or great-
 "ness of them affright me? Why should I faint in this
 "my desire to be with thee? The greater sinner I have
 "been, the greater glory will thy grace be to thee unto
 "all eternity. O unspeakable joy, endless, infinite and
 "bottomless compassion! O sea of never fading pleasures!
 "O love of loves! O the breadth, and height, and depth,
 "and length of that love of thine, that passeth all know-
 "ledge! The love of *Jonathan* was great indeed to *Da-*
 "*vid*, it passed the love of women; but thy love, O Lord,
 "passeth all created love! O uncreated love! beginning
 "without beginning, and ending without end. O thou
 "art my glory, my joy, and my gain, and my crown;
 "thou hast set me under thy shadow with great delight,
 "and thy fruit is sweet unto my taste: Thou hast brought
 "me into thy banqueting-house, and placed me in thy
 "orchard: Stay me with flagons and comfort me with
 "apples,

“ apples, for I am sick, and my soul is wounded with
 “ love. Behold thou art fair, my love; behold thou art
 “ fair, thou hast doves eyes: Behold thou art fair, my
 “ beloved; yea pleasant: Also our bed is green; the
 “ beams of our house are cedars, and our rafters are of
 “ fir: How fair and how pleasant art thou, O full of all
 “ delights! my heart is ravished with thee: O when
 “ shall I see thy face! how long wilt thou delay to be
 “ with me as a roe, or a young hart, leaping upon the
 “ mountains, and skipping upon the hills: As a bundle
 “ of myrrh be thou to me, and lye all night betwixt my
 “ breasts: Because of the savour of thy good ointments:
 “ Thy name is as ointment poured forth: Therefore desire
 “ I to go out of this desert, and to come to the place
 “ where thou sittest at thy repast, and where thou makest
 “ thy flocks to rest at noon. When shall I be filled with
 “ his love? Surely, if a man knew how precious it were,
 “ he would count all things dross and dung to gain it:
 “ Truly I would long for that scaffold, or that ax, or
 “ that cord, that might be to me that last step of this my
 “ wearisome journey, to go to thee, my Lord. Thou
 “ who knowest the meaning of the spirit, give answer to
 “ the speaking, sighing, and groaning of the spirit: Thou
 “ who hast enflamed my heart to speak unto thee in this
 “ silent, yet lovely, language of ardent and fervent desires,
 “ speak again unto my heart, and answer my desires,
 “ which thou hast made me speak to thee, 1 Cor. xv. 55.
 “ *O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy vic-*
 “ *tory? the sting of death is sin; the strength of sin is the*
 “ *law.* But thanks be to God, who giveth to me the victory
 “ through Jesus Christ.

“ What can be troublesome unto me, since my Lord
 “ looks upon me with so loving and amiable a coun-
 “ tenance? And how greatly do I long for these em-
 “ bracements of my Lord? *O that he would kiss me*
 “ *with the kisses of his mouth, Cant. i. 2. for his love*
 “ *is better than wine!* O that my soul were the throne
 “ wherein he might dwell eternally! O that my heart
 “ were the temple wherein he might be magnified, and
 “ dwell for ever? All glory be unto my God; angels
 “ and saints, praise ye him; O thou earth, yea hills
 “ and mountains, be glad; you shall not be wearied any
 “ more with the burden of corruption, whereunto you
 “ have been subject through the wickedness of mankind.
 “ Lift up your heads and be glad, for a fire shall make
 “ you clean from all your corruption and vanity, where-
 “ with for many years you have been infected. Let the
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“ bride rejoice, let all the saints rejoice, for the day of
 “ the marriage with the bridegroom (even the Lamb of
 “ God) is at hand, and his fair white robes shall be gi-
 “ ven her; she shall be arrayed with the golden vestry
 “ and needle-work of his manifold graces, that shall be
 “ put upon her: He, who is her life, shall quickly ap-
 “ pear, and she shall quickly appear with him in the
 “ glory and happiness of a consummate marriage. But
 “ I must remember myself, I know I have been greatly
 “ strengthened and sustained by your prayers, (honour-
 “ able lady, and dearly beloved in our Lord *Jesus*) con-
 “ tinue, I pray you, as you have begun, in wrestling
 “ with the Lord for me, that *Christ* may be magnified in
 “ my mortal body, whether living or dead, that my soul
 “ may be lifted up to the third heavens, that I may taste
 “ of these joys that are at the right-hand of my heavenly
 “ Father, and that with gladness I may let my spirit go
 “ thither where my body shall shortly follow. Who am
 “ I, that he should first have called me, and then consti-
 “ tute me a minister of the glad tidings of the gospel of
 “ salvation these years already, and now, last of all, to be
 “ a sufferer for his cause and kingdom? Now let it be so,
 “ that I have fought my fight and run my race, and now
 “ from henceforth is laid up for me that crown of righte-
 “ ousness, which the Lord, that righteous God, will
 “ give, and not to me only, but to all that love his ap-
 “ pearance; and chuse to witness this, that *Jesus Christ* is
 “ the king of saints, and that his church is a most free
 “ kingdom, yea, as free as any kingdom under heaven,
 “ not only to convocate, hold and keep her meetings, and
 “ conventions and assemblies, but also to judge of all her
 “ affairs, in all her meetings and conventions amongst
 “ her members and subjects.

“ These two points, first, That *Christ* is the head
 “ of his church; secondly, That she is free in her
 “ government from all other jurisdiction except *Christ's*:
 “ These two points, I say, are the special causes of our
 “ imprisonment, being now convicted as traitors for
 “ maintaining thereof: We have been ever waiting
 “ with joyfulness to give the last testimony of our
 “ blood in confirmation thereof, if it should please our
 “ God to be so favourable as to honour us with this dig-
 “ nity: Yea, I do affirm, that these two points above
 “ written, and all other things which belong to *Christ's*
 “ crown, sceptre, and kingdom, are not subject, nor
 “ cannot be, to any other authority, but to his own al-
 “ together. So that I would be most glad to be offered

“ up

“ up a sacrifice for so glorious a truth : But, alas ! I fear
 “ that my sins, and the abuse of so glorious things as I
 “ have found, deprive me of so fair a crown ; yet my
 “ Lord doth know, if he would call me to it, and
 “ strengthen me in it, it would be to me the most glori-
 “ ous day and gladdest hour, I ever saw in this life ; but
 “ I am in his hand, to do with me whatsoever shall please
 “ his majesty. It may suffice me, I have had so long a
 “ time in the knowledge of the gospel ; and that I have
 “ seen the things that I have seen, and heard the things
 “ that I have heard, and through the grace of God I have
 “ been so long a witness of these glorious and good news,
 “ in my weak ministry, and that my witnessing hath not
 “ been altogether without fruit and blessing ; so that I
 “ hope at that day, I shall have him to be my crown, my
 “ glory, my joy, and reward, and therefore, boldly, I say
 “ with *Simeon, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in*
 “ *peace,* (not in a peaceable dying in my body) but by
 “ rendering up to him my spirit, and the sealing and
 “ stamping this truth with my blood. I desire not to
 “ have it remedied ; but let my Lord’s will be done.

“ Now that prophecy is at hand, which these two wor-
 “ thy servants of the Lord, Mr. *George Wishart*, and Mr.
 “ *John Knox*, my father-in-law, spake ; which was,
 “ *That Christ should be crucified in this kingdom, but glori-*
 “ *ous should be his resurrection,* as Mr. *Knox* with his own
 “ hand upon the margin of *Calvin’s Harmony* upon the
 “ *Passion* did write, which is yet extant : But alas ! for
 “ this kingdom. My testimony now doth not differ from
 “ that of many before this time, who said, that the king-
 “ dom of *Scotland* should be blood, the kingdom shall be
 “ drenched in blood, a fourbished and glittering sword is
 “ already drawn out of the scabbard, which shall not re-
 “ turn until it be made drunk with the blood of the men
 “ of this land ; first the heavy intestine sword, and then
 “ the sword of the stranger. O *doleful Scotland !* well
 “ were he that were removed from thee, that his eyes
 “ might not see, nor his ears hear all the evils that are to
 “ come upon thee ; neither the strong man by his strength,
 “ nor the rich man by his riches, nor the nobleman by
 “ blood, shall be delivered from the judgements. There
 “ is a great sacrifice to be made in *Bozrah*, in thee, O
 “ *Scotland*, of the blood of all sorts in the land ; *Ephraim*
 “ shall consume *Manasseh*, and *Manasseh* *Ephraim* : Bro-
 “ ther against brother, and every man in the judgement
 “ of the Lord shall be armed, to thrust his sword in the

“ side of his neighbour, and all for the contempt of the
 “ glorious gospel : And that blood which was offered to
 “ thee, O *Scotland*, in so plenteous a manner, that the
 “ like thereof hath not been offered to any nation ; there-
 “ fore thy judgement shall be greater : But the sanctuary
 “ must be begun at, and the measure is not fulfilled, till
 “ the blood of the saints be shed ; then the cries will be
 “ great, and will not stay, till they bring the Lord down
 “ from heaven his throne, to see if the sins of *Scotland* be
 “ according to the cry thereof ; neither shall there be any
 “ subject in the land from the greatest to the meanest
 “ guiltless. The guilt of our blood shall not only lye
 “ upon our prince, but also upon our own brethren, bi-
 “ shops, counsellors, and commissioners ; it is they,
 “ even they that have stirred up our prince against us :
 “ We must therefore lay the blame, and burden of our
 “ blood upon them especially, however the rest above-
 “ written be partakers of their sins with them : And as to
 “ the rest of our brethren, who either by silence approve,
 “ or by crying peace, peace, strengthen the arm of the
 “ wicked, that they cannot return ; in the mean time
 “ make the hearts of the righteous sad ; they shall all in
 “ like manner be guilty of high-treason against the King
 “ of kings, the Lord *Jesus Christ*, his crown and king-
 “ dom.

“ Next unto them, all our commissioners, chancellor,
 “ president, comptroller, advocate ; and next unto them,
 “ all that first or last sat in the council, and did not bear
 “ plain testimony for *Jesus Christ* and his kingdom, for
 “ which we do suffer : And next unto them, all those
 “ who should have at present, and who should at such
 “ times have come, and made open testimony of *Christ*
 “ faithfully, although it had been contrary to plain law,
 “ and with the hazard of their lives. When the poor
 “ *Jews* were in such danger, that nothing was expected
 “ but utter destruction, *Q. Esther*, after three days fast-
 “ ing, concluded thus with herself, *I will*, said she, *go*
 “ *into the king, though it be not according to law ; and if I*
 “ *perish, I perish*, *Esther* iv. 16. With this resolution,
 “ such as are born counsellors should have said, *Christ's*
 “ kingdom is now at hand, and I am bound also, and
 “ sworn, by a special covenant, to maintain the doctrine
 “ and discipline thereof, according to my vocation and
 “ power, all the days of my life ; under all the pains
 “ contained in the book of God, and danger of body and
 “ soul, in the day of God's fearful judgement ; And there-
 “ fore,

“ fore, though I should perish in the cause, yet will I
 “ speak for it, and to my power defend it, according to
 “ my vocation. Finally, All those that counsel, com-
 “ mand, consent, and allow, are guilty in the sight of
 “ our God: But the mourners for these evils, and the
 “ faithful of the land, and those who are unfeignedly
 “ grieved in heart for all these abominations, those shall
 “ be marked as not guilty, *Ezek. ix.*

“ I know not, whether I shall have occasion to write
 “ again; and therefore, by this letter, as my latter will
 “ and testament, I give testimony, warning, and know-
 “ ledge of these things to all men, according to the Lord’s
 “ direction to the prophet, *Son of man, I have made thee*
 “ *a watchman*, *Ezek. xxxiii. 7, &c.* Therefore I give
 “ warning to all men hereby, that no man’s blood be re-
 “ quired at my hands. Thus desiring the help of your
 “ prayers, with my humble commendations, and service
 “ in *Christ*, to my lord, your husband, and all the saints
 “ there: The messenger of peace be with you all for ever-
 “ more. *Amen.*

“ Yours, to my full power, for
 “ the time *Christ*’s prisoner,
 “ JOHN WELCH.”

Blacknefs,
January 6, 1606.

Several very extraordinary circumstances are related of Mr. *Welch* by his biographer, which, because they are extraordinary and must depend upon the veracity of the relater, we will transcribe and leave to the judgement of our Readers.

Mr. *Welch* was sometime prisoner in the castle of *Edinburgh* before his banishment, where, one night, sitting at supper with Lord *Ochiltree*, Mrs. *Welch*’s uncle, he entertained the company with his usual religious and edifying conversation, which was well received by all the company except one debauched, popish, young gentleman, who sometimes laughed, and sometimes mocked and made faces: Upon which Mr. *Welch* demanded silence of the company, and that they would observe the work of the Lord upon that prophane mocker, which they should presently behold: Immediately the poor wicked wretch fell down under the table, and died, to the great astonishment of all present.

About the same time, another remarkable circumstance happened. Lord *Ochiltree*, the captain of the castle, and son to the above-mentioned good lord *Ochiltree*, was very civil to Mr. *Welch*; but had not been able for some time,
 through

through a multitude of affairs, to visit Mr. *Welch* in his chambers; yet walking in the court one day, he saw him look out of his window, and asked him kindly, 'How he did, and if in any thing he could serve him?' Mr. *Welch* answered, and said, "My lord, as you are soon to go to court, I earnestly entreat you to petition the king, [K. *James*] in my name, that I may have liberty to preach the gospel:" This his lordship promised to do. Mr. *Welch* added, "My Lord, both because you are my kinsman, and for other reasons, I would earnestly entreat and desire you not to promise, except you faithfully perform." His lordship replied, 'He would faithfully perform his promise:' And soon set out for *London*. At his first arrival, he fully purposed to present the petition; but finding the king in a rage at the godly ministers, he durst not then present it; thinking he should meet with a fairer opportunity bye and bye; but at length, he forgot it entirely. The first time Mr. *Welch* saw him after his return home, he asked him, "What he had done with his petition?" His lordship answered, 'He had presented it to the king; but that he was in so great a rage against the ministers at that time, he believed it had been forgot; for he had received no answer.'—"Nay, (said Mr. *Welch*), My lord, you should not lie to God and to me; for I know you never delivered it, though I warned you to take heed, and not to undertake it, except you would perform it; but because you have dealt so unfaithfully; remember God shall take from you both estate and honours, and give them to your neighbour in your own time:" Which truly came to pass, for, in his own time, both his estate and honors were translated upon *James Stuart*.

While he was still a prisoner in *Edinburgh*, his wife who lived with him, had a great desire to see her family in *Air*, to which, with some difficulty he consented; but when she entered upon her journey, he strictly charged her, when she came to *Air*, not to take the ordinary way to her house, nor to pass by the bridge through the town; but to cross the river above the bridge, in her way home, and not to come into the town at all: For (said he), "Before you come thither, you shall find the plague has broken out in *Air*." Which was indeed the case, as she found when she came there.

The plague being among his people grieved him much, being separated from them. But when some of them came to him from *Air*, to bemoan themselves; he answered them,

them, “*Hugh Kennedy* (a godly man in *Air*), should pray “for them; and God would hear him.” This counsel they accepted; and that gentleman, convening several proper people of the place, prayed fervently for the town (for he was a second *Welch* in wrestling mightily with GOD in prayer) and accordingly after that, the plague decreased.

The time now being come that Mr. *Welch* should leave *Scotland*, never to see it again; he, with many more, under the same condemnation, went on board a ship at *Leith*, on the seventh day of *November*, in the year 1606; and although as early as two o'clock in the morning, there were great numbers of people, waiting with their afflicted families, to bid them farewell. After prayer, they sang the twenty-third *Psalms*; and then, to the great grief of a multitude of spectators, they set sail for the south of *France*, and landed in the river of *Bordeaux*.

In about the space of fourteen weeks after his arrival, the Lord so succeeded his diligence and application, that he was able to preach in *French*; and was in a short time called to the ministry, first in one village, then in another; one of which was *Nerac*. Afterward he was settled in *St. Jean d'Angely*, a considerable walled town, where he abode during his stay in *France*; which was about sixteen years. When he began first to preach, it was observed, by some of his hearers, that while he continued in the doctrinal part of his sermon, he spoke *French* very accurately; but when he came to his application, and began to grow warm in his affections, his fervor made him sometimes neglect the accuracy of the *French* construction: But being admonished of this by some pious young men, which he took in good part, he proposed the following remedy in future; that two of them should sit opposite the pulpit, and when they perceived him beginning to decline, they should stand up, as a watch-word to him. By which means he acquired a wonderful exactness throughout his whole sermon. So desirous was he to deliver good matter in a graceful manner.

There were many times persons of great quality in his auditory, before whom he was just as bold as ever he had been in a *Scots* village; which moved Mr. *Boyd* of *Trochrig*, once to ask him (after he had preached before the university of *Saumur*, with such boldness and authority as if he had been before the meanest congregation) how he could be so confident among strangers, and persons of such quality? To which he answered, that he was so
filled

filled with the dread of GOD, he had no apprehension from men at all: And 'this answer (said Mr. *Boyd*), did 'not remove my admiration, but rather increased it.'

He had several young gentlemen boarded in the house with him, for the sake of his edifying company and conversation, among whom was the heir of lord *Ochiltree*, captain of the castle of *Edinburgh*. This young nobleman, after he had gained much upon Mr. *Welch*'s affections, fell sick, and after wasting away for a long time, closed his eyes, and, to the apprehension of all present, expired: Accordingly, he was taken out of his bed and laid upon a pallet, agreeable to the custom of the place. This was matter of great grief to Mr. *Welch*, who stayed full three hours in the room, lamenting over him with great tenderness. After twelve hours, according to custom, they brought a coffin to put him in; but Mr. *Welch* desired, that, for the satisfaction of his affections, they would forbear for a time; with which they complied, and returned not again till twelve hours after, when, indeed, they earnestly importuned him, that the corps might be buried, because of the extreme heat of the weather: But he again requested they would indulge him once more; which they did first till the corps had laid thirty-six hours on the pallet; and again, till they supposed he had been dead forty-eight hours. They then perceived, that Mr. *Welch* did not believe the young man really dead, but in some kind of fit; and advised to send for physicians and surgeons, and satisfy himself by some experiment. He agreed to what they proposed; and the gentlemen of the faculty first pinched the fleshy parts of his body with pincers, but without success; then they twisted a string about his head with great force, but no signs of life appearing they pronounced him *entirely* dead. Mr. *Welch* begged of them once more, that they would but step into the next room for an hour or two, and leave him with the dead youth; and this they granted. Then Mr. *Welch* fell down before the pallet, and cried unto the Lord with all his might for the last time, and sometimes looking upon the dead body, continuing in wrestling with the Lord, till at length the dead youth opened his eyes, and cried out to Mr. *Welch*, whom he distinctly knew, 'O sir, I am all whole but my head and 'legs:'. And these were the places they had sore hurt with their pinching.

When Mr. *Welch* perceived this, he called upon his friends, and shewed the dead young man restored to life again,

again, to their great astonishment. And this young nobleman, though his father lost the estate of *Ochiltree*, lived to acquire a great estate in *Ireland*, and was lord *Castle-Heuart*, and a man of such excellent parts, that he was courted by the earl of *Strafford*, to be a counsellor in *Ireland*, which he refused to be, until the godly silenced *Scottish* ministers, who suffered under the bishops in the north of *Ireland*, were restored to the exercise of their ministry; and then he engaged, and so continued for all his life, not only in honor and power, but in the profession and practice of godliness, to the great comfort of the country where he lived. "This story the nobleman communicated to his friends in *Ireland*, and from them I had it."

While Mr. *Welch* was minister in one of these *French* villages; one evening a popish friar, travelling through the country, because he could find no lodging in the whole village, addressed himself to Mr. *Welch*'s house, begging the favor of a lodging for that night. The servants informed Mr. *Welch*, who readily consented; but as he had supped, and family worship was over, he did not see the friar, but retired to his room. After the friar had supped, the servant shewed him to his chamber, between which and Mr. *Welch*'s there was but a thin deal partition. After the friar's first sleep, he was surprised with hearing a constant whispering kind of noise, at which he was exceedingly frightened.

The next morning, as he walked in the fields, a countryman met him; and, because of his habit, saluted him, asking him, 'where he had lodged that night?' The friar answered, with the *Hugonot* minister. The countryman asked him what entertainment he met with? The friar answered, 'Very bad; for (said he), I always imagined there were devils haunting these minister's houses, and I am persuaded there was one with me this night; for I heard a continual whisper all the night, which I believe was nothing else but the minister and the devil conversing together.' The countryman told him, he was much mistaken, and that it was only the minister at his night-prayers. 'Oh, said the friar, does the minister pray any?' 'Yes, said the countryman, more than any man in *France*; and if you will stay another night with him, you may be satisfied.' The friar returned to Mr. *Welch*'s house, and feigning indisposition, begged another night's lodging, which was granted him.

After a while Mr. *Welch* came down, and assembled the family, and, according to custom, first sang a psalm, then read a portion of scripture, which he briefly expounded, and then prayed in his usual fervent manner: To all which the friar was an astonished witness. At dinner the friar was very civilly entertained; Mr. *Welch* thinking it best to forbear all questions and disputes for the present. In the evening, Mr. *Welch* had family-worship, as in the morning, which occasioned still more wonder in the friar. After supper, they all retired; the friar longing to know what the night-whisper was. He laid awake till Mr. *Welch*'s usual time of night for rising to pray; when, hearing the same whispering noise, he crept softly to Mr. *Welch*'s door, and there heard not only the sound, but the words distinctly, and such communications between GOD and man as he knew not had been in the world. Upon this the friar waited for Mr. *Welch* to come out of his chamber; when he told him, he had lived in darkness and ignorance till this time, but was now resolved to give himself up entirely to Mr. *Welch*'s teaching; and declared himself a Protestant. Mr. *Welch* congratulated him upon his better understanding, and exceedingly encouraged him: And it is said, he lived and died a true Protestant. 'This account I had (says his biographer), from a very pious minister, who was bred in Mr. *Welch*'s house in France.

Lewis XIII. of France made war with the Protestants, on the score of religion, and at the head of his army besieged the city of *St. Jean d'Angely*; which, after a considerable siege, capitulated upon very advantageous terms. While the king remained in this town, after the capitulation, Mr. *Welch* continued to preach as usual; but the king hearing of it was much offended, and one day sent the duke d'*Espernon* to order him out of the pulpit, and to bring him before him. The duke went with his guard, and as soon as he entered the church where Mr. *Welch* was preaching, Mr. *Welch* desired the people to make way, and to set a seat, that the duke might hear the word of the Lord. The duke, instead of interrupting him, sat down, and heard him with great attention till he had finished his discourse; and then told him, he must go with him to the king; which Mr. *Welch* readily did. When the duke came to the king, the king asked him, 'Why he brought not the minister, and why he did not interrupt him?' The duke answered, 'Never man spake like this man; but that he had brought him with him.'

Whereupon

Whereupon Mr. *Welch* was called into the king's presence; and upon his admission silently prayed to GOD for wisdom and assistance. The king asked him, 'How ' he durst preach where he was, since it was against the ' law of *France*, for any man to preach within the verge ' of his court?' Mr. *Welch* answered, "Sir, if you did " right, you would come and hear me preach, and make " all *France* hear me likewise; for (said he), I preach " not as those men whom you hear; my preaching differs " from their's in these two points. First, I preach that " you must be saved by the merits and death of *Jesus* " *Christ*, and not by any merits or works of your own. " Next, I preach, that as you are king of *France*, you " are under the authority and command of no man on " earth: Those men (added he), whom you hear, sub- " ject you to the pope of *Rome*, which I will never do." The king replied no more, but, *Et bien vous etiez mon ministre*: 'Well, well, you shall be my minister.' Accordingly, he was favorably dismissed, and the king left the town in peace.

In a short time after, the war was renewed; and Mr. *Welch* then told the inhabitants of the city, that now their cup was full, and they should no more escape; which accordingly came to pass. The king ordered *Vitry*, captain of his guard, to preserve his minister from all danger; and to provide him with horses, and waggons, and all other conveniences necessary to convey him and his family to *Rochelle*. This story lord *Kenmure*, who was bred at Mr. *Welch*'s house, told Mr. *Livingston*, minister of *Ancrum*, and from him (says the biographer), I had it.

Soon after this, Mr. *Welch* obtained liberty to come to *England*; and his friends petitioned the king, that he might be permitted to return to *Scotland*; the physicians giving it as their opinion, that nothing could preserve his life, but his native air. But the king gave them an absolute denial; so he languished in *London* a considerable time. His disease was thought by some to be of the leprosy kind; but the physicians said, he had been poisoned. When, in the time of his weakness, he was desired to remit somewhat of his excessive labor and study; his answer was, "He had his life of God, and that it should " be spent for him." It is said, that by frequent and long praying, the flesh of his knees was hard and callous like horn.

His friends again importuned the king, that if he was not permitted to go to *Scotland*, he might at least have

liberty to preach in *London*; but neither would the king grant this request, till he heard all hopes of life were past; then, not fearing his activity, he allowed him. Mr. *Welch* no sooner heard that he had liberty to preach, than he readily embraced it; and having access to a lecturer's pulpit, he preached both long and fervently. This was the last performance of his life; for, after he had ended his sermon, he returned to his chamber, and within two hours, quietly and without pain, he resigned his spirit into his Maker's hands; and was buried near Mr. *Deering*, the famous *English* divine, in the year 1623, in the fifty-third year of his age.

He was of a strong, robust constitution, and underwent a deal of fatigue. Among his PAPERS were found *Saurez's* Metaphysics abridged; and a great number of Sermons, some of which were printed in *Glasgow* some years ago. He printed his Dispute with *Abbot Brown* the Papist, in which his learning appears to be nothing behind his other excellencies. Another Piece, called Dr. *Welch's* ARMA-GEDDON, he printed in *France*, in which are given his Meditations on the Enemies of the Church: But this performance is very rarely to be met with.

We will conclude this article with the extract of a letter, sent by Mr. *Welch* to the lady *Mar* while he was an exile in *France*, which has been preserved by the excellent Mr. *Fleming*.

" I thank my God, (says he) in *Christ*, for all the
 " gracious consolation it pleaseth him to vouchsafe on me
 " in the days of my affliction, whereby I perceive the
 " good pleasure of his will to minister unto me comfort,
 " that, not only with patience, but with joy, I may bear
 " his cross; and I dare not but give testimony, that the
 " Lord has been faithful in his promises, and has remem-
 " bered his mercy and covenant towards me, has made
 " his yoke easy and his burden light, and has caused his
 " consolations to abound, far beyond all that ever I yet
 " suffered. 'Tis true, it cannot but be sometimes griev-
 " ous to remember the glory that I have seen both in pub-
 " lic and private in the communion of saints, from which
 " I am now exiled; yet it pleaseth my Lord to minister
 " such tranquillity of mind unto me, that I cannot but
 " wonder at it, and at those exceeding and incredible joys,
 " wherewith I now see by experience it pleases him to
 " accompany his own cross. O how sweet a thing is it
 " to suffer for *Christ*! How glorious and rich treasures
 " are there, that lye hid under that vile and ignominious
 " veil

“ veil of the crosses! The world, yea, the princes and
 “ wise of this world know not the glorious and unspeak-
 “ able joys that are joined with the crosses: Yea, who
 “ knows it, but he that hath experience of it?—Surely
 “ affliction is a testimony and seal of the love of God!”

JOHN PISCATOR.

JOHN PISCATOR, a learned and laborious divine, was born at *Strasburg* in the year 1546. He was from a youth a lover of study, and made an early proficiency in learning; and, in his study of logic, reconciled and united *Aristotle* and his commentator *Peter Ramus*. Having made great progress in divinity, he was invited to *Herborn* to accept of the professor's chair, which he filled with such general satisfaction and so very agreeably to the students, that many flocked thither from *Germany*, *France*, *Poland*, and other northern countries. He was very diligent and laborious; scarce allowing himself sufficient time for sleep.

He wrote many things; and translated the whole bible with great industry and faithfulness into the *German* language; besides his analysis logical and theological of the greatest part of it. He died at *Herborn* in 1625, and in the eightieth year of his age. Our Dr. *Twisse* says of him, that he was an excellent scripture-divine, but no school-divine, and that therefore it is not to be wondered at, if he did not use the accuracy of scholastic expressions. But if what *Luther* says be right (as we are inclined to believe), *Bonus textuarius est theologus bonus*; i. e. ‘A good textuary is a good divine;’ it is possible to pardon him, especially as no man living can find out, what benefit ever occurred to the world from the scholastic divinity; unless the filling the pope's coffers can be thought to have been an advantage to it.

LANCELOT ANDREWS, D.D.

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

LANCELOT ANDREWS, an eminent divine, and bishop of *Winchester* in the reigns of *James I.* and *Charles I.* was born at *London*, in 1565, in the parish of *All-Hallows Barking*, being descended from the antient family of the *Andrews's* in *Suffolk*. He had his education in grammar-learning, first in the *Coopers' free-school* at *Ratcliff* under *Mr. Ward*; and afterwards in *Merchant-Taylor's school* at *London*, under *Mr. Mulcaster*. Here he made such a proficiency in the learned languages, that *Dr. Watts*, relictory of *St. Paul's* and archdeacon of *Middlesex*, who had lately founded some scholarships at *Pembroke-hall* in *Cambridge*, sent him to that college, and bestowed on him the first of those exhibitions. After he had been three years in the university, his custom was to come up to *London* once a year, about *Easter*, to visit his father and mother, with whom he usually stayed a month; during which time, with the assistance of a master, he applied himself to the attaining some language or art, to which he was before a stranger: And by this means, in a few years, he had laid the foundations of all the arts and sciences, and acquired a competent skill in most of the modern languages.

Having taken the degree of bachelor of arts, he was, upon a vacancy, chosen fellow of his college. In the mean time *Hugh Price*, having built *Jesus-college* in *Oxford*, and hearing much of the fame of young *Mr. Andrews*, appointed him one of his first fellows on that foundation. Having taken the degree of master of arts, he applied himself to the study of divinity, in the knowledge of which he greatly excelled; insomuch that, being chosen catechist in the college, and having undertaken to read a lecture on the ten commandments every *Saturday* and *Sunday* at three o'clock in the afternoon, great numbers out of the other colleges of the university, and even out of the country, duly resorted to *Pembroke-chapel*, as to a divinity lecture. At the same time, he was esteemed

so profound a casuist, that he was often consulted in the nicest and most difficult cases of conscience. And now his reputation being spread far and near, *Henry* earl of *Huntingdon* prevailed upon him to accompany him into the *North*, of which he was president; where, by his diligent preaching, and private conferences, in which he used a due mixture of zeal and moderation, he converted several recusants, priests as well as others, to the Protestant religion. From that time he began to be taken notice of by Sir *Francis Walsingham*, secretary of state to *Q. Elizabeth*. That minister, who was unwilling so fine a genius should be buried in the obscurity of a country benefice, his intent being to make him reader of controversies in the university of *Cambridge*, assigned him for his maintenance the lease of the parsonage of *Alton* in *Hampshire*, and afterwards procured for him the vicarage of *St. Giles's, Cripplegate*, in *London*.

Afterwards he was chosen a prebendary and residentiary of *St. Paul's*, as also prebendary of the collegiate church of *Southwell*. Being thus preferred to his own contentment, he distinguished himself as a diligent and excellent preacher, and read divinity lectures three times a week at *St. Paul's*, in term time. Upon the death of *Dr. Fulke*, he was chosen master of *Pembroke-hall*, of which he had been scholar and fellow: A place of more honor than profit, since he spent more upon it than he received from it, and was a considerable benefactor to that college. He was appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to *Q. Elizabeth*, who took such delight in his preaching, that she first made him a prebendary of *Westminster*, in the room of *Dr. Richard Bancroft* promoted to the see of *London*; and afterwards dean of that church, in the room of *Dr. Gabriel Goodman* deceased. *Dr. Andrews* soon grew into far greater esteem with her successor *K. James I.* who not only gave him the preference to all other divines as a Preacher, but likewise made choice of him to vindicate his sovereignty against the virulent pens of his enemies.

That king promoted him to the bishopric of *Chichester*, to which he was consecrated *November 3, 1605*. At the same time he made him his lord almoner; in which place of great trust he behaved with singular fidelity, disposing of the royal benevolence in the properest manner, and not making those advantages to himself that he might legally and fairly have done. Upon the vacancy of the bishopric of *Ely*, he was advanced to that see, and con-

secrated

fecrated September 22, 1609. He was nominated one of his majesty's privy counsellors of *England*; and afterwards of *Scotland*, when he attended the king in his journey to that kingdom. After he had sat nine years in that see, he was advanced to the bishopric of *Winchester*, and deanery of the king's chapel, February 18, 1618; which two last preferments he held till his death.

There is a pleasant story related of him, while he was bishop of *Winchester*, in the life of Mr. *Waller* the poet. That gentleman going to see the king at dinner, overheard a very extraordinary conversation between his majesty and two prelates, our Bishop of *Winchester*, and Dr. *Neale*, bishop of *Durham*, who were standing behind the king's chair. His majesty asked the bishops, 'My lords, cannot I take my subjects money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?' The bishop of *Durham* readily answered, 'God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils.' Whereupon the king turned, and said to the bishop of *Winchester*, 'Well, my lord, what say you?' 'Sir, (replied the Bishop) I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases.' The king answered, 'No put-offs, my lord; answer me presently.' 'Then, sir, (said he) I think it lawful for you to take my brother *Neale's* money, for he offers it.'

This great prelate was in no less reputation and esteem with *K. Charles I.* than he had been with his predecessors. At length he departed this life, at *Winchester-house* in *Southwark*, September 25, 1626, in the seventy-first year of his age; and was buried in the parish-church of *St. Saviour's Southwark*; where his executors erected to him a very fair monument of marble and alabaster, on which is an elegant *Latin* inscription, written by one of his chaplains. His bones, not many years since, were displaced, and upon taking them away (as it seems) to make room for other occupants, the hair of his beard, and his silken cap, were found undecayed in the remains of his coffin.

His WORKS. Besides the *Tortura Torti*, bishop *Andrews* wrote A Manual of private Devotions and Meditations for every Day in the Week*, and A Manual of

* This excellent Piece was written in *Greek* and *Latin*. The words are generally taken from the scriptures, or made as nearly as possible to them in a precatory form. They are, of course, full of pathos and fervent affection. A very proper book for serious young persons, who are acquiring the learned languages.

Directions for the Visitation of the Sick ; besides Sermons, and several Tracts in *English* and *Latin* published after his death. He had a share in the translation of the *Pentateuch*, and the historical books from *Joshua* to the first book of *Chronicles* exclusively.

The character of bishop *Andrews*, both public and private, was in every respect great and singular. The author of his life, so often referred to, celebrates in particular his great zeal and piety, his charity and compassion, his fidelity and integrity, his gratitude and thankfulness, his munificence and bounty, his hospitality, his humanity and affability, his modesty, his diligent application to study, and his talents as a preacher and a writer. He generally hated all sorts of vices, but more especially three, which were, usury, simony, and sacrilege. K. *James* had so great an awe and veneration for him, that, in his presence, he refrained from that mirth and levity, in which he indulged himself at other times. What opinion my lord *Clarendon* had of him, appears from hence, that, in mentioning the death of Dr. *Bancroft*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, he remarks, that ‘ if he had been succeeded by ‘ bishop *Andrews*, or any man who understood and loved ‘ the church, that infection would easily have been kept ‘ out, which could not afterwards be so easily expelled.’ Our great poet *Milton* thought him worthy of his pen, and wrote a *Latin* elegy on his death. His style and manner of writing, however admired in that age, are very exceptionable in the opinion of the best critics of the present.

We will sum up the character of this truly Reverend Man in the words of the bishop of *Ely*, which he delivered in his sermon upon the occasion of his death. ‘ His admirable knowledge in the learned tongues, *Latin*, *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, besides ‘ other modern tongues to the number of fifteen (as I am ‘ informed), was such and so rare, that he may well be ‘ ranked in the first place, to be one of the rarest linguists ‘ in *Christendom*; in which he was so perfect and absolute, both for grammar and profound knowledge therein, that he was so perfect in the grammar and criticisms of them, as if he had utterly neglected the matter itself; and yet was so exquisite and sound in the matter and learning of these tongues, as if he had never regarded the grammar.—Of this Reverend Prelate, I ‘ may say, his life was a life of prayer: A great part of ‘ five hours every day, he spent in prayer and devotion to

VOL. II. 3 K ‘ God.

‘ God. After the death of his brother *Thomas Andrews*, whom he loved dearly, he began to reckon of his own, which he said would be in the end of summer or the beginning of winter. And when his brother *Nicholas Andrews* died, he took that as a certain warning of his own death; and from that time till the hour of his dissolution, he spent all his time in prayer. And in his last sickness continued, when awake, to pray audibly, till his strength failed, and then by lifting up his eyes and hands, shewed that he still prayed; and then when both voice, and eyes, and hands, failed in their office, his countenance shewed that he still prayed and praised God in his heart, till it pleased God to receive his blessed soul to himself, which was about four o’clock in the morning of *Monday* the twenty-fifth of *September*, 1626.’

His WORKS, besides those above-mentioned. “ 1. *Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini, quam nuper edidit contra Præfationem Monitoriam serenissimi ac potentissimi principis Jacobi, &c. omnibus Christianis Monarchis, Principibus, atque Ordinibus inscriptam*, i. e. An Answer to the Apology of Cardinal Bellarmin, which he lately published against the Monitory Preface of the most serene and potent Prince King *James*, &c. addressed to all Christian Monarchs, Princes, and States. 2. *Tortura Torti*. 3. *Concio ad Clerum pro Gradu Doctoris*. i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy for the Degree of Doctor in Divinity. 4. *Concio ad Clerum in Synodo Provinciali Cantuariensis Provinciæ aa Divi Pauli*. i. e. A Sermon to the Clergy in the Provincial Synod of the Province of *Canterbury*, at *St. Paul’s*. 5. *Concio Latine habita coram regia Majestate quinto Augusti MDCVI, in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore venerat in Angliam, Regem nostrum invisurus, serenissimus potentissimusque princeps Christianus Quartus Daniæ & Norvegiæ Rex*. i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at *Greenwich*, August 5, 1606, at the time when the most serene and powerful Prince *Christiern IV.* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, was come into *England* to visit our King. 6. *Concio Latine habita coram regia Majestate decimo tertio Aprilis MDCXIII, in Aula Grenvici, quo tempore, cum lectissima sua conjuge, discessurus erat Gener Regis, serenissimus potentissimusque princeps Fridericus Comes Palatinus ad Rhenum*. i. e. A Latin Sermon, preached before the King in the Hall at *Greenwich*, April 13, 1613, when the King’s Son-in-law, the most serene and potent Prince *Frederic Count Palatine of the Rhine*, was about to depart

with his dearest Consort. 7. *Questionis nunquid per jus divinum magistratui liceat à reo iurandum exigere? & id quatenus & quousque liceat?* Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ mense Julii, Anno 1591. i. e. A Theological Determination of the question, Whether the Civil Magistrate has a Right by the Law of GOD, to require an oath of an accused Person, and how far it may be lawful; held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge, in the month of July, 1591. 8. *De Usuris Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ.* i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Usury, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge. 9. *De Decimis Theologica Determinatio, habita in publica Schola Theologica Cantabrigiæ.* i. e. A Theological Determination concerning Tythes, held in the public Divinity School of Cambridge. 10. *Responsiones ad Petri Molinæi Epistolas.* i. e. Answers to three of Du Moulin's Letters, with Du Moulin's Letters. 11. *Stricturæ:* Or, A Brief Answer to the Eighteenth Chapter of the first Book of Cardinal Perron's Reply, written in French, to K. James his Answer, written by Mr. Casaubon in Latin. 12. An Answer to the twentieth Chapter of Cardinal Perron's Reply, &c. 13. A Speech delivered in the Star-Chamber, concerning Vows, in the Countess of Shrewsbury's Case. These pieces were printed at London, after the Author's death, by Felix Kyngston, in 4to, 1629, and dedicated to K. Charles I. by the Bishops of London and Ely. There are extant, besides, 15. The Moral Law expounded: Or, Lectures on the Ten Commandments; whereunto is annexed nineteen Sermons upon Prayer in general, and upon the Lord's Prayer in particular; published by John Jackson, and dedicated to the Parliament, London, 1642, fol. 16. *Αποσπασματια Sacra:* Or, A Collection of Posthumous and Orphan Lectures, delivered at St. Paul's and St. Giles's Cripplegate church London. 1657, fol.

PHILIP DE MORNAY,

LORD OF PLESSIS MARLY.

PHILIP DE MORNAY, lord of *Plessis Marly*, an illustrious French Protestant, privy counsellor of Henry IV. and governor of *Saumur*, was born at *Bubi* in *Vexin*, upon the 5th of November, 1549. He was descended from a very antient and noble family, which had in course of time divided itself into several branches, and produced many great and eminent men. His father, *James de Mornay*, had done great services to the royal family in the wars; but in the time of peace led a very retired life, and was greatly attached to the religion of his country. He designed *Philip* for the church, as he was a younger son, with a view of succeeding his uncle *Bertin de Mornay*, who was dean of *Beauvais*, and abbé of *Saumur*, and who had promised to resign those preferments to him; but these views were broken by the death of the uncle. In the mean time, his mother, who was the daughter of *Charles du Bec Crespin*, vice-admiral of France, and chamberlain to Francis II. was secretly an Hugonot; and had taken care to inspire her son insensibly with her own principles. His father died about two years after his uncle, when *Philip* was not more than ten years of age; and two years after, viz. in 1561, in reading the New Testament, it pleased the Lord so to enlighten him by that means, as to enable him to discover and abandon the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome: And, in the same year, his mother, making open profession of the Protestant religion, set up a lecture in her own house, which perfectly confirmed *Philip* in it. His literary education was all the while carrying on, with the utmost care and circumspection: He had masters provided in all languages and sciences; and the progress he made in all, was what might be expected from his very uncommon parts and application.

In

In the year 1567, *Mornay* was obliged to retire from *Paris*, where he was pursuing his studies, on account of the commotions which were breaking out again; and soon after he took up arms, and served a campaign or two. But having the misfortune to break one of his arms, he quitted the profession of a soldier, and began to entertain thoughts of travelling into foreign countries, not only to be out of the way, till the civil wars should be at an end, but for the sake of some baths, which he hoped would restore to him the free use of his arm. He arrived at *Geneva* in the latter end of *August*, 1568, not without the greatest danger and peril to himself; for all places were so full of soldiers, and the passages so guarded, that it was difficult for one of his religion to pass with safety. He made but a short stay at *Geneva*, on account of the plague, which was there; but, taking his way through *Switzerland*, he went to *Heidelberg*, in *Germany*. Here he became acquainted with *Emmanuel Tremellius*, and other learned men, and entered upon the study of the civil law. In *September* 1569, he went to *Francfort*, where he was affectionately received by the celebrated *Languet*, who gave him instructions for his future travels, and recommendatory letters to several great men. He staid some time afterwards at *Padua*, for the sake of perfecting himself farther in the knowledge of the civil law, and then proceeded to *Venice*.

He had a great desire to make the tour of the East; but, as the *Venetians* and *Turks* were then at war about the *Isle of Cyprus*, it was impossible for him to pass the coasts of *Istria* and *Dalmatia*, with any degree of safety. From *Venice*, in the year 1571, he went to *Rome*, where he came into perils about his religion. He had experienced something of this sort at *Venice*, where an officer of the inquisition had been very busy about him; but he had the happiness to escape in both places, and from *Rome* he returned to *Venice*, from *Venice* to *Vienna*; and from thence, after taking a round through *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Misnia*, *Saxony*, *Hesse*, *Franconia*, to *Francfort*, where he arrived in *September*, 1571. Though he was very young when he set out upon his travels, yet he ever conducted himself like a Christian and a philosopher; and made that profitable use of them, which a wise man will always make. He examined every thing, that was curious in every place; and that nothing might escape him, he attentively perused not only the general history of the countries, but also the histories of each particular town and province,

province, through which he passed. Nor was he only attentive to their antiquities; but remarked also whatever was worth notice in the manners, customs, policy, and constitution of each.

In the spring of the year 1572, he went into *Flanders* to survey the situation, the strength, the fortifications, and garrisons of that country, and afterwards passed over to *England*, where he was graciously received by *Q. Elizabeth*; for his parts, his knowledge, his uncommon capacity for the management of great affairs, had spread his name far and wide, and made him courted, especially by the great.

In 1575, he married, and published the same year a Treatise concerning Life and Death; for though *Mornay* was often employed in civil affairs, and oftner solicited to engage in them; yet as he was ever a lover of books and retirement, he spent a great deal of his time in reading and writing. In the year 1576, he was wounded and made a prisoner; but gaining his liberty, he went to the court of the king of *Navarre*, afterwards *Henry IV. of France*, who received him very graciously, gave him one of the first places in his council, and upon all occasions paid great deference to his judgement. *Mornay*, on his part, did the king great services. He went into *England* to solicit the assistance of *Q. Elizabeth* for him in 1577, into *Flanders* in 1578, and to the diet of *Augsburg* in 1579.

He was sent twice, by the king of *Navarre*, as his ambassador to *Q. Elizabeth*; to whom he was so acceptable, that she writ a letter to him, upon his return, with her own hand; in which, among other things, she told him, 'that never any gentleman had treated with her, in whom she took so much pleasure as in himself.'

In 1578, he published a Treatise concerning the Church, in which he explained his motives for leaving the Popish, and embracing the Protestant religion; and in 1579, he began his justly celebrated book "Upon the Truth of the Christian Religion." But before he had made any progress in this, he was seized with an illness, which was thought to be the effects of some poison that had been given him at *Anvers* the year before, with a view of destroying him. He recovered, though dangerously ill, and continued to do service to the king of *Navarre* and the Protestant religion. From the year 1585, when the league commenced, he was more intimately connected with the affairs of the king; and, in 1590, was made his counsellor

lor of state, after having been invested with the government of *Saumur* the year before.

In the year 1592, the king pitched upon him to confer with monsieur *de Villeroy* upon the subject of the king's religion; but the extravagant demands of *de Villeroy* rendered their conference of no effect. *Mornay*, however, opposed the king's perversion to popery, as long as he could; and, when he could prevent it no longer, withdrew himself gradually from court, and gave himself up to reading and writing.

In the year 1596, he published a piece entitled, the Just Procedures of those of the Reformed Religion; in which he removes the imputation of the present troubles and dissensions from the Protestants, and throws the blame on those who injuriously denied them that liberty, which their great services had deserved. In the year 1598, he published his Treatise upon the Eucharist, which occasioned the conference at *Fontainebleau*, in the year 1600, between Mr. *du Perron*, then bishop of *Evreux*, afterwards cardinal, and our Author; and he raised his reputation and credit among the Protestants to so prodigious an height, that he was called by many 'the Protestants' 'pope.'

In the year 1607, he published a work entitled, the Mystery of Iniquity, or the History of the Papacy, which was written, as most of his other works were, first in *French*, and then, like them, translated into *Latin*. Here he shews, by what gradual progressions the popes have risen to that ecclesiastical tyranny, which was foretold by the apostles; and what oppositions, from time to time, all nations have given them. This seems to have been a work of prodigious labor; yet it is said, that he was not above nine months in composing it.

The author of the history of *Lewis XIII.* says, concerning The Mystery of Iniquity, or History of the Papacy, That 'the design of the author was to shew, against the cardinals *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*, by what degrees the monarchy of the pope was formed, and the several oppositions, which honest men made to the establishing a power so contrary to the spirit of the gospel. The cut or print, in the front of the book, gave greater offence to the Papists than all the rest. *Paul* the Vth was represented in it, with the flattery and impious inscriptions made for him by some good folks in *Italy*, who applied to him, what the Holy Ghost says of *Jesus Christ* himself, gave him the title of the most INVINCIBLE MONARCH of the Christian

Christian Commonwealth, the most ardent Defender of the PAPAL OMNIPOTENCE; in short, VICE-GOD*. This was a word newly invented to his honor.—*Mornay du Pleffis* made him ridiculous by a pleasant remark. By adding the value of the numerical letters of the *Latin* words, which signify *Paul V. Vice-God*, he found the number 666, which is the mysterious number of the beast in *St. John's Revelation*.[†] Hist. of *Lewis XIII.* book 2. This book was condemned by the faculty of *Paris* in a very poor way, which only promoted its dispersion and credit.

About this time also he published, an Exhortation to the *Jews* concerning the Messiah, in which he applies a great deal of *Hebrew* learning very judiciously; and for this he was complimented by the elder *Buxtorf*.

There are several other little things of his writing; but his capital work, and for which he has been most distinguished, is his book "Upon the Truth of the Christian Religion," in which he employs the weapons of reason and learning, with great force and skill, against Atheists, Epicureans, Heathens, *Jews*, Mahometans, and other infidels, as he tells us in his title. This book was dedicated to *Henry IV.* while he was king of *Navarre* only, in the year 1582, and the year after translated by

* The Writer of a late Ironical *New Defence of the Church of Rome*, states this high sounding affair in the following ludicrous way, though founding the *facts* upon approved writings of the church of *Rome*. 'The Jesuits say to their disciples (Reg. 1. and 13.), that every one of them must wholly deny his own judgement, and resolve, that if this judge [the pope] shall say, that any thing is black, which appears to your eyes white, you must say it is black too—because he is infinite, omnipotent, and incomprehensible,' and 'hath (says the bull of pope *Pius V.*) all power in heaven and earth, as having been constituted prince over all nations and all kingdoms, with a plenitude of power to root up, and to plant; to destroy, and to save; to raise up, and to pull down at his pleasure.' Hence the pope is frequently styled by the council of *Lateran* and by the canonists, *DOMINUS NOSTER DEUS Papa*, i. e. 'Our Lord God, the Pope.' Hence also, it hath been urged by *Massonus*, in the life of pope *John IX.* *Episcopos Romanos ne peccata quidem sine laude committere*, 'That the bishops of *Rome* cannot commit sin without praise.' The Dedication, therefore, of father *Caraffa* to pope *Paul V.* prefixed to his Theological Theses, was much too modest, when he inscribed, *PAULO V. VICE-DEO, Christianæ Reipublicæ Monarchæ INVICTISSIMO et Pontificæ OMNIPOTENTIÆ conservatori acerrimo*: i. e. 'To *Paul V.* the Vice-God, the most invincible Monarch of the Christian Commonwealth, and most zealous Assertor of the Papal Omnipotency.' This dissident title was afterwards nearly copied by *Benedictus à Benedictis*, a *Venetian*, with a little addition, *SUPREMO VICE-DEO*, 'To the Supreme Vice-God.' See *New Defence of the Church of Rome*. p. 37. *Mathews*.

himself into *Latin*. "As a *Frenchman*," says he in his preface to the Reader, "I have endeavoured to serve my own country first; and as a Christian, the universal kingdom of *Christ* next." Both the Dedication and Preface are fine pieces, in which one hardly knows, which to admire more—the Scholar, or the Christian. Monsieur *Baillet* has observed with justness, that 'the Protestants of *France* had great reason to be proud of having such a man as *Mornay du Pleffis* of their party: A gentleman who, besides the nobleness of his birth, is distinguished by many fine qualities both natural and acquired.' His outide indeed was excellent, but his greatest honor (which *Baillet* did not observe) was within.

In the year 1621, when *Lewis XIII.* made war upon the Protestants, he took away the government of *Saumur* from *Mornay*, who thereupon retired to his barony of *la Forest* in *Poitou*. Here he seems to have passed the remainder of his days. A little before his death, he discoursed much upon the vanity and transitoriness of all worldly things; and, as *St. Paul* speaks, that *the fashion of this world passeth away*; nor did he forget to quote *Pindar*, who says, that 'the life of a man is but a dream of a shadow.'

He was sent twice by the king of *Navarre* as his ambassador to *Q. Elizabeth*; to whom he was so acceptable, that she writ a letter to him, upon his return, with her own hand; in which, among other things, she told him, 'That never any gentleman had treated with her, in whom she took so much pleasure, as in himself.'

When he had made his will, for the peace of his family after him, he said, "Now I am discharged from one of my chiefest cares; and, for the time to come, have nothing else to look to but death."

The minister of the gospel, whom he retained, having told him that he had happily employed his talents for the profit of the church, and the advancement of the kingdom of *Christ*: "Alas, (said he) what was there of mine in the work? Say not that it was I, but GOD by me." Which he repeated again and again; and then added, in the words of the apostle, *1 Cor. xv. 10. I have laboured; yet not I, but the grace of God which is in me.*

Soon after, being laid upon his bed, he said, "There is nothing more just and reasonable, than that the creature should obey his Creator." Then, lifting up his hands above his head, he cried, "Mercy, mercy, mercy;" and said, "He did so in order to shew, that it was the sole mercy of GOD he had recourse to."

" I call for nothing (said he) but mercy, free mercy.
 " But who is it that shall bring an accusation against the
 " elect of GOD? It is GOD that justifieth: So that
 " neither life, nor death, nor things present, nor things to come,
 " shall ever be able to separate him from the love of his Sa-
 " viour."

In the morning of the day he died, he prayed in *Latin*, saying, " Lord, open thou my lips, and I will shew forth
 " thy praise. Lord, make me to know my sins, to weep
 " for them, to detest them, and to have them in execra-
 " tion." And this prayer he uttered twice. He then said after the apostle, and with great emphasis, "*We know*
 " *that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we*
 " *have a building of God, a house not made with hands.*" After which, being asked, If he were not assured of sharing in that eternal weight of glory spoken of by the apostle? he answered, " He was perfectly persuaded of it, and was
 " so by the demonstration of the Holy Spirit, more pow-
 " erful, more clear, and certain than any demonstration
 " of *Euclid*." And on this occasion he repeated the words in *Greek*, 1 Cor. ii. 4.—*Εν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως.*

In the afternoon he was heard to say to himself, in a broken manner, " I fly, I fly to heaven: The angels
 " carry me into the bosom of my Saviour. *I know that*
 " *my Redeemer liveth*, I shall see him with these eyes,
 " these very eyes, *hiscæ oculis*;" and he repeated the *Latin* words, again and again.

As he became weaker and weaker, he was asked from time to time, if he felt not in his soul the power of the Holy Spirit, sealing to him the promises of GOD, and filling him with consolation? One of his answers to this question was, " Yes, indeed." Another was, " I am
 " assured of it." And a third was, " The love of GOD
 " is in my heart." And thus, in the lively exercise of faith, this great man rendered up his soul to GOD; in *November*, 1623, and in almost the seventy-fourth year of his age.

His great and noble WORK of " The Truth of the Christian Religion," was translated into *English*, partly by Sir *Philip Sidney*, and partly by Mr. *Arthur Golding*. His " *Mystery of Iniquity*," hath also been translated into our language, and, according to *Maunsel*, some other of his Writings. *Thuanus* speaks of our Author with high commendation; and the author of the History of *Lewis XIII.* above-mentioned never mentions him without the epithets *wise* and *good*.

R A L P H

RALPH HOSPINIAN.

RALPH HOSPINIAN, a learned *Swiss* writer, who has done eminent service to the Protestant cause, was born at *Altorf*, near *Zurich*, where his father was minister, on the seventh of *November*, 1547.

He was sent at seven years of age to begin his studies at *Zurich*, under the direction of *John Wolphius*, his uncle by his mother's side; and made a vast progress. Losing his father in 1563, he found an affectionate patron, in his godfather *Rodolphus Gualterus*.

He left *Zurich* in *March*, 1565, in order to visit the other universities; and he spent some time in *Marpurg* and *Heidelberg*. He was afterwards recalled and received into the ministry in 1568, and the year after married a wife, by whom he had fourteen children: Nevertheless, when she died in 1612, he married a second. He had more success in this respect than falls to the share of most men; for they were both good women, and made him very happy.

The same year also, 1569, he obtained the freedom of the city; and was made provisor of the *Abbey-school* in 1571. Though his school and his cure engrossed so much of his time, he had yet the courage to undertake a noble work of vast extent: And that was an "History of the Errors of Popery." He considered, that the Papists, when defeated by the holy scriptures, had recourse to tradition; were for ever boasting of their antiquity, and despised the Protestants for being modern. To deprive them of this plea, *Hospinian* was determined to search into the rise and progress of the popish rites and ceremonies; and to examine by what gradations the truth, which had been taught by *Christ* and his apostles, had given way to innovations. The circumstance, which first suggested this thought was, his falling accidentally into conversation in a country ale-house with a landlord, who was so silly as to imagine, that the monastic life came immediately from paradise.

He

He could not complete his work, agreeably to the plan he had drawn out; but he published some considerable parts of it, as, 1. *De Templis: Hoc est, de origine, progressu, usu, et abusu Templorum, ac omnino rerum omnium ad Templa pertinentium*, 1587, in folio. 2. *De Monachis: Seu de origine & progressu monachatus et ordinum monasticorum*, 1588, in folio. 3. *De Festis Judæorum et Ethnicorum: Hoc est, de origine, progressu, ceremoniis, et ritibus festorum dierum Judæorum, Græcorum, Romanorum, Turcarum, et Indianorum*, 1592, in folio. 4. *Festa Christianorum, &c.* 1593, in folio. 5. *Historia Sacramentaria: Hoc est, libri quinque de Cænæ Dominicæ prima institutione ejusque vero usu et abusu in primæva ecclesia, necnon de origine, progressu, ceremoniis, et ritibus Missæ, Transubstantiationis, et aliorum pene infinitorum errorum, quibus Cænæ prima institutio horribiliter in papatu polluta & profanata est*, 1598, in folio. 6. *Pars altera: De origine et progressu controversiæ sacramentariæ de Cæna Domini inter Lutheranos, Ubiquistas, et Orthodoxos, quos Zuinglianos seu Calvinistas vocant, exortæ ab anno 1517 usque ad 1602 deducta*; 1602, in folio.

These are all of them parts of his great work, which he enlarged in succeeding editions, and added confutations of the arguments of *Bellarmin, Baronius, and Gretser*. What he published on the Eucharist, and another work, entitled *Concordia Discors, &c.* printed in 1607, exasperated the Lutherans in a high degree; and they wrote against him very abusively. He did not publish any answer, though he had almost finished one, but turned his arms against the jesuits; and published *Historia Jesuitica: Hoc est, de origine, regulis, constitutionibus, privilegiis, incrementis, progressu, & propagatione ordinis Jesuitarum. Item, de eorum dolis, fraudibus, imposturis, nefariis, facinoribus, cruentis consiliis, falsa quoque, seditiosa, et sanguinolenta doctrina*, 1619, in folio.

These are his WORKS; and they justly gained him high reputation, as they did also good preferment. He was appointed archdeacon of *Caroline-church* in 1588; and in 1594, minister of the *Abbey-church*. He was deprived of his sight for near a year by a cataract, yet continued to preach as usual, and was happily couched in *September*, 1613. In 1623, being seventy-six years of age, he grew childish; and so continued till his death, which happened on the eleventh of *March*, in the year 1626. The public entertained so high an opinion of his learning from his writings, that he was exhorted from all quarters

to

to refute *Baronius's Annals*; and no one was thought to have greater abilities for the task. A new edition of his works was published at *Geneva* in 1681, in seven thin volumes in folio.

RICHARD STOCK, M. A.

THIS laborious and successful divine was born at *York*, where he received his school education till about eighteen years of age, when he was admitted of *St. John's-college*, in *Cambridge*, and in a little time after chosen scholar of that college. His ingenuity, industry, and proficiency in his studies, soon recommended him to the notice of *Dr. William Whitaker*, then master of *St. John's-college*, who gave him every proper encouragement.

He studied with great applause, and took his bachelor and master of arts degree; when, refusing the proposal of a fellowship in *Sidney-college*, he left the university; but not before he had given evident signs of great ability, in being a master-builder in *GOD's* work, and of much wisdom in winning souls to *GOD*. After some little time spent at *Sir Edmund Cope's* in *Northamptonshire*, and at *lady Lane's*, at *Burton on the Water* in *Gloucestershire*, being chaplain to the latter, he came to *London*, where he was chosen lecturer of *St. Austin's* in *Watling-street*: He was also employed to preach twice every Lord's day at *St. Mildred's Bread-street*, during the life of an elderly clergyman who had the charge of it. He then removed a little higher to *All-hallows*, as an assistant to *Mr. Edmund's* who was aged and infirm, and continued to preach there with such acceptance and success, that, at *Mr. Edmund's* decease, the benefice was conferred on him, which he held to the end of his days. Being settled, he married and had three daughters.

Mr. Gataker; speaking of *Mr. Stock*, says, ' he was a grave and reverend father in the *English* church, a faithful minister and servant of *Jesus Christ*, and a vigilant pastor over his congregation. His life and conversation, and constant labour in the work of the Lord were well known through the whole city of *London*;
' where

‘where he constantly continued the work of his ministry by the space of about thirty years.’ His constant custom was to preach twice every Lord’s day; and he took great pains in catechising the younger people on the week day, and was indeed most indefatigable in the discharge of every part of his pastoral office both public and private. And, in point of success, as the apostle *Paul* said of the *Corinthians*, *You are the seal of my apostleship, and my letters testimonial*; so might Mr. *Stock*, with the utmost truth and propriety, say of many of the people in *London*; more people professing themselves to have been effectually called and converted under him, than almost any other minister of his day; and great numbers acknowledging themselves to have been edified, built up, and made better by him; who are all the seals of his calling, and of *Christ* speaking in him and by him, not merely with a verbal or external call, but with letters of divine efficacy, and with the power of divine grace to their souls.

One faith, ‘That the apostles were like fishermen, the succeeding ministers like huntsmen. The apostles like fishermen that caught many at one draught: The succeeding ministers like huntsmen, that with much toil and clamor, running up and down all day, scarce like one deer or hare e’re night. And such is the hard condition of many of GOD’s servants, that notwithstanding the faithful and painful discharge of their duty, yet are enforced to complain with the prophet, *Who hath believed our report! and, I have laboured in vain*. Scarce able to produce, or instance in any one, of whom they can with some good ground of assurance presume, that they have gained at least him unto GOD. But well might this happy Servant of *Christ*, through GOD’s blessing upon his labors, stand out and say, not of one or two, but of troops, in the words of the same prophet, *Behold I, and the children that God hath given me*. And with the apostle, *These have I begotten unto God by the gospel of Jesus Christ*.’

‘Yea more than that, (continues Mr. *Clarke*) many famous lights in GOD’s church, and faithful ministers of his word do profess to have lighted their candles at his lamp; yea some of them to have received their first beginnings, not of light only, but of spiritual life and grace (without which all light, be it never so great, is no light, but mere darkness) from his ministry. It is no small honor for a man to win, if it were but any one soul; for to win a soul, is to win more than the whole world besides is worth: But, what an honor then is it to be, not a winner of a soul,
but

but a winner of such as prove winners of souls; and so by winning of some one immediately, to be a mediate winner of many others by him? They shall shine (saith he) as the heavens, that instruct; and they that convert others as the stars. And how gloriously then (suppose we) doth this blessed Man of GOD shine now in the kingdom of GOD, that was an instructor of those that are instructors of others, that was a converter of those that are converters of others themselves!

‘Many then did this worthy man (as the Holy Ghost saith of *John the Baptist*) win unto GOD. Many he won, though all he could not, that was more than the apostle *Paul* was able to do. The *Jews* opposed themselves against his ministry, and blasphemed, *Acts* xviii. 6. and 2 *Thess.* iii. 2. *All men* (saith he) *have not faith*; but yet many he won, and his desire and endeavor (with the same apostle) was to win all, his own flock especially, of whom he used to protest, “that it was more comfort to “him to win one of them than twenty others.” But some refractory spirits he met withal, (as what minister doth not?) that would not be reclaimed; that by their cross-grained carriage and behavior, were as thorns in his eyes, and as goads in his sides, and proved a vexation of heart to him continually. But against such persons, not only the dust of the minister’s feet, but the sweat of his brow, and the tears of his eyes, and his strength wasted amongst them, and his spirits spent upon them, shall one day rise up in judgement against them, if it be not prevented by divine mercy.

Though it is seldom seen, that much good is done by a minister whose heart and tongue do not correspond, and whose lip and life do not agree; yet as a man may be the means to save the souls of others, but not his own; or, ‘may be (as *St. Austin* says) like a stone gutter or a leaden ‘pipe, that conveyeth water into a garden, yet receiveth ‘no benefit thereby itself;’ may preach to others, and not to himself; may convert others, but himself prove a castaway; so we can affirm, from the utmost degree of human certainty, that this was not the case of this truly pious laborer in GOD’s vineyard. He was not one of those that say and do not; but as he taught, so he performed; his doctrine and practice went hand in hand. His actions, though silent, were nevertheless the counterpart of the sermons he preached from the pulpit. This sweet harmony of heart and life had a surprising influence for good

on many, who, at least (as the world at large ever aims to do) could find little to find fault with or condemn.

Two things (says a certain person) are necessary to make a complete man, *integrity* and *judgement*; and though they meet but in few, yet there was a happy conjunction of them both in this great Man. This appears from the frequent application that many made to him, to be an overseer of their last wills, and to advise them in the disposal of their estates: And also, that his brethren the clergy, as well as others, from all parts of the realm, had recourse to him by letter or otherwise, as one more than ordinarily able to give them satisfaction in the solution of their doubts and difficulties. These two then made him a complete man; but there is something more required to make a complete minister, *viz.* That he be able to speak his mind fitly (for what use can there be of a mute messenger?) and that he dare do it freely, (for of whom is courage and freedom of speech more required than of GOD's messengers)? Nor was Mr. *Stock* defective in either.

As for the former, he was well able, not only to express, but to urge and press it also; not to confirm alone, but to commend also what he had delivered with clear method, sound proof, fit phrases, and variety of good literature; that both the most learned might receive satisfaction from him, and the very ignorant and dull might also reap benefit by him, leaving such a deep impression in their hearts and minds, that they could not remain ignorant, who heard him for any space of time. In a word, in this kind, he was such a person, as many strove to imitate, but few attained to equal him.

His prudence also appeared in his order of catechising the young persons of his parish, by examining them apart; the young men on one day, and the maids on another. Those that made the greatest progress first, in the presence of the more ignorant and dull; and the latter apart by themselves, when the former were departed; that so they might reap what fruit they could by hearing the others, and yet might receive no discouragement by being heard of them.

Neither was his pious diligence and care less seen in the religious instruction and education of those that were under his private charge, as children and servants, for whom his care was greater to provide for their souls than their bodies, for their spiritual than for their temporal estate (though he neglected not the latter) by bringing them

up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. In a word, it would require a volume, to write of all the gifts, graces and praise-worthy qualities of this eminent servant of *Christ*.

In his public ministry, his usual manner was, occasionally, to quote the sayings of many of the fathers; which some taking exceptions at, he thus apologized for himself, "If any (said he) take exceptions at my alledging of fathers (as some have taken offence at my using of reasons to confirm the doctrine, but with very little reason as I suppose), I must pray them, to give me leave to use them, till I can see that unlawfulness which they affirm to be in the practice, and to censure me in charity for the use of them, as I do them for not using them. I will look as well to my heart in the use of them, as God shall enable me; and when I shall see the hurt of them, I will endeavour as much to avoid them. In the mean time I will make as much use as I can of them, to edify the church of God."

In his younger days being called to preach at *St. Paul's Cross*, he dealt pretty plainly and freely in taxing some abuses in the city in unequal ratings, by which the meaner sort were overburdened, whilst the rich and great ones escaped with more ease. This gave great offence to many of them, who checked him as over rash for dealing in such matters, calling him a *green-head*: But in his latter days being called to preach at the lord-mayor's election, he fell again upon the same subject, and told them a *gray-head* spake now what a *green-head* had done before.

In these and such like employments, public and private, he spent his time: He spent his strength like a torch or taper, wasting and consuming himself for the profit and benefit of others; having his work with GOD then, and his reward for it from GOD afterwards. And it was for the sake of these employments principally, that he desired recovery of health and strength: In the performance of which, through great earnestness, he often strained himself, even in the midst of his infirmity and weakness, to the evident increase of both. *What is the sign* (saith *Hezekiah*, when he was promised recovery) *that I shall go up to the house of the Lord?* as desiring continuance of life, and recovery of health, for no one end more than that. And it was from the same motive, that this good man was desirous of recovery, that he likewise might again repair to the house of GOD, and that he might return to GOD's work again,

To which purpose, the very last Lord's day before his decease, having after many relapses recovered a little strength, he made shift to get out to a neighboring congregation, there to join with GOD's people in public performance of such solemn service of GOD, as that day is usually spent and employed in. And having held out with them to the end, in both parts of the day, he rejoiced exceedingly, that he was able so to do; the rather, because he thereby conceived some good hope, that he should be strong enough, 'ere long, to return to his wonted work and employment again. But the Lord saw it better (for his *will* appears by his *work*) to put an end to his incessant labors here, and to translate him to the place of his endless rest, upon the twentieth day of *April*, 1626, having been preacher at *Allhallows, Breadstreet*, during the space of thirty-two years; where he was an example to his people in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity. But, as one saith, 'An exact face is seldom drawn but 'with much disadvantage; soneither is his character; therefore we may well conclude, as one doth of *Basil*, 'There 'wanted but his own tongue to speak of his worth.'

RICHARD ROTHWEL.

RICHARD ROTHWEL was born in *Lancashire*, at or near *Bolton in the Moors*, about the year 1563. His education was in the schools, and afterwards in *Cambridge*; in the one he attained to an exact knowledge of the tongues (especially *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, wherein he was a critic) and in the other of the arts; so that he became a skilful linguist, subtle disputant, copious orator, and of a deep insight into all kinds of knowledge, human or divine.

'In this first course of his studies (says Mr. *Clark*, or rather *Gower*, after his manner, from whom we take most of this article) appeared presently to his observers the buds and blossoms of that fame which after he attained, for he had a prompt wit, a quick apprehension, a clear understanding, a sound judgement, a ready speech, and a strong memory; all these seldom meet in one man, but

but did in him very eminently, and were improved by diligent study, which (out of a desire of learning and knowledge) he continued to the last without ceasing.

His constitution of body, and moral endowments of mind, were great props and supporters to his intellectual habits. Virtue becomes more acceptable from a handsome person: This is not the ordinary lot of scholars; he was tall, well set, of great strength of body and activity, of a stern countenance, of invincible courage, of approved valour, and of a very goodly and majestic presence: Grief nor any misery could ever break him, but joy would presently melt him into tears. He was of a generous spirit and deportment, yet withal very humble and courteous; his language was sententious and proverbial. I have heard many others say, what I must needs say myself, I never came to him, but I went the more learned from him. He had a great dexterity in communicating his mind to another, and speaking to his understanding. GOD gave him a great inlet into the hearts of men.

He spent many years in the university before he entered into the ministry; he was ordained presbyter by Dr. *Whitgift*, then archbishop of *Canterbury*, who forbade him meddling with the interpretation of *Moses's* types, the books of *Canticles*, *Daniel*, and the *Revelation*; which as he then thought himself, as the bishop did, were not so useful for him to study as some other scriptures.

But, alas! all these natural dispositions, intellectual habits, personal deportments, were but as so many weapons in the hands of a madman: Judge how able by these he was to resist the truth; for he remained some years without any change of heart, or sensible work of grace upon his soul, but preached learnedly, as they called it, and lived vainly; abhorring debauchery, and debauched companions, through the height of his spirit, but gave himself to hunting, bowling, shooting, more than became a minister of the gospel; and sometimes he would swear faith and troth, and in his passion, greater blasphemies.

I have heard him tell, that there were two knights in *Lancashire* falling out, and great feud betwixt them; that the one had a very good park with store of deer; that the other had excellent good fish-ponds and store of fish: He robbed the park of the one, and presented what he got to the other: And the fish-ponds of the other, and presented the fish to his adversary. Thus he pleased himself in the days of his vanity, with such kind of follies; in doing this one night, the keeper met with him, his dog having

killed a buck : At the fall of the buck the keeper came in with his faulchion and staff, and met Mr. *Rothwel*, who had a staff also ; they fell from words to blows ; he got the keeper down, bound him by the thumbs, and drew him up to his full height, that he could but touch the ground with his toes, and so left him tied to a tree till next morning, when others found him and loosed him.

At length it pleased GOD, who separated him from his mother's womb, as he did St. *Paul*, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son in him. Which because it was famous, and he himself afterwards proved the conversion of so many, I shall set it down as I remember I have heard him speak it. He was playing at bowls amongst some Papists and vain gentlemen upon *Saturday*, somewhere about *Rochdale* in *Lancashire* ; there comes into the green to him one Mr. *Midgley*, a grave and godly minister of *Rochdale*, whose praise is great in the gospel, though far inferior to Mr. *Rothwel* in parts and learning ; he took him aside and fell into a large commendation of him, at length told him, what pity it was that such a man as he should be a companion for Papists, and that upon a *Saturday*, when he should be preparing for the *Lord's-day*. Mr. *Rothwel* slighted his words, and checked him for his meddling. This good old man left him, went home, and prayed privately for him ; Mr. *Rothwel*, when he was retired from that company, could not rest, Mr. *Midgley's* words had struck so deep in his thoughts.

The next day he went to *Rochdale* church to hear Mr. *Midgley*, where it pleased GOD so to bless that ordinance, that Mr. *Rothwel* was by the sermon brought home to *Christ*. He came after sermon to Mr. *Midgley*, thanked him for his reproof, and besought his direction and prayers, for he was in a miserable condition of nature ; and under the spirit of bondage he lay for a time, till afterwards, and by Mr. *Midgley's* hands also, he received the spirit of adoption, wherewith he was so sealed, that he never lost his assurance to his dying day.

Though he was a man subject to many temptations, the devil assailing him very much, yet GOD was mightily with him, that out of his own experience he was able to comfort many. He esteemed and counted Mr. *Midgley* ever afterwards for his spiritual father. This makes me think upon *Augustine's* speech to GOD when he came to hear *Ambrose* preach, ' I did not come hither as a doctor, ' or teacher, but upon another account, I was brought by ' thee as an ignorant person to him, that I might be led by ' him

‘him to thee as one endued with knowledge.’ So did the Lord, by Mr. *Midgley*’s plain kind of teaching, put forth the evidence of his Spirit upon this mighty and learned Rabbi. Consequent upon this change, he disposed of his temporal estate amongst his friends, and lived of the gospel, 1 Cor. ix. 11, 14.

He was made chaplain to a regiment under the earl of *Essex* in *Ireland*, in which capacity he was exceedingly useful. His preaching run evidently in another manner than formerly, opening the depths of Satan, and deceitfulness of the heart, so that he was called the rough-hewer. He had the power of God went with his ministry, when he preached the law to make men tremble, yea sometimes to cry out in the church: And when he preached the gospel, he was another *Barnabas*, and had great skill in comforting afflicted consciences.

He studied now the controversies between the conformists and the non-conformists: And had such an apprehension of persecution, that he would neither marry nor receive a benefice, though he had the offer of several; but contented himself in being lecturer at a chapel in *Lancashire*, and domestic chaplain to the earl of *Devonshire*. A very common expression of his was, “Persecution is a pledge of future happiness.”

At length he came to spend most part of his time in the bishopric of *Durham*, by means of an honorable lady, the lady *Bowes*, afterwards the lady *Darcy* in the *North*. She gave about one hundred pounds *per annum* to maintain preachers where there were none, nor any means for them. She would lay out all her interest to get them, and then she would dispose of them where there needed, in the *North*, or in the *Peak* in *Derbyshire*, or other places, and allow them pensions. Sir *William Bowes* her husband dying, his funerals were kept at *Barnard’s-castle*, where he had some estate: Mr. *Dike* (father of the writers of that name) was then her household chaplain, and went into the *North* to that funeral; at his return he represented the state of the people destitute of a minister to this lady, who would have sent him thither; but he told her he durst not venture on so furly a people, but commended Mr. *Rothwel* to her. She sent to him, then at the earl of *Devonshire*’s house, and proffered him this employment; his answer was, “He would go thither, and if the people called him, he would then accept of her motion.”

At

At his first day's labor they all desired him: He returned to the lady, and told her, he would go; she replied, though for their sakes she was glad, yet she was afraid to send him. Understanding that they were of a fierce disposition, and having never heard the gospel, they might deal unkindly with him; he answered, "Madam, if I thought I should never meet the devil there, I would never go: He and I have been at odds in other places; and I hope we shall not agree there." The lady allowed him forty pounds *per annum*; and such as GOD wrought upon by his ministry, contributed to him; but he would not have a penny from any other.

There was once collected in his absence, thirty pounds by Sir *Talbot Bowes*, who lived there, from the people; but when he returned and knew it, he caused it to be restored to the parties that gave it, and told them, "he fought them, not theirs."

At his first entrance he had great oppositions, and sometimes was way-laid to take away his life, but he overcame all with such patience and courage, that his greatest enemies were afraid of him; and he preached few sermons, but it was believed he gained some souls.

His manner was to spend the forenoon at his studies, and the afternoon in going through his parish, and conferring with his people; in which he excelled, and thereby gained much upon them; and within four years he had so many judicious and experimental Christians, that people came from *London, York, Richmond, Newcastle*, and many other places, to see the order of his congregation. He afterwards went to *Mansfield* in *Nottinghamshire*, where he continued to his death.

About a day or two before his death, he had some lightening of his disorder, and he sat up in his chair, and discoursed freely, cheerfully and heavenly, all that and the next day. Some sent to enquire how he did; he answered, "I am well, and shall be well shortly;" and whispering to a friend, he said, "Do you know my meaning—I shall be with *Christ* 'ere long; but do not tell them so." He caused that friend to repeat a sermon just preached in his parish church; after which, with tears in his eyes, he laid his hands on that person's head, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, and with a short prayer blessed him. The next day, the pangs of death came on. Many of his friends were assembled; and one was praying for him: After prayer (says Mr. *Stanley Gower*) I spoke to him:

He

‘ He turned about his head, took me by the hand, and bade me pray, pray. I desired a reverend minister to go to prayer again.’ Mr. *Rothwel* said, “ Pray you, pray you.” ‘ I did so. After that he smiled :’ “ Now (says he), I am well : Happy is he that hath not bowed a knee to *Baal*.” ‘ He bade us sing *Psalm* cxx. He sung awhile, but, in the singing of the *Psalm*, his soul took its flight above, to sing the Redeemer’s praise more perfectly in the mansions of bliss, which happened in the year 1627, and in the sixty-fourth year of his age.’

Thus departed this honest Puritan : We know of no WRITINGS left behind him ; and indeed he seems to have confined himself entirely to the office of preaching, and to the service of his own day and generation.

GEORGE CARLETON, D.D.

BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

THIS very learned bishop, son of *Guy*, second son of *Thomas Carlton*, of *Carlton-hall* in *Cumberland*, was born at *Norham* in *Northumberland*, in the year 1559 ; his father being then governor of that important castle. By the care of *Bernard Gilpin*, styled ‘ the Northern Apostle,’ he was educated in grammar learning ; and, when fit for the university, sent by the same excellent patron to *Edmund-hall*, in *Oxford*, in the beginning of the year 1576, and by his liberal hand encouraged and chiefly maintained in his studies. On the twelfth of *February*, 1580, he took his degree of bachelor of arts ; upon which occasion, he exceeded all that performed their exercises, at that time. The same year, namely 1580, he was elected probationer fellow of *Merton-college*, and remained in that society about five years before he proceeded in his faculty, not taking the degree of master of arts, till *June* 14, 1585. While he remained in that college, he was esteemed a great orator and poet ; and, in process of time, became a better disputant in divinity, than he had before been in philosophy

phy. What preferments he had, is not mentioned any where; nor doth it appear that he was possessed of any dignity in the church, till he became a bishop.

After having continued many years in the university, and taken the degree of bachelor in divinity, *May 16, 1594*, and that of doctor, *December 1, 1613*, he was advanced to the bishopric of *Landaff*; to which he was elected, *December 23, 1617*, confirmed, *July 11, 1618*, and consecrated at *Lambeth*, the next day. The same year he was sent, by K. *James I.* with three other *English* divines, (viz. *J. Hall*, afterwards bishop of *Exeter*, and then of *Norwich*; *J. Davenant*, afterwards bishop of *Sarum*; and *S. Ward*, master of *Sidney-college, Cambridge*;) and from *Scotland*, to the synod of *Dort**; where he stood up in favor of episcopacy: For it was asserted in that synod, 'That the ministers of the word of God, in what place soever settled, have the same advantage of character, the same jurisdiction and authority, in regard they are all equally ministers of *Christ*, the only universal bishop, and head of the church;' in opposition to this, bishop *Carleton* made the following protestation. "That whereas in the Confession [*i. e.* the *Belgic* Confession at *Dort*] there was inserted a strange conceit of the parity of ministers to be instituted by *Christ*, I declare our dissent utterly in that point. I shewed, that by *Christ* a parity was never instituted in the church: That he ordained twelve apostles, as also seventy disciples: That the authority of the twelve was above the other: That the church preserved this order, left by our Saviour: And therefore, when the extraordinary power of the apostles ceased, yet this ordinary authority continued in bishops, who succeeded them, who were by apostles left in the government of the church, to ordain ministers, and to see, that they, who were so ordained, should preach no other doctrine: That in an

* The members of this SYNOD (says a late writer) formed a constellation of the best and most learned Theologians, that had ever met in council since the dispersion of the apostles; unless we except the imperial convocation at *Nice*, in the fourth century. Read but the names of *Heinsius*, *Lydius*, *Hommius*, *Voëtius*, *Bisterfeld*, *Triglandius*, *Bojermannus*, *Sibellius*, *Gomarus*, *Polyander*, *Thysius*, *Walaus*, *Scultetus*, *Altingius*, *Deodatus*, *Carleton*, *Davenant*, *Hall*; exclusively of the many other first-rate worthies, who constituted and adorned this memorable assembly; and doubt, if you can, whether the sun could shine on a living collection of more exalted piety and stupendous erudition.

" inferior degree the ministers, who were governed by bi-
 " shops, succeeded the seventy disciples: That this order
 " hath been maintained in the church from the times of
 " the apostles. And herein I appealed to the judgment
 " of antiquity, and to the judgment of any learned men
 " now living; and craved him herein to be satisfied, if
 " any man of learning could speak to the contrary. (My
 " Lord of *Salisbury* [*Davenant*] is my witness; and so
 " are all the rest of our company, who spake also in the
 " same cause. To this there was no answer made by
 " ANY. Whereupon, we conceived that they yielded to
 " the truth of the protestation.—And somewhat I can say
 " of my own knowledge; for I had conference with di-
 " vers of the best learned in that synod. I told them,
 " that the cause of all their troubles [*viz.* of all the dis-
 " sentions occasioned and fomented at that time in the
 " *Dutch church* by the *Arminians*] was this, that they had
 " not bishops among them; who, by their authority,
 " might redress turbulent spirits that broached novelties,
 " —Their answer was, that they did much honour and
 " reverence the good order and discipline of the church
 " of *England*; and, with all their hearts, would be glad
 " to have it established among them; but that could not
 " be hoped for, in their state. [*i. e.* being republican, it
 " could not admit of episcopacy.] Their hope was,
 " that, seeing they could not do what they desired, God
 " would be merciful to them, if they did what they could.
 " This was their answer.*"

At this learned bishop's return to *England*, the States
 sent a letter to K. *James*, wherein they highly extolled
 him, and the rest of the divines, for their virtue, learn-
 ing, piety, and ardent desire of peace. *In Theologis porro*
utriusque Regni vestri omnibus, & singulis, quorum agmen
ducit vere Reverendissimus Dominus Georgius Landavensis
Episcopus, imago, atque expressa virtutis effigies; eam erudi-
tionem, pietatem, pacis studium, cumque zelum deprehendimus,
ut, cum ipsius beneficii causâ Majestati Tuæ multum debeamus,
magna pars ipsius beneficii nobis videatur, [q. debeatur] quod
ipsi ad nos missi sint.

He likewise behaved so well in every respect, so much
 to the credit of our nation; that after he came home, he
 was, upon the translation of Dr. *Harsnet* to *Norwich*,

* We would refer our learned Readers, for the opinions of the most
 respectable foreign divines upon this subject, to SPANHEIM's *Miscell.*
Sacr. Antiq. Lib. viii. Animadv. 18.

elected to succeed him in the see of *Chichester*, September 8, 1619, and confirmed the twentieth of the same month. Having at length arrived to the age of sixty-nine, he departed this life in *May*, 1628, and was buried the twenty-seventh of that month, in the choir of his cathedral church at *Chichester*, near the communion table.

He was a person of solid judgement, and of various reading; well versed in the fathers and schoolmen; wanting nothing that could render him a complete divine. But withal, he was a strenuous opponent to the Papists, a steady, consistent, Calvinist. 'I loved him (says Mr. *Camden*), for his excellent proficiency in divinity, and other polite parts of learning.' A valuable character, and from a valuable man! *Laudatus à laudato viro*. Dr. *Fuller* observes, 'That his good affections appear in his treatise, entitled, A thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy; solid judgement in his Examination of Sir *Christopher Heydon's* book; and clear invention in other Juvenile Exercises.'

His WRITINGS are as follow: "I. *Heroici characteres, ad illustriss. equitem Henricum Nevillum*; i. e. Heroic Characters, addressed to Sir *Henry Nevil*. *Oxon.* 1603, 4to. Several of his *Latin Verses* are also in the University-book of Verses made on the Death of Sir *Philip Sidney*, in *Bodleionnema*, and in other Books. II. Tithes examined, and proved to be due to the Clergy by a Divine Right, *Lond.* 1606, and 1611, 4to. III. Jurisdiction Regal, Episcopal, Papal: Therein is declared how the Pope hath intruded upon the Jurisdiction of temporal Princes, and of the Church, &c. *Lond.* 1610, 4to. IV. *Consensus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ contra Tridentinos, de Scripturis, Ecclesia, Fide, & Gratia, &c.* i. e. The Consent of the Universal Church against the Council of *Trent*, on the Scriptures, the Church, Faith, Grace, &c. *Lond.* 1613, 8vo. dedicated to the Members of *Merton-college*. V. A thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy: In an historical Collection of the great and merciful Deliverances of the Church and State of *England*, since the Gospel began here to flourish, from the beginning of *Q. Elizabeth*. *Lond.* 1614. The third Edition came out in 1627; and the fourth, in 1630. It contains, a thankful Enumeration of the several Deliverances of this Church and State, from the cruel Plots of the Papists; from the beginning of *Q. Elizabeth's* reign to the Powder Treason, in 1605. The historial Part is chiefly extracted from *Camden's Annals of Q. Elizabeth*: And the Book is adorned, at the beginning

beginning of each Chapter, with Figures engraved in Copper, representing the most material Things contained in the ensuing Description. VI. Short Direction to know the true Church. *Lond.* 1615, &c. 12mo. VII. Oration made at the *Hague* before the Prince of *Orange*, and the Assembly of the High and Mighty Lords, the States General. *Lond.* 1619, in one sheet and a half, 4to. VIII. *Astrologimania*: The Madness of Astrologers, or, An Examination of Sir *Christopher Heydon's* Book, entitled, A Defence of judiciary Astrology. Written about the year 1604, and published at *London*, 1624, 4to. By *Thomas Vicars*, B. D. who had married the Author's daughter. It was reprinted at *London*, 1651. IX. Examination of those Things, wherein the Author of the late Appeal [*Montague*] holdeth the Doctrine of Pelagians and Arminians, to be the Doctrines of the Church of *England*. *Lond.* 1626, and 1636, 4to. X. A joint Attestation avowing that the Discipline of the Church of *England* was not impeached by the Synod of *Dort*. *Lond.* 1626, 4to. XI. *Vita Bernardi Gilpini, viri sanctiss. famaque apud Anglos aquilonares celeberrimi*. *Lond.* 1628, 4to. inserted in Dr. *W. Bates's* Collection of Lives. *Lond.* 1681, 4to. It was also published in *English*, under this title, *The Life of Bernard Gilpin*, a man most holy and renowned among the *Northern English*. *Lond.* 1629, 4to. and 1636, 8vo. XII. Testimony concerning the Presbyterian Discipline in the *Low Countries* and Episcopal Government in *England*. Printed several times in 4to. and 8vo. and at *London* in particular, in 1642, in one sheet. XIII. Latin Letter to Mr. *Camden*, containing some Notes and Observations on his *Britannia*. Printed by Dr. *T. Smith*, amongst *Camdeni Epistolæ*. No. 80. Several Sermons. XIV. He had also a hand in the *Dutch* Annotations, and the New Translation of the Bible, undertaken by order of the synod of *Dort*, but not completed and published till 1637."

JOHN PRESTON, D. D.

THIS learned and excellent divine descended of the antient family of the *Prestons*, of *Preston*, in *Lancashire*, was born at *Heyford*, in *Northamptonshire*, in the year 1587. He received the first rudiments of his education at the free-school in *Northampton*; but, in order to be better instructed in *Greek*, he was afterwards sent to a school in *Bedfordshire*. At the age of seventeen, he was admitted of *King's-college*, *Cambridge*; where, according to the complexion of that college at that time, he learnt music: But he soon removed to *Queen's-college*, under the care of *Oliver Bowles*, who was a pious and learned man, and reputed a very able tutor: Under his tuition he became a hard student in philosophy and polite literature. He studied almost every thing, and even judicial astrology, and the planetary nature and power of herbs and plants, and attained to such a knowledge in simples, and compounding of medicines, that it used to be said, If he had failed in divinity, he might have been another *Butler*, who was an eminent physician of that age. He entertained great hopes of raising himself in the state; looking upon the study of divinity, as a kind of honest, but silly unmeaning study in itself, and much below the consideration of a great mind: But the Lord frustrated all his attempts to get into the line of promotion in the state, and at length providentially brought him to hear a sermon preached by Mr. *Cotton*, fellow of *Emmanuel-college*. His reflections on this discourse made impressions on him so happy and abiding, as to cure his thirst after court-preferment, and bring him into the ministry of the gospel; a profession which he had before not a little despised.

In 1609, that is, *five* years after his first admission into the university, and the twenty-second of his age; on account of his extraordinary learning and parts, he was patronized by the bishop of *Ely*, and admitted fellow of his own college. He was a good logician and able disputant, and had a principal part allotted him in the disputations at the commencement before K. *James I.* The king was so well pleased, and particularly with *Preston*, that he resolved

solved soon to pay *Cambridge* a second visit, which proved an opening at court for *Preston*, if he had now been willing; and many great people put him in mind of it, and promised him their assistance. Sir *Fulke Greville*, afterwards lord *Brook*, was so much pleased with him, that, after other demonstrations of regard, he settled fifty pounds a year upon him, and was his friend while he lived.

Preston's conduct, in not eagerly improving this opportunity of the royal favor, became matter of speculation. He was naturally reserved, so that few knew what a change Mr. *Cotton's* sermon had wrought, respecting his views in life: Some attributed it to his modesty, some to a degree of melancholy, and others to the attention and delight he took in his pupils, who now began to come from all parts; but certain politicians were persuaded, that it was from some inclination to Puritanism (a name not favorable to the views of court-interest); for 'it could not be (said they) that he should let so fair an opportunity slip, if he had not something else in view.' Mr. *Preston* had indeed the King of kings in view, and his glory; and having found the treasure in the field of the gospel, he wisely sold all things that stood in competition with its purchase. He preferred spiritual, heavenly, and eternal riches and honor, to all that the world calls great and good. This act of crucifixion to the world was interpreted much in his favor by good men; and he was further confirmed in their good opinion, from a circumstance, that happened upon the king's second visit to *Cambridge*.

It was proposed to entertain his majesty with a comedy; and one of Mr. *Preston's* pupils was nominated to support a female character, being a fair modest young gentleman; and leave was requested of Mr. *Preston* for that purpose. But he answered, "I do not like the motion; I cannot believe his friends intended he should be a player, and therefore I beg to be excused." This instance of care and fidelity to his pupil, raised his reputation to such a pitch, that he was thought the fittest tutor in the university; and many great men had an eye to him for their sons and relations.

There is an observation, which was true in Mr. *Preston*, that there is usually no moderation in men of great parts. Mr. *Preston* in his youth would not sleep, but laid the bed-clothes upon him in such a manner that they should fall off, that the cold might wake him; but now, through the many labors public and private, the many hours allotted

lotted for study, and the great attention he paid to the youth committed to his care, he could not sleep; but, about midnight, he still awoke and slept no more. He applied to Dr. *Butler*, of *Clare-hall*, the oracle in physic, who, after asking him some questions, advised him to smoke tobacco. Mr. *Preston*, supposing him in jest, took no notice of his prescription; till his want of rest, which continued, incapacitated him for study and labor; he then waited on the doctor again, who still urged the smoking of tobacco. Mr. *Preston*, perceiving the doctor to be serious in his advice, immediately began to smoke, and soon found, that the hot fume of the tobacco drew away those crudities from the mouth of the stomach, that hindered concoction of his meat: The removal of these obstructions occasioned sleep, and so restored him to rest and strength.

Mr. *Preston*, having taken orders, and become a celebrated preacher, came in course to be dean and catechist, which he resolved to improve by going through a body of divinity, with the view of being a guide to the scholars in their study of that science. He was unwilling they should study, as he had done, the schoolmen first, and then the modern writers; but first, that they should read systems in divinity, and settle their opinions and judgments, and then read the fathers, schoolmen, and the like. He had not proceeded far in his lectures, before some townspeople, passing by, stepped in, and, reporting the nature and manner of his lecturing, many of the townspeople attended, and also several scholars from other colleges; so that the outward chapel would be often full, before the fellows came. There had indeed been other deans and catechists before Mr. *Preston*, but no such crowding: Therefore some, moved with envy, complained to the vice-chancellor, that at this unusual kind of catechising not only scholars and townsmen mingled, but other colleges also intruded; so that the fellows could not get through the crowd, into the chapel to their places;—that it was not safe for any man to be thus adored, unless they had a mind to cry up Puritanism, which would soon pull them down;—and that the crossier-staff would not support them, if such assemblies were encouraged. In consequence of this complaint, an order was agreed on in the consistory, and sent to the college, that the scholars and townsmen should be confined to their own preachers, and not be suffered, on any pretence whatever, to attend these lectures, that were proper only to the mem-

bers of the college. The like complaint has been urged at other times, whenever the gospel of the kingdom has been faithfully and experimentally preached, not for hire, or for the emoluments resulting from the pockets of the people, but for their spiritual edification and salvation.

About this time the lecture of *Trinity-church*, and the sermons at *St. Andrews* were put down, and the scholars confined to *St. Mary's*, which put *Mr. Preston* upon lecturing to his pupils on the Lord's day evening; but the scholars of other colleges, and those townsmen that had heard his other lectures, solicited him to preach in a place where they also could attend. *St. Botolph's* church belongs to *Queen's-college*, and is usually supplied by one of that house; and as *Mr. Preston* had lately been instrumental in the election of *Dr. Davenant*, afterwards bishop of *Salisbury*, to the headship of *Queen's*, *Mr. Preston* was allowed to lecture in that church. But there lived in that parish a *Dr. Newcomb*, a civilian, who had enticed to his house, with a view to marry his daughter, a pupil of *Mr. Preston*, *Sir Capel Bedel*, a young gentleman of large estate in *Huntingdonshire*. *Sir Capel Bedel's* parents were dead, and old *Sir Arthur Capel* was his guardian, and had placed him, as he had done his own sons before, under the care and tutorage of *Mr. Preston*; who ever watched the conduct of his pupils very narrowly, and no sooner discovered what was going on between *Sir Capel* and *Newcomb's* daughter, than he acquainted *Sir Arthur* with it, and contrived to get *Sir Capel* to his grandfather's house at *Audley-end*. *Sir Arthur* thanked *Mr. Preston* for his fidelity, and told young *Sir Capel*, that he was now come to a proper age to travel, which was absolutely necessary before he settled.

Dr. Newcomb, thus disappointed, was glad to find an opportunity to be revenged on *Mr. Preston*; and this he found not only as a parishioner, but also as being commissary to the chancellor of *Ely*. He therefore went to church and ordered that prayers only should be read, but no sermon; the minister intreated for that time that *Mr. Preston* might be allowed to preach, as did the earl of *Lincoln* and several others in the church; but the chancellor was resolute; and, because he would not be further importuned, he went home with his family, and left them to determine at their peril what they should do. *Mr. Preston* was advised to preach, which he did from *2 Pet. iii. 17, 18*. But so much time had been spent in sending messages to the commissary, before he left the congregation, that

that Mr. *Preston* was obliged to omit reading prayers before sermon, that the scholars might get home to their college prayers. This Dr. *Newcomb* made matter of further complaint; and as the court was at *Newmarket*, he went thither the next day, and complained to the bishop of *Ely* and several of the clergy; assuring them, that Mr. *Preston* was in heart, and would soon be in practice a *Non-conformist*, and was so followed and adored in the university, that, unless some speedy course be taken with him, they might cast their caps at all conformity, and see their power trod under foot; and added, that gentleness was not the way, for he was cunning, and would recover all, if he were not seriously and thoroughly dealt with.

There was no advocate for Mr. *Preston*; but the doctor, being first in his own cause, seemed just. The Puritans began to be considerable, and from *Newcomb's* complaint, they were afraid Mr. *Preston* might become their leader. The king being then at *Newmarket*, the commissary told his tale to his majesty, who, upon inquiry, finding that the bishop and chancellor's jurisdiction extended to the members of colleges, ordered that Mr. *Preston* should be proceeded against by them. Accordingly, a letter was sent to Dr. *Scot* the vice-chancellor, to summon Mr. *Preston* before himself and the heads of houses, to answer for his notorious disobedience to the commissary. Mr. *Preston* made his defence with great meekness and modesty, saying, he was not guilty, and wished to refer them to his auditory to prove, that, because so much time had been taken up in treating with the commissary, he had omitted reading prayers purposely, that he might dismiss the congregation in time for the scholars to be present at their own college prayers, and not out of any disrespect to the service, which he usually attended at other times. They told him, they were engaged to support, by all just means, the bishop's jurisdiction, that the king had honored him in leaving that affront to be examined by his proper judges, and that except he could take off the court, they must and would proceed to a very round and serious censure.

Mr. *Preston* was not altogether a stranger at the court; however, now there was no remedy. When he came to *Newmarket*, he found that bishop *Andrews*, then bishop of *Ely*, was chief, and that his jurisdiction in the commissary, was it, that was pretended to be affronted, and therefore applied himself to him, and told him that he did not purpose to offend, but being engaged to preach at that time,

time, could not with honor disappoint the auditory; if he suspected him for any thing, he desired he would examine him, and satisfy himself. The bishop told him, the king was informed he was an enemy to forms of prayer, and held no prayer lawful but conceived; and therefore being popular, his judgement and opinion might do hurt. Mr. *Preston* answered that it was a slander; for he thought set forms lawful, and refused not on all occasions to be present at the college prayers, and, when it was his turn, to read them. The bishop answered, that he was glad, and would inform the king, and do him all the good he could, and bade him wait awhile, and then repair again to him for satisfaction in it; and so time passed on, and there was nothing done. At length, however, an order was drawn, and sent to the vice-chancellor, that Mr. *Preston* should in *Botolph's-church* declare his judgement, concerning forms of prayer, on such a *Sunday*, or else they should immediately proceed against him, according to their first instructions.

Mr. *Preston* was glad there was a way out, though sensible of the hard hand that had been carried towards him; but now there was no remedy, and it was in vain to strive against the stream; but before he could come home, the news was all about the town, that Mr. *Preston* was to preach a recantation sermon at *Botolph's-church* on such a day. This was good sport to some, who came crowding as fast as any, to hear; and it was no sin now for any body to be from prayers; and indeed there was a very great assembly, though he did all he could to have concealed it. So he went on upon his former text, and preached a very profitable sermon, concerning growing in grace, and directed prayer, as a special means to make men grow in grace. Now *that*, he said, was of two sorts, either that which was sudden, extemporary, and conceived; or set, enjoined, and prescribed before, not only for the sense and scope, but also for words and phrases. And whereas some thought this was to stint the Spirit, he said, there was a liberty to use conceived prayer at other times, wherein the Spirit might expatiate, and enlarge itself; and also the intention of the mind, though not in extension and variety of language*. Those that came to laugh, had no great cause to do it, for this passage was at the

* The excellent archbishop *Leighton* has some valuable remarks upon this subject in his Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, to which we would refer our Readers.

very close; and the sermon all along before, was sharp and searching; both sides were silent and went home, not without some prints of good upon their spirits: *Optimus orator censendus, non qui meruit auditorum judicium, sed qui abstulit*; 'He makes the best speech that binds his hearers, rather to think what was said, than who said it.' The good fellows were nothing so merry at the end, as at the beginning of the sermon. Indifferent hearers praised all, and were confirmed in a good opinion of the preacher. Good men were glad he came so well off, and was at liberty to preach again, where they might hear him: Himself was troubled, lest any thing he said, should be mistaken or misinterpreted, as he was apt to be.

Some time after this, he preached before the king, who seemed to approve his sermon, and especially his observation in it upon the Arminians, "That they put God into the same extremity, that *Darius* was put into, (*Dan. vi.*) when he would have saved *Daniel*, but could not:" And the marquis of *Hamilton* spoke several handsome things in his favor, which, however, the king did not chuse to understand.

This sermon was received with great *eclat*; and he was much solicited to give copies of it: But this, he said, he could not do, as he never wrote his sermons *per extensum*, or word for word, and what he did write was in a very bad hand. However, he was appointed chaplain to the prince of *Wales*, who was then about forming his court.

Preston had a great loss in the removal of Dr. *Davenant*, his close friend, from the university to the see of *Salisbury*.

He had a very great regard for the famous Mr. *Dod*, and frequently consulted with him. He admired his plain familiar way of preaching, and saw it attended with infinitely more benefit to people's souls than studied harangues, which were mostly calculated to shew the Preacher's abilities.

Not being a very ready Latinist, he travelled into foreign countries, on a visit to their universities, very much to make the *Latin* tongue more familiar to him, through conversation, that he might not appear the less qualified for some offices in the university, which were proposed to him.

After his return, he was appointed Preacher at *Lincoln's-inn*, where his ministry was much attended and blest; but still his great desire was to be useful in the university, where

where he might *generare patres*, be instrumental in converting those, whose profession it would be to convert others. After some time, upon the resignation of Dr. Chadderton, he was appointed master of *Emmanuel-college*, through the unanimous consent of the fellows, and especially by means of the duke of *Buckingham*. Here he employed himself with uncommon diligence, and was of the most eminent service to that foundation.

Upon an intention of sending Sir *Arthur Chichester* (the ancestor of the earls of *Donegal*) ambassador into *Germany*, it was resolved that Mr. *Preston* should attend him as his chaplain; and, upon this occasion, for the more honor, was admitted doctor in divinity. But this embassy did not take place; and so the doctor remained at home.

Soon after this he was chosen lecturer of *Trinity-church* in *Cambridge*, after much opposition, and against the will of the court, excepting the duke of *Buckingham*, who took all opportunities to oblige the Puritans, ' whose power (says *Clarke*) in parliament was now grown very formidable.' This was the last preferment Dr. *Preston* had; and this he held till his death.

Our Author had a remarkable controversy with Dr. *Mountague*, the famous Arminian of that day, with an account of which we will present our Readers in the words of Mr. *Clarke*, (or rather Mr. *Bali*) who hath written both it and his life, though not with the greatest precision and accuracy.

' Dr. *Preston*'s friends would not be satisfied, but urged a conference, whereunto they were encouraged by some orthodox and very learned bishops, and at last it was concluded by two religious noblemen, that a conference there should be, the bishop of *Rochester* and Dr. *White*, then dean of *Carlisle*, on the one side, and the bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and Dr. *Preston* on the other. A day was set, a *Saturday* in *Hillary* term, at four of the clock in the afternoon; the place was *York-house*, and Dr. *Preston* sent to in the morning for to attend it. The noblemen came unto the bishop's lodgings, about two of the clock, and sent for Dr. *Preston* to them, who gave many reasons why he could not go, but they were resolute, and taking the bishop with them went without him; but the doctor considering, and fearing his absence might betray the cause, and give encouragement unto the other side, went afterward himself unto the place, and sat by as an hearer silent until all was done; but talking afterwards occasionally of

falling from grace, the bishop shewed that a godly man might go far, and yet, return, by the instance of the prodigal, *Luke xv.* but Dr. *White* exclaimed against any that should think the prodigal in acts of drunkenness and whoredom not to be fallen from grace, and urged that of the apostle, *Rom. i. 32.* that those that do such things are worthy of death; that is, said he, in a state of everlasting death, and therefore fallen from grace; so *1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.* shall not inherit the kingdom of God; that is, are not sons, for if sons then heirs, *Rom. viii. 17.*

But Dr. *Preston* answered, that these sins made indeed a forfeiture of all their interest into the hands of God, and he might make the seizure if he pleased, but did not unto those which were his children, and in covenant with him; as two tenants, by not paying of their rent, or keeping covenants, forfeited their leases, yet the lord might seize the one, and not the other, as he pleased. But the bishop and the dean both cried out, this was the way to all licentiousness and looseness. To which the doctor answered, that the seed of God, as the apostle calls it, *1 John iii. 9.* remained in the sinning saint, or son, and would repair him; as in water, there remains a principle of cold, even when it boileth over, that will undoubtedly reduce it, when the heat and fire is removed, as in *Peter, David, Samson,* and others, was apparent; so that they could not run out into all licentiousness, for the Spirit lusted against the flesh, that they cannot do the things they would, *Gal. v. 17.* and though he did not disinheret them, and blot their names out of the book of life, *Phil. iv. 3.* yet he might, and would withdraw his favour, imbitter all their comforts, *Matt. xxvi. 75.* raise trouble to them from their dearest interests, *2 Sam. xii. 11.* fill them with anguish, *Psalms xxxviii. 3, 4.* which in reason will keep them from running out, seeing the evil is commensurable unto that good of pleasure or profit their sin afforded; and if need be, he can add unto it eternal apprehensions, and make them feel the fierceness of his anger, *Psalms lxxxviii. 6, 7.* without any hope of being eased; and after this can restrain and withhold them, as he did *Abimelech*, *Gen. xx. 6.* For if one cease to be a son, because he commits a sin that doth deserve eternal death, then every sin a child of God commits, rends his relation or sonship off; for every sin deserves eternal death, *Rom. vi. 23.* and because in many things we of-

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‘ fend all, *James* iii. 2. we should be always out of fellowship, and have neither certainty nor comfort in our estate, unless he could give some ground out of scripture, to assure what sins put us out, and what did not.

‘ When the time came for the second conference, the doctor readily appeared; and the first thing he charged Mr. *Mountague* withal, was about his doctrine of traditions, which he affirmed he had delivered as grossly and erroneously as any papist, *Gag.* p. 38, 39, 40. For he justified that place in *Basil*, where he says, The doctrine retained in the church, was delivered, partly by written instructions, partly by unwritten traditions, having both a like force unto piety; which was so unlike to *Basil*, and the opinions of those times, that it was generally believed to be put in by the Papists of later times. Mr. *Mountague* confessed, it was suspected by some of the preciser cut; but Dr. *Preston* told him, bishop *Bilson* was none of them, yet he did judge it suppositious; and it must be so, or *Basil* acknowledged to be erroneous. For he instanceth in praying towards the east, and use of chrism or oil in baptism; both which being rejected by the church of *England*, argues they held that place of *Basil* not canonical.

‘ Mr. *Mountague* answered, that *δογμα* there used by St. *Basil*, might signify a thing that seemed so, and so the sense might be, that some things that seemed true, of less esteem and consequence, might be delivered by tradition, as long as matters more substantial were taken from the scriptures. But Dr. *Preston* shewed that *δογμα* signified oftentimes doctrine, and was used here by *Basil* for those heads of doctrine that were more principal, and less exposed, comparing them unto those places in the temple, whereunto the people had not access.

‘ Mr. *Mountague* answered farther, that his assertion was hypotheticalal, that if a doctrine came from the same author, it was no great matter, whether it were by writing or word of mouth, for either had the same authority. But Dr. *Preston* told him, *Basil* was positive, and spake directly, and him he justified, and therefore could not be hypotheticalal, as he pretended.

‘ It is a great step unto victory sometimes to divide. *Paul* sets the Pharisees against the Sadduces, *Acts* xxiii. 6, 7, 8. that he might save himself. The jesuits are so good at it, that though they have but one to be their adversary, they will endeavour to divide him from himself, by moving passion, or compassion, or some affection of his
‘ own

own against him. Dr. *White* had openly in the commencement house, maintained that election is not *ex prævisis operibus*, and therefore Dr. *Preston* resolved to pinch Mr. *Mountague* in that particular, that he might bereave him of his animating champion, Dr. *White*.

There were four several places that Dr. *Preston* had observed to make good this charge, the first which he produced, was *Gag.* p. 179. Some Protestants hold; that *Peter* was saved, because God would have it so, without respect unto his faith and obedience; and *Judas* damned, because God would have it so, without respect unto his sin. And added, this is not the doctrine of the Protestants, this is not the doctrine of the church, the church of *England* hath not taught it, doth not believe it, hath opposed it.

Now Dr. *White* was very fierce and eager to engage, told him it was no doctrine of the church of *England*, but a private fancy of some, that *Judas* was condemned without respect unto his sin; *For the wages of sin is death*, Rom. vi. 23. *The soul that sinneth shall die*, Ezek. xviii. 4. But Dr. *Preston* answered, he did not charge that upon Mr. *Mountague*, but the former part of the assertion, that *Peter* was not saved, without respect unto his believing and obedience, and so election should not be absolute, but grounded upon faith and works foreseen. Then saith Dr. *White*, I have nothing against that, but leave Mr. *Mountague* to answer for himself.

Dr. *Preston* was glad that he was eased of Dr. *White*, and yet resolved to make advantage of it, and therefore told Dr. *White*, if he thought election was not *ex fide prævisa*, he desired to know whether saving grace were an effect, and fruit of election, or no? Dr. *White* acknowledged readily it was; then said Dr. *Preston*, whosoever hath saving grace is elected. Now you know that an elect person can never finally miscarry, or fall away; therefore whoever hath true grace, can never fall away. The old man saw the snare, and would have avoided it, by denying the consequence. But the doctor urged, that wheresoever the effect is, there must be the cause, but saving grace is an effect of election. This Dr. *White* would have denied, but the hearers murmured that the effect could not be without the cause, as the day is not without the presence of the sun. Then Dr. *White* answered, that saving grace was an effect indeed, but a common effect. But Dr. *Preston* urged, that it was not more common than election; for all the
elect

elect had saving grace, and none but they; and therefore they could never fall away. But this (said he) is by the way, I will now apply my self to Mr. *Mountague*.

But when Mr. *Mountague* perceived that his great *Goliath*, Dr. *White*, forsook him, he was greatly troubled, and cavilled at the words a while, but the book adjudging it for Dr. *Preston*, he said, the church of *England* had not declared any thing against it. Dr. *Preston* alleged the seventeenth article, but told master *Mountague*, that he had affirmed the church of *England* did oppose it, and he desired to know where?

But after one of the lords had whispered with Mr. *Mountague*, he confessed, that for *Arminius*, he had never read him, and that he had written some things negligently in that book, which he never thought should thus be scanned among friends, and therefore promised to write another book in butter and honey, and therein more exactly to acquit himself.

Some of the good lords proposed that, in stead of this book which Mr. *Mountague* had promised to write, the synod of *Dort* might be received and established as the doctrine of the church of *England*, seeing there was nothing there determined but what our delegates approved. But Dr. *White* opposed this mainly; for (said he) the church of *England* in her catechism teacheth to believe in God the Son, who redeemed me and all mankind, which that synod did deny.

Dr. *Preston* answered that, by redemption, there was only meant the freeing of mankind from that inevitable ruin the sin of *Adam* had involved them in, and making of them saveable upon conditions of another covenant, *John* iii. 16, 17. so as now salvation was not impossible, as it was before the death of *Christ*, but might be offered unto any man, according to the tenor of that commission, *Mark* xvi. 15, 16. Which could not be unto the devils, for they were left in that forlorn condition, whereunto their sin and disobedience put them, *Heb.* ii. 16. 2 *Peter* ii. 4. that the jailor was a boisterous bloody fellow, *Acts* xvi. 24, 27. yet *Paul* makes no doubt to tell him, ver. 31. That if he believed on the Lord *Jesus*, he should be saved with his house.

But Dr. *White* in no sort received this, but affirmed earnestly, that *Christ* died for all alike in God's intention and decree; for *Cain* as well as *Abel*, for *Saul* as much as *David*, for *Judas* as much as *Peter*, for the reprobate

‘ probate and damned in hell, as well as for the elect and
 ‘ saints in heaven.

‘ But Dr. *Preston* answered, that there was a special
 ‘ salvation afforded to believers, 1 *Tim.* iv. 10. that
 ‘ *Christ* was indeed a ransom for all, 1 *Tim.* ii. 6. but the
 ‘ saviour only of his body, *Eph.* v. 23. that he redeemed
 ‘ all, but called, and justified, and glorified whom he
 ‘ knew before, and had predestinated to be conformed to
 ‘ the image of his Son, *Rom.* viii. 29, 30. that to whom
 ‘ in this sense *Christ* was given, to them were given also
 ‘ all things appertaining unto life and godliness, 2 *Peter*
 ‘ i. 3. as faith, 2 *Peter* i. 1. *Phil.* i. 29. *Eph.* ii. 8. re-
 ‘ pentance, *Acts* xi. 18. 2 *Tim.* ii. 25. a new heart, *Ezek.*
 ‘ xxxvi. 26. his Spirit, *Gal.* iv. 5, 6. So that nothing
 ‘ can be charged on them, but *Jesus Christ* hath under-
 ‘ taken, and is engaged to discharge them, *Rom.* viii. 31,
 ‘ 32, 33, 34. So that they can never perish, nor be taken
 ‘ out of *Christ*’s hand, *John* x. 28, 29, 30. but as they
 ‘ are begotten again unto a lively hope, 1 *Peter* i. 3. so
 ‘ they are kept by the power of God through faith unto
 ‘ salvation, ver. 5. whereas *Judas* was lost, *John* xvii.
 ‘ 12. and is gone to his own place, *Acts* i. 25. and there
 ‘ are many nations and people of the world, that have no
 ‘ outward offer made unto them in the gospel, *Psalms*
 ‘ cxlvii. 19, 20. *Acts* xvi. 6, 7. and those that have it,
 ‘ have not hearts given them to understand it and be-
 ‘ lieve it, *Deut.* xxix. 2, 3, 4. *Esaiah* vi. 9, 10. *Matt.*
 ‘ xiii. 13, 14, 15. and therefore they are lost, 2 *Cor.* iv.
 ‘ 3, 4. and are damned, 2 *Thes.* ii. 10, 11, 12. For he
 ‘ shewed that in *Adam* all men were lost, *Rom.* v. 12. and
 ‘ none recovered but by *Christ*; therefore such as had not
 ‘ *Christ*’s intercession could not recover; but *Christ* prayed
 ‘ not for some, *John* xvii. 9. and therefore such could not
 ‘ be saved, *Heb.* vii. 25.

‘ Dr. *White* acknowledged there was a difference; for
 ‘ though all had so much as by good improvement might
 ‘ serve their turn, yet the elect had more, for God abounded
 ‘ towards them, *Eph.* i. 8, 9. *Rom.* v. 15, 17, 20. As all
 ‘ the troop have horses, but the officers have better.
 ‘ Both travellers have staves to leap over the ditch, but
 ‘ the one a better and stronger than the other. The worst
 ‘ had grace enough to keep corruption, and the renitency
 ‘ of their natures down; but the elect, such as would
 ‘ do it easily; for *Christ* had tasted death for every man,
 ‘ *Heb.* ii. 9. and died for those which yet might perish,
 ‘ 1 *Cor.* viii. 11. and bought those, that yet brought
 ‘ upon

‘ upon themselves swift damnation, 2 *Peter* ii. 1. because they did not husband and improve the favour offered to them.

‘ Dr. *Preston* answered, that *Christ* was in himself sufficient to save all, and might be said to be provided for that end and use, as a medicine is to cure infected persons, though it cure none actually, but those that drink it, as *Prosper*. *Habet in se quod omnibus profit, sed si non bibitur non medetur*. As 1 *John* v. 11, 12. but many did not thus apply *Christ*, because they had him not so offered and exhibited as others had, *Matt.* xi. 21. *Luke* x. 13. for God gave some faith and repentance as we have shewed; as the serpent *Moses* was commanded for to make, was in it self sufficient to cure those that were bitten, *Numb.* xxi. 8, 9. yet cured none, but only those that looked on it. So as *Moses* lift up the serpent in the wilderness, shall the son of man be lift up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have life everlasting, *John* iii. 14, 15.

‘ But Dr. *White* urged that place *Isaiah* v. 4. that God had done all he could, but they neglected and rejected the counsel of God against themselves, *Luke* vii. 30.

‘ Dr. *Preston* answered, that God had done all they could challenge of him, for he had given them in *Adam* power, *Ecc.* vii. 29. and proposed another way of mercy in a mediator, and therefore he appeals to any one that was indifferent, *Isaiah* v. 3. but this was unto *Israel*; he dealt not so with other nations, *Psal.* cxlix. 20. Beside, he had done what he could, without reverting and rescinding his decree, *John* xii. 38, 39, 40. for otherwise he could have given them the same spirit of faith, 2 *Cor.* iv. 13. the like gift that he did unto others who believed on the Lord *Jesus*, *Acts* xi. 17. could have wrought in them both to will and to do according to his good pleasure, *Phil.* ii. 13. could have healed them as he promised, *Isaiah* lvii. 18. and as he did persecuting *Saul*, 1 *Tim.* i. 6. but God had other ends, *Rom.* ix. 17. and attributes, *Rom.* ix. 22. which he was willing to discover, *Prov.* xvi. 4.

‘ But Dr. *White* asked, how then he could require faith and repentance, *Mark* i. 15. *Acts* xvii. 30. which was all one, as if he should require one to give his judgement and opinion of a colour that had his eyes shut, and then shut his eyes as fast as he could.

‘ Dr. *Preston* answered, that he might do it to shew and discover our impotency, as we bid our little children
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' dren rise, that by their own fault fell, that we may let
 ' them know their inability, and be the more beholding
 ' unto us to help them up, as *Mark* ix. 23, 24. and be-
 ' cause the call and command of *Christ* is the *vehiculum*
 ' and conduit-pipe of strength and power, *Acts* xiv. 10.
 ' *John* v. 8, 9. as *Lazarus*, *John* xi. 43, 44. Thus God
 ' by bidding and commanding men to take grace, doth
 ' thereby fit them and enable them to do it, as that crip-
 ' ple, *Acts* iii. 6, 7, 8. was by the command inabled; so
 ' *Saul*, *Acts* xxii. 13. being commanded to receive his
 ' fight, was enabled the same moment to look upon him;
 ' and so ver. 16. being commanded to wash away his sins,
 ' had the blood of *Christ* provided ready for to do it. So
 ' these commands are not like those the apostle speaks of,
 ' *James* ii. 16. for here is something given; when God
 ' bids, he doth not, *verba dare, sed rem.*

' But it was further urged by the doctor, that God had
 ' no pleasure in the death of wicked men, *Ezek.* xxxiii. 11.
 ' but that he would rather they should repent and leave
 ' their sins, *Ezek.* xviii. 23. and ver. 32. if therefore God
 ' were not ready to the utmost of his power to give them
 ' grace, he could not be excused from dissembling and
 ' double-dealing.

' But Dr. *Preston* answered, that superiors may com-
 ' mand unable persons for many reasons, but cannot be
 ' said for to dissemble, unless they refuse to give when the
 ' required condition is performed. As if I bid one come
 ' unto me, and I will give him six-pence, if I refuse when
 ' he is come, I did dissemble; but if he comes not, he
 ' cannot charge me; for their not coming may be for
 ' want of will, *John* v. 40. as well as for want of power,
 ' *John* vi. 44. Now if I know a cripple will not come,
 ' though he could, I may punish him for it. It is true,
 ' God delights in nothing but himself, his joy and com-
 ' fort is terminated only in himself, not in the creature,
 ' but as some way served and represented by it; for God
 ' made all things for himself, *Prov.* xvi. 4. yea for his
 ' pleasure, *Rev.* iv. 11. that is, the exercise and illustra-
 ' tion of some one of his attributes; as his power, *Exod.*
 ' ix. 16. *Rom.* ix. 17. his wrath, *Rom.* ix. 22. Never
 ' did man glory of his strength, more than God doth of
 ' his sovereignty and omnipotency, *Job* xl. 9, 10, 11,
 ' 12, 13. Now if it fall out, that, in the illustration and
 ' exercise of these his glorious attributes and excellencies,
 ' some creatures smart, yet he delights not in their smart
 ' and sufferings, but in the demonstration of his own om-
 ' nipotency.

‘ nipotency. *Ahasuerus* makes a feast to all the states and
 ‘ orders of his kingdom, and the honour of his excellent
 ‘ majesty, *Ester* i. 3, 4. This was not done without the
 ‘ smart and suffering of many of the creatures, yet he de-
 ‘ lights not in their sufferings, but in his own magnifi-
 ‘ cence and bounty. When *Christ* was at the feast, *John*
 ‘ ii. 1, 2. he doth not condole the death of all those inno-
 ‘ cents that went to make it up; *Qui fruitur pœna, ferus*
 ‘ *est*: But rejoiced in the good cheer and good will of the
 ‘ friend that bade him.

‘ There were few present of doctor *Preston*’s friends,
 ‘ and accordingly this conference was represented and re-
 ‘ ported with all the disadvantage that could be to him;
 ‘ insomuch that many parliament men, that were his
 ‘ friends, were much offended at it; which occasioned
 ‘ him, as soon as he came to *Cambridge*, to write the sever-
 ‘ al passages, and send them to those friends that were
 ‘ unsatisfied.

‘ When a man is forced to be where he would not, as
 ‘ St. *Peter* was foretold he should be, *John* xxi. 18. yet
 ‘ he may in despite of them retire into himself. St. *Paul*
 ‘ made it his business to have his conscience always void
 ‘ of offence, *Acts* xxiv. 16. and so did Dr. *Preston*; for
 ‘ though his actings, being many of them above the com-
 ‘ mon size, were not always understood, and very often
 ‘ misinterpreted, yet he was innocent and upright always
 ‘ in them. An undeniable argument whereof was, that
 ‘ he never sued for the least preferment, as we have said,
 ‘ but studied, and often consulted how, without break-
 ‘ ing, he might avoid them. And though he lived like
 ‘ himself, and gave relief to others, yet it was ever of his
 ‘ own, as very many yet alive can witness. And indeed
 ‘ he was a man of very much communion and sweet so-
 ‘ ciety with God; prayed much in private, and by him-
 ‘ self; besides as tutor with his pupils, and after, as mas-
 ‘ ter in his family. Whatever weakness he was in, or
 ‘ business did occur, he kept many private days of fasting
 ‘ by himself, especially before the sacraments and sabbath-
 ‘ days; and accordingly enjoyed a constant clearness and
 ‘ assurance of his justification, and interest in the blood of
 ‘ *Christ*; even then, when frailties and infirmities did
 ‘ most of all afflict and wound him. He never (that I
 ‘ know) was troubled or perplexed about adoption,
 ‘ though very often about the imperfection of his graces,
 ‘ and the unconstancy of sanctification; so as he studied
 ‘ most exactly that “Treatise of the Saints Infirmities,” and

‘ there is nothing in all his works that may more properly
 ‘ be called his.’ Thus far Mr. *Clarke*.

Dr. *Preston*’s preaching and labors were exceeding great; yet he never could be prevailed upon to spare himself; giving it as his opinion, that our life, like iron, would consume with rust, as much without as by employment; that every one could not be said to have lived long that was old, for that seven years in the life of some men were as much as seventy in others; and therefore the question is not so much, “How long I have lived, as *how* I have lived?” GOD allows a proper time for his servants to do their work in. *Moses* lived a hundred and twenty years, *Deut.* xxxiv. 7. *David* died in a good old age and full of days, *1 Chron.* xxix. 28. and the great apostle of the *Gentiles* is called *Paul* the aged, *Phil.* xi. 9. But it was no discouragement to good *Josiah*, that he died young, nor to Dr. *Preston* that he died about his age. Our *British Josiah*, K. *Edward*, scarce out-lived his minority; yet he out-stripped most of his longest lived predecessors in doing good. So the Lord, who hath appointed the time for all men upon earth, *Job* vii. 1. allotted the doctor but a short time; but enabled him to do a great deal of work in it, and, in point of service to his day and generation, to die an old man at the age of *forty-one*.

In his last sickness, being worn out with fatigue, or rather (as he would often say) with care and trouble for the church’s safety and welfare; he was obliged to abate a little of his great labor. His old complaint returned, the want of rest; and tobacco now failed to help him, as before; he therefore sent for Dr. *Despotine* of *Bury*, and proposed to him the opening of a vein; but the doctor told him, that, though it might allay his heats and procure sleep; yet, if it were within the verge of a consumption, it would prove fatal: However, through the desire of present ease, he was let blood, but never lived to repair that loss.

His disorders increasing upon him, he went to *London*, to consult the most eminent physicians there, who ordered him to *Newington*, and then to *Hertfordshire*, as being a thinner air; for they all agreed that the malady was in his lungs; from thence he went to *Preston*, within four miles of *Heyford*, with a desire to give up his breath, where he first drew it. From hence he paid a visit to *Oxford*; and Dr. *Ashworth*, whom he had formerly consulted, returned with him to *Preston*; and, supposing his disorder to be the scurvy, gave him great plenty of antiscorbutic

butic medicines, which did him no good, but reduced him to a very weak and low state. Dr. *Ashworth*, finding he had mistaken his case, returned to *Oxford*; and Dr. *Preston*, laying aside all physical helps, gave himself up to GOD in a patient waiting for his dissolution, when he *should be for ever with the Lord*.

He had a servant, who had long been to him more than a servant, and whom he had often used as a friend; to him he unboomed himself, not only respecting the vanity and emptiness of all things here below, but his expectation of a speedy change; "Not (said he) of my *company*; for I shall still converse with GOD and saints; but of my *place*, and *way* of doing it." He revised his will, and settled all his worldly affairs, and then prayed for a proper supply for the places he possessed; for the *College*, that it might continue a flourishing nursery of religion and learning; for *Lincoln's-inn*, that GOD would from time to time furnish it with able preachers; and that he would also provide for his lecture at *Cambridge*, which had cost him so much trouble to obtain.

A few hours before his death, asking what day it was, and being told it was the *Lord's day*; "A fit day (said he) to be sacrificed on! I have accompanied saints on earth; and now I shall accompany angels in heaven: My dissolution is at hand; let me go to my home, and to *Jesus Christ*, who hath bought me with his precious blood." Soon after, he fell into a cold and clammy sweat, which, he told them, was the messenger of death. Not long after, he said, "I feel death coming to my heart; my pain shall now be quickly turned into joy." Just before he died, a minister prayed with him: When the prayer was ended, he looked on those who assisted; and then turned away his head, and gave up the ghost, in the forty-first year of his age. He was interred in *Fausley-church*, in the county of *Northampton*; and Mr. *Dod*, the minister of that place, preached his funeral sermon: On which occasion a very great number of people flocked together from all the neighboring parts. This sermon was preached on the twentieth of *July*, in the year 1628.

Besides the WRITINGS above hinted at, we have seen a *posthumous* work of Dr. *Preston's*, entitled "Life eternal, or a Treatise of the Knowledge of the Divine Essence and Attributes: Delivered in xviii Sermons. Printed at *London*, in 4to. 1631. To this is prefixed a Dedication to Lord Viscount *Say and Sele*, from Dr. *Thomas Goodwin* and Mr. *Thomas Ball*, the latter of whom either wrote, or furnished

furnished materials for *Clarke* to write, the account of his life.—This is a very excellent Publication, and was offered to the world with infinitely more decency, than a late *posthumous collection* of Common Places, &c. compiled by a deceased writer, who was eminent in the religious world. Dr. *Preston's* executor, most likely, had no desire to make any other *gain* of his memory, than to promote the welfare of souls and GOD's glory: And the Doctor himself it is probable, had too much regard both for his own credit and the feelings of his friends, to leave manuscripts in the hands of *meanness* and *ignorance*, which could only value *them*, or any thing else, by what they might produce in the market."

TOBIE MATTHEW, D.D.
ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

THIS truly good man, an honor to his age, was descended from an antient family of the *Williams's* of *Flint*, in the principality of *North-Wales*, being the fourteenth in a lineal descent from *Roger Williams, Esq.* of which family *John Williams, Esq.* receiver of *Flintshire* to E. IV. marrying the daughter and heir of *Edmund Matthew, Esq.* his son *George* assumed the name of *Matthew*, and by — the daughter of Sir *John Ardin, Knt.* had issue *Richard Matthew*, of *Flint*, the father of *John Matthew* of *Bristol*, merchant, where this his son *Tobie* was born, in the year 1546, upon that part of the bridge which is in *Somersetshire*.

In his childhood, an extraordinary circumstance befel him. By a fall, he broke his foot, ankle, and small of his leg, almost to pieces; yet he obtained a speedy and effectual cure. From the school at *Wells*, he was sent to *Oxford*, at thirteen years of age. *University-college* and *Christ-church*, do both challenge him; it was as member of the latter he took the degree of bachelor of arts, *February 11, 1563*; and three years after, (the twenty-fifth of *June*) that of master, and entered into holy orders; at which time he was much respected for his great learning, eloquence,

eloquence, sweet conversation, friendly disposition, and the sharpness of his wit.

The third year after this, he was unanimously elected the public orator of the university, which office he executed with great applause to himself, and honor to the public, when he was but twenty-three. He took his degrees so ripe in learning, and young in years, as was half a miracle, saith Sir *John Harrington*, who is seldom too liberal in his commendation of bishops. He was a most celebrated preacher, even when *Oxford* seems to have been well stocked with such. Afterwards preferments came thick upon him. In 1570, he was made canon of *Christ-church*, and archdeacon of *Bath*. In 1572, prebendary of *Sarum*, and president of *St. John's-college*; when being famous for his admirable preaching, he was made the queen's chaplain, and dean of *Christ's-church* in 1576. Two years after, he was vice-chancellor of *Oxford*, and afterwards chantor in the church of *Salisbury*; the one a place of the greatest honor the university could give; the other a preferment of considerable profit.

In *August*, 1583, he was installed dean of *Durham*. It may be wondered, why he should leave the university, where he had so many ingenious friends and great admirers; relinquish preferments that seem as considerable as this single deanery, if not more so; and go northward farther from court, the fountain of preferment. 'But to me (says Mr. *Thoresby*) it seems evident, there was some christian act of self-denial in the case;' and his diligence in preaching afterwards in places that, for the most part, wanted instruction (whereas *Oxford* had now some excellent preachers, as Dr. *Rainolds*, and others) and his apostolic travelling from town to town to preach the gospel, shews that he aimed at the glory of GOD and the good of mankind, in going to that northern region. He kept a diary or journal of the several times and places, when, and where he preached; to set down which, would be to transcribe the *Villare* of the *County-Palatine*; scarce any town but had him in their pulpit, and some places very often. He frequently mentions the text, and sometimes the occasion, as before the lord-president, at the court, at the assizes, &c. His first sermon was before the council, from these words, *Seek ye first the kingdom of God*; a subject that befits all to begin with.

He held his deanery eleven years and a half, and accounts for seven hundred and twenty-one sermons preached in that time, in some years sixty, in others seventy or eighty;

eighty; we sometimes find him preaching twice a day, especially when he found no preaching minister there; but he rarely omitted every *Sunday* and holiday, except when sickness, or some inevitable cause hindered. Thus when any of the prebendaries took their courses in the cathedral, he rode abroad to carry the message of his great Master to the country towns and villages. At *Christmas* he usually preached on the *Nativity*, *St. Stephen*, *St. John*, *Innocents*, &c. He would often reflect upon his performances, and observe with what fervor and spirit he had discharged his duty, sometimes giving GOD thanks, at other times blaming himself; his words were, "*frigide, cheu!*" or, "*Deo gratias.*"

He was elected bishop of *Durham*, *March* 29th, 1595, and not 1594, as *Godwin* mistakes in his *Catalogue of Bishops*; for himself notes, that he preached before *Q. Elizabeth* the fourth *Sunday* in *Lent*, 1595, and adds, "the *Saturday* before this, I was elected bishop, when I was *forty* years of age." He preached at court again *May* 11th, which was the first sermon after he was made bishop. As soon as the consecration was over, he hastened to his own cathedral, and, as his custom was, perfumed almost every considerable town in his way, with the sweet odour of the gospel; as, *May* 14th at *Northampton*, the fifteenth at *Leicester*, the *Sunday* after at *Doncaster*, the nineteenth at *Holden*, the twenty-first at *Allerton*, and the *Sunday* following at his own cathedral at *Durham*; where he continued so faithful and assiduous a Preacher, that the most severe animadvertisers upon bishops, had not one word to say against him; not so much as his name occurs in *Prynne* against *Prelates*. 'Tis easy to trace his journies, by the churches he preached at, and that not in the neighborhood only, but in his journey or embassy to *Scotland*, in 1596, when he preached every Lord's day in *Berwick*, except one in *Holy-Island*.

He seldom omitted preaching once a week, when at *London*, in times of parliament; one short session from *October* 19th, to *December* 19th, we find him nine times at (what he called) HIS BELOVED WORK*; this was in the year 1601. He had then, as at all other times, one turn at the court. He mentions in his diary, a long discourse her majesty, *Q. Elizabeth*, had with him, which,

* He seems to have adopted the late bishop *Burnet's* advice in contending with opposite parties—*Out-preach; out-pray; out-live, them*. This is a sort of contest, which none but good men will engage in, and in which they will always rejoice to be overcome.

as it was the last time he saw her, he calls it "his last
"farewel."

In *April*, 1603, he preached before K. *James* at *Berwick*, and again at *Newcastle*; from whence he waited upon his majesty to his own seat at *Durham*, where he entertained him; after this *Stow* adds, "The king took leave, gave him thanks, and highly commended him for humanity, learning, and gravity, promising to restore divers things taken from the bishopric." Having preached before the king at *Greenwich*, he hastened back to meet the queen, prince, princess *Elizabeth* (afterwards queen of *Bohemia*, and grandmother to K. *George I.*) before whom he preached at *York* on *Whitsunday*, at *Worsop* on *Trinity-sunday*, on *Midsummer-day* at *Leicester*, at *Althorpe* (still attending on the queen into the *South*) on the first *Sunday* after *Trinity*, upon the second at *Sherfield*, upon the third and fourth at *Hampstead*, the fifth at *Paddington*, the sixth at *Wilsdon*, *August* the 5th at *Hampton-court*, the seventh at *Ware*, in his return home: Where he found an additional work on the fast-days, observed weekly for the pestilence then raging in *England*. He was not content to hear one sermon; but himself would preach a second, and sometimes, when two preceded, a third; as at *Darton*, *September* 28th, "Mr. *Tomlinson*, Mr. *Tonstall*, and I;" and so on *October* 12, "Mr. *Craddock*, Dr. *Barnes*, and myself."

About the latter end of this year, he was summoned to the *Hampton-court* conference, of which he gives an account in a remarkable letter to archbishop *Hutton*, which letter may be seen in Mr. *Strype's* life of archbishop *Whitgift*. By the king's special appointment, he preached before his majesty at *Hampton-court*, at the end of the conference, as also at *Westminster*, at the opening of the parliament; and as he concluded this, so he began the succeeding year with a sermon before the king, and not long after before prince *Henry*, from the words of the *Psalmist*, *Wherewithal shall a young man*, &c. and that day-fortnight before the king, queen, prince, the council, bishops, &c. in *Whitehall* gallery; because, the king's leg being hurt, he could not go to the chapel. Shortly after, he returned to his diocese, where he preached at *Bishop-Aukland* before prince *Charles*, then the king's second son.

When his great guest was gone, he visited his diocese, and at *Darneton* earnestly pressed the renewal of the *Exer-*

cises (of which we have given a relation in the life of archbishop *Grindal*) which he countenanced with his presence and assistance, setting them up in some places, and restoring them in others. 'Tis surprising, to find what an indifference to hear even so able a Preacher sometimes prevailed; as at *Acliffe*, where designing to preach, he found not three men, or one woman, though it was the Lord's day, and he had, by his servant, given notice two days before; but when he preached there the *Sunday* after, he found a full congregation, for which he praised GOD. He was disappointed thus at *Acham*, when he was archbishop, "where (saith he) to my sorrow, I found neither priest nor people, although they had warning over night." No wonder, then, that he was so particularly zealous, when he found so much ignorance and remissness.

That this proceeded not from a sudden pang of devotion during the plague, but was his mature judgement, is evident from matter of fact; for when he was some years past his grand climacteric, we find him preaching at the Exercises, at *Mansfield*, *Nottingham*, and *Retford*, besides other occasional sermons, eight in less than five weeks. And this was so far from being a disservice to the church of *England* (as some have intimated) that it did really advance it most effectually; "I appeal (says our Author) to the original book of the minister's subscriptions in the register's office at *York*, that, not to take the advantage of that noted time, when forty-five were ordained at one time, there are *communibus annis* as many in one year at the latter end, as in three at the beginning." So attractive was this grand exemplar of a preaching bishop.

The next time we meet with bishop *Matthew* at court, is in preaching at *Whitehall*, before the king, and the commissioners of *England* and *Scotland*, upon the designed union of the two kingdoms; a project *K. James* pursued to the utmost, but the completion of it was reserved to the next century, for the honor of *Q. Anne*. The Epiphany after, he preached before the king at the creation of prince *Charles*, duke of *York*. The next time he preached before the king, was upon a signal occasion, being the Lord's day after the deliverance from the gunpowder treason, which was discovered on the *Tuesday* before, viz. *November 5th*, 1605. The year after, he shut up his diary, as bishop of *Durham*, with this memoran-

dum;

dum, "That in the space of somewhat less than twelve years, I have preached five hundred and fifty sermons;" often excusing himself, that he preached no more, because his house was infected, &c.

On *Monday, August 18, 1606*, he was translated to the archbishopric of *York*, and *September 11*, enthroned by proxy; here he sat with great honor and reputation, to the time of his death, and had the uncommon happiness, though then above sixty years of age, to continue therein twenty-one years and a half; but notwithstanding his age, and the care and government of a whole province, he did not look upon himself as discharged from preaching, but was as diligent as ever; whence that challenge of *Alexander Cooke*, vicar of *Leeds*; 'That *Tobie Matthew*, the archbishop of *York*, though almost eighty years of age, preacheth more sermons in a year, than you [the popish party] can prove, has been preached by all your popes, from *Gregory the Great's* days.' *Cooke's* Popish Brags abated.

Yet, for all his pains in preaching, he neglected not his proper episcopal acts of visitation, confirmation, ordination, &c. he confirmed sometimes five hundred, sometimes one thousand at a time, yea, so many, that he has been forced to betake himself to his bed for refreshment. At *Hartlepool* he was forced to confirm in the church-yard. At such times he often preached to instruct them more fully in the doctrines of Christianity, which they were now more solemnly obliged to know and observe. He preached also sometimes at marriages, baptizings, funerals, assizes, and other meetings of the gentlemen of the country, about public affairs, as at *Ripon, August 16, 1607*, at the laying the foundation of that church.

'Tis much to be lamented, that those sermons, that were so passionately desired by persons of the greatest quality, so acceptable to the judicious, and so crowded after by persons of all ranks, should not have been published; such especially, as were upon extraordinary occasions, and made such impressions upon himself, as to give thanks for divine assistance.

'He died *yearly* in report, (says *Fuller*) and I doubt not, but that, in the Apostle's sense, he died *daily* in his mortifying meditations: He died at last, at *Cawood-castle, March 29, 1628*, and was buried in our lady's chapel at the east-end of the cathedral at *York*, in the eighty-second year of his age; leaving behind him *Frances*

his wife*, by whom he had several children, but only two (so far as we can learn) that survived him, namely *Samuel*, his mother's favorite, who died at *Peter-house*, in *Cambridge*; and *Sir Tobie Matthew*, knt. 'Who (says *Fuller*) had all his father's name, and many of his natural parts, but had few of his moral virtues, and fewer of his spiritual graces, as being an inveterate enemy to the Protestant religion.'

We will conclude his life, with characters given him by two different authors. 'He was certainly (says our first author) one of the most eminent divines of this nation, considered either in the schools, the pulpit, or the episcopal chair, even *Campian* himself, his *Romish* antagonist, confessing that 'he rules in the assemblies' (to which *Sir Thomas Widdrington* adds) 'who alone was wont to preside there,' adding, 'whom we love, for knowledge and virtue.' The learned *Camden*'s character is more comprehensive, 'a most excellent divine, in whom piety and learning, art with nature strove.' But most of all, that of the excellent bishop *Fell*, who says of him, 'that he was a man of infinite reading, inso-much, that scarce any book, which either the fame of its author, or the worth of its subject, recommended, had escaped him; and withal, so happy a memory, that few things he read, but were so in his power, as to be readily quoted, when occasion required.'

To this we will subjoin *Fuller*'s Account of him in his *Church History*. 'He was one of a proper person (such people, *cæteris paribus*, and sometimes *cæteris imparibus*, were preferred by the queen) and an excellent preacher, *Campian* himself confessing, that he did domi-

* *Frances Matthew* was first married to *Matthew Parker*, son to *Matthew Parker* archbishop of *Canterbury*, afterwards to our archbishop. She was a woman of exemplary wisdom, gravity, piety, beauty, and indeed, in all other virtues, not only above her sex, but the times. One exemplary act of her's, first devised upon this church, and through it flowing upon the country, deserves to live as long as the church itself. The library of our archbishop deceased, consisting of three thousand books, she gave entirely to the use of this church. A rare example, that so great care to advance learning, should lodge in a woman's breast! But it was the less wonder in her, because herself was related to so much learning. She was the daughter of bishop *Barlow*; she had four sisters married to four bishops, one to *William Wickham*, bishop of *Winchester*, another to *Overton*, bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, a third to *Westphaling*, bishop of *Hereford*, and a fourth to *Day*, that succeeded *Wickham* in *Winchester*. So that a bishop was her father, an archbishop her father-in-law, she had four bishops her brethren, and an archbishop her husband.

¶ *nari Concionibus.* He was of a chearful spirit, yet without any trespass on episcopal gravity. None could condemn him for his pleasant wit, though often he would condemn himself, as so habited therein, he could as well *not be*, as *not be merry*, and not take up an innocent jest as it lay in the way of his discourse. One passage must not be forgotten. After he had arrived at his greatness, he made one journey into the *West*, to visit his two mothers; her that bare him at *Bristol*, and her that bred him in learning, the university of *Oxford*. Coming near to the latter, attended with a train suitable to his present condition, he was met almost with an equal number, who came out of *Oxford* to give him entertainment. Thus augmented with another troop, and remembering he had passed over a small water a poor scholar, when first coming to the university, he kneeled down and took up the expression of *Jacob*, *With my staff came I over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands.*

HIS WORKS. We know of nothing that was published during his own life, but his "*Concio Apologetica contra Campianum*, in *Deuteron*. xxxii. 7. first printed anno 1581, and again in 1638, at *Oxford*, 8vo." Dr. Fuller has since exhibited a large letter, which was elegantly penned by him in the name of the Convocation, about archbishop *Grindal's* suspension; and Dr. *Parr* another to Mr. *Usher*, afterwards archbishop of *Armagh*. Dr. *Smith* has also printed a letter of his to Mr. *Camden*. These are all that are genuine, (for that in 'the Cabala' is of *George Abbot* archbishop of *Canterbury*) except one that Mr. *Strype* has published, a remarkable letter of his concerning the memorable *Hampton-court* Conference, from the original in his library. Dr. *Fervour* mentions his "manuscript Notes upon all the antient Fathers," which he had not only read with a diligent eye, but noted them with a judicious pen, 'as mine own eyes (adds Dr. *Fervour*) are witnesses.' These, it is presumed, are safely lodged in the archives of his cathedral church at *York*, to which his relict bequeathed his library.

T H O M A S J A M E S.

THOMAS JAMES, a learned *English* critic and divine, was born about the year 1571, at *Newport* in the Isle of *Wight*, and being put to *Winchester-school*, became a scholar upon the foundation, and thence, in his course, a fellow of *New-college* in *Oxford*, in the year 1593.

He commenced master of arts in 1599, and the same year, having collated several manuscripts of the *Philobiblion* of *Richard of Durham*, he published it in quarto at *Oxford*, with an appendix of the *Oxford* manuscripts; he dedicated this piece to Sir *Thomas Bodley*, apparently in the view of recommending himself to this librarian's place when he should have completed his design. In the interim, Mr. *James* proceeded in the same spirit to publish a catalogue of all the manuscripts in each college-library in both universities, and in the compiling of it, having free access to the manuscripts in each college at *Oxford*, he perused them carefully, and, when he found any society careless of them, he borrowed and took away what he pleased, and put them into the public library. These instances of his taste and turn to books, effectually procured him the designation of the founder to be the first keeper of the public library; in which office he was confirmed by the university, in the year 1602. He filled this post with great applause, and commencing doctor in divinity in 1614, was promoted to the subdeanery of *Wells* by the bishop of that see. About the same time, the archbishop of *Canterbury* also presented him to the rectory of *Mongeham* in *Kent*, together with other spiritual preferments. These favors were undeniably strong evidences of his distinguished merit, being conferred upon him without any application on his part.

In the year 1620, he was made a justice of the peace, and the same year he resigned the library-keeper's place, and betook himself more intensely to his studies, and of what kind these were, we learn from himself: "I have
" of late (says he, in a letter dated *May* 23, 1624, to a
" friend) given myself only to the reading of manuscripts,
" and in them I find so many and so pregnant testimonies,
" either

“ either fully for our religion, or against the papists, that
 “ it is to be wondered at.” And in another letter to arch-
 bishop *Usher*, the same year, he assures the primate he had
 restored three hundred citations and rescued them from
 corruptions, in thirty quires of paper *. He had before
 written to his grace upon the same subject, in a letter
 dated *January 28, 1623*, where having observed that in
Sixtus senensis, *Alphonfus de Castro*, and *Antonius’s Summæ*,
 there were about five hundred bastard brevities, and about
 a thousand places in the true authors which are corrupted;
 that he had diligently noted, and would shortly vindicate
 them out of the manuscripts, being yet only conjectures
 of the learned, he proceeds to acquaint his grace, that he
 had gotten together the flower of the *English* divines, who
 would voluntarily join with him in the search. “ Some
 “ fruits of their labours. (continues he,) if your lordship
 “ desires, I will send up. And might I be but so happy,
 “ as to have other twelve thus bestowed; four in tran-
 “ scribing orthodox writers, whereof we have plenty, that
 “ for the substantial points have maintained our religion
 “ (forty or fifty pounds would serve;) four to compare
 “ old points with the new; four other to compare the
 “ *Greek* translations by the papists, as *Vedelius* hath done
 “ with *Ignatius*, wherein he hath been somewhat helped
 “ by my pains; I would not doubt but to drive the pa-
 “ pists out of all their starting-holes. But alas! my
 “ lord, I have not encouragement from our bishops.
 “ Preferment I seek none at their hands; only forty or
 “ sixty pounds *per annum* for others is that I seek, which
 “ being gained, the cause is gained, notwithstanding their
 “ (the papists) brags in their late books.”

In the convocation held with the parliament at *Oxford*,
 in 1625, of which he was a member, he moved to have
 proper commissioners appointed to collate the manuscripts
 of the fathers in all the libraries in *England*, with the po-
 pish editions, in order to detect the forgeries in these last.
 And this project not meeting with the desired encourage-
 ment †; he was so thoroughly persuaded of the great ad-
 vantage

* These two letters are in the collection at the end of *Parr’s* life
 of archbishop *Usher*, numb. 66. and 77.

† We may form a probable conjecture of his plan, from a passage
 in the just cited letter to archbishop *Usher*, where he expresses himself
 thus, “ *Mr. Briggs* will satisfy you in this and sundry other projects
 “ of mine, if they miscarry not for want of maintenance: It would de-
 “ serve a prince’s purse. If I was in *Germany*, the state would defray
 “ all charges. Cannot our estates supply what is wanting? If every
 “ churchman

vantage it would be both to the Protestant religion and learning, that, arduous as the task was, he set about executing it himself, and had made a good progress in it, as appears from his works, a catalogue of which we shall subjoin; and no doubt would have proceeded much farther towards completing his design, had not he been prevented by his death, which happening in *August 1629*, at his house in a suburb called *Holywell* in *Oxford*, he was interred in *New-college* chapel.

Mr. *Wood* informs us, that he left behind him the character of being the most industrious and indefatigable writer against the papists that had been educated in *Oxford* since the Reformation; and in reality his designs were so much, and so well known to be for the public benefit of learning and the church of *England*, that *Camden*, speaking of him in his life-time, says, 'He is a learned man and a true lover of books, wholly dedicated to learning, who is now laboriously searching the libraries of *England*, and proposeth that for the public good which will be for the great benefit of *England*.'

A list of his WORKS. "1. *Philobiblion R. Dunelmensis*, 1559, 4to. 2. *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, Lond. 1600, 4to. 3. *Cyprianus Redivivus*, &c. printed with the *Ecloga*. 4. *Spicilegium divi Augustini hoc est libri de fide ad Pet. Diacon*, &c. collatio & castigatio, printed also with the *Ecloga*. 5. *Bellum papale seu concordia discors Sext. V. & Clementis VIII. circa Hieronym. Edition*. Lond. 1600, 4to. and 1678, 8vo. 6. *Catalogus librorum in bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Oxf. 1605. 4to. reprinted with many additions in 4to. 1620, to which was added an Appendix in 1636: In this catalogue is inserted that of all the manuscripts then in the *Bodl. Library*. 7. *Concordantiæ S. patrum, i. e. vera et pia libri Canticorum per patres universos*, &c. Oxf. 1607, 4to. 8. *Apology for John Wickliffe*, &c. Oxf. 1608, 4to. to this is added the *Life of John Wickliffe*. 9. *A Treatise of the Corruption of Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers*, Lond. 1611, 4to. and 1688, 8vo. this is reckoned his principal work. 10. *The Jesuits Downfall threatened—* for their wicked Lives, accursed Manners, heretical Doc-

"churchman that hath a hundred pounds *per annum* and upwards will lay down but a shilling for every hundred towards these public works, I will undertake the reprinting of the fathers, and setting forth of five or six orthodox writers, comparing of books printed with printed or written; collating of popish translations in *Greek*; and generally whatsoever shall concern books or the purity of them. I will take upon me to be a *magister S. Palatii* in *England*, if I be there—unto lawfully required."

trine,

trine, and more than *Machiavilian* Policy, *Oxf.* 1612, 4to. to this is added the Life of Father Parsons, an *English* Jesuit. 11. *Filius papæ papælis* ch. 1. *Lond.* 1621; translated from *Latin* into *English* by *William Crashaw*: Our Author's name is not put to it. 12. *Index generalis sanct. Patrum ad singulos versus cap. v. secundum Matthæum, &c.* *Lond.* 1624, 8vo. 13. *Notæ ad Georg. Wicelium de Methodo Concordiæ Ecclesiasticæ, &c.* 1625, 8vo. 14. *Vindiciæ Gregorianæ seu Restitutus Gregorius Magnus ex manuscrip. &c. Genève* 1625. 15. *Manuduction, or Introduction unto Divinity, &c.* *Oxf.* 1625, 4to. 16. *Humble and earnest request to the Church of England, for and in behalf of Books touching Religion, in one sheet, 8vo, 1625.* 17. *Explanation or enlarging of the Ten Articles in his Supplication lately exhibited to the Clergy of the Church of England, Oxf.* 1625, 4to. 18. *Specimen Corruptelarum Pontificiorum in Cypriano, Ambrosio, Greg. Magno, &c.* *Lond.* 1626. 19. *Index Librorum prohibitorum a Pontificiis, Oxf.* 1627, 8vo. 20. *Admonitio ad Theologos Protestantes de Libris Pontificiorum caute Legendis, manuscr.* 21. *Enchiridion Theologicum, manuscr.* 22. *Liber de Suspicionibus & Conjecturis, manuscr.* These three Mr. Wood says he saw in the *Lambeth Library*; under D. 42, 3; but whether printed, says he, I know not, perhaps the *Enchiridion* is. Dr. James likewise translated, from *French* into *English*, the moral Philosophy of the *Stoicks*; *Lond.* 1598, 8vo. and published two short treatises against the order of begging friars; written by *Wickliffe*; and a book entitled, *Fiscus Papalis: sive Catalogus Indulgentiarum, &c.* *Lond.* 1617, 4to. but some were of opinion this book was published by *William Crashaw*, already mentioned: Several letters of our Author are published in the Appendix to *Parr's* Life of archbishop *Usher*.

SEBASTIAN BENEFIELD,

SEBASTIAN BENEFIELD, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was born, *August 12, 1559*, at *Prestonbury in Gloucestershire*. He was educated at *Oxford*, being admitted, at seventeen years of age, a scholar of *Corpus-Christi-college*, *August 30, 1586*; and probationer-fellow of the same house, *April 16, 1590*. After he had taken the degree of master of arts, he went into holy orders, and distinguished himself as a preacher.

In 1599, he was appointed rhetoric-reader of his college, and the year following was admitted to the reading of the sentences. In 1608, he took the degree of doctor in divinity, and five years after was chosen margaret-professor in that university. He filled the divinity-chair with great reputation, and after fourteen years resigned it. He had been presented, several years before, to the rectory of *Meysey-Hampton*, near *Fairford in Gloucestershire*, upon the ejection of his predecessor for *Simony*; and now he retired to that benefice, and spent there the short remainder of his life (about four years) in a pious and devout retreat from the world.

Dr. *Benefield* was so eminent a scholar, disputant, and divine, and particularly so well versed in the fathers and schoolmen, that he had not his equal in the university. He was strongly attached to the doctrinal opinions of *Calvin*, especially that of predestination; insomuch that *Humphrey Leach* calls him a *downright and doctrinal Calvinist*. He has been branded likewise with the character of a Schismatic: But Dr. *Ravis*, bishop of *London*, acquitted him of this imputation, and declared him to be *free from schism and much abounding in science*. He was remarkable for strictness of life and sincerity; of a retired and sedentary disposition, and consequently less easy and affable in conversation.

This worthy divine died in the parsonage house of *Meysey-Hampton*, *August 24, 1630*, and was buried in the chancel of his parish-church, the twenty ninth of the same month.

His

His WORKS are: " 1. *Doctrinæ Christianæ sex Capita totidem Prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniensi pro forma habitis discussa et disceptata*; i. e. Six Points of Christian Doctrine discussed and examined in as many Lectures read in the divinity-school of Oxford. Oxon. 1610, 4to. 2. *Appendix ad Caput secundum de Consiliis Evangelicis, &c. adversus Humphredum Leach*; i. e. An Appendix to the second Point concerning the Counsels of the Gospel, &c. in answer to *Humphrey Leach*. This is printed with the foregoing treatise. 3. Eight Sermons publicly preached in the university of Oxford, the second at St. Peter's in the East, the rest at St. Mary's-church. Began Dec. 14, 1595. Oxf. 1614, 4to. 4. The Sin against the Holy Ghost discovered, and other Christian Doctrines delivered in twelve Sermons upon part of the tenth Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Oxf. 1615, 4to. 5. A Commentary or Exposition upon the first Chapter of *Amos*, delivered in twenty-one Sermons in the parish-church of *Messey-Hampton* in the diocese of Gloucester. Oxf. 1613, 4to. This work was translated into Latin by *Henry Jackson* of *Corpus-Christi-college*, and printed at *Oppenheim*, in 1615, 8vo. 6. Several Sermons, as the Christian Liberty, &c. on the 1 Cor. ix. 19. Oxf. 1613, 8vo. This sermon was preached at *Wooton Underedge*, before the clergy at an episcopal visitation, and was printed with his Commentary on *Amos*. A Sermon at St. Mary's in Oxford, on *Psalms* xxi, 6. preached March 24, 1610, being King James's inauguration-day. Oxf. 1611, 4to. The Haven of the Afflicted, preached at the cathedral church of Gloucester, August 10, 1613, on *Amos* iii. 6. Lond. 1620, 4to. 7. A Commentary, or Exposition upon the second Chapter of *Amos*, delivered in twenty-one Sermons, in the parish-church of *Messey-Hampton*, &c. Lond. 1620, 4to. 8. *Prælectiones de Perseverantia Sanctorum*; i. e. Lectures on the Perseverance of the Saints. Francfort, 1618, 8vo. 9. A Commentary, or Exposition, on the third Chapter of *Amos*, &c. Lond. 1620, 4to. 10. There is extant likewise a Latin Sermon of Dr. *Benefield's* on *Revelation* v. 30. Printed in 1616, 4to.

JOHN DONNE, D. D.

DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

DR. JOHN DONNE, was born in *London*, of good and virtuous parents, in the year 1573; his father was lineally descended from a very antient family in *Wales*, where many of his name now live, of great reputation in that country. By his mother he was descended from the family of the famous Sir *Thomas More*, lord chancellor of *England*; and also from the worthy and laborious judge *Rastall*, who abridged the statutes of this kingdom.

He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, till he was eleven years of age; he was then sent to the University of *Oxford*, having at that time a command of the *French* and *Latin* tongues, when others can scarce speak their own. There he remained in *Hart-hall*, (having, for the advancement of his studies, tutors in several sciences to instruct him) till time and his learning declared him fit to receive his first degree in the schools; which however he forbore by advice from his friends, who being of the Romish persuasion, were extremely averse to some parts of the oath, always tendered and taken at those times. Here it was observed of him, as it had formerly been of the famous *Piquet Mirandula*, that 'he was rather born wise than made so by study!' so early did he discover his acuteness and capacity!

About the fourteenth year of his age, he was transplanted from *Oxford* to *Cambridge*, where he staid till his seventeenth year. All which time he was a most laborious student, often changing his studies, but endeavoring to take no degree for the reasons before mentioned. About his seventeenth year he was removed to *London*, and entered into *Lincoln's-inn*, with an intent to study the law, where he gave great testimonies of wit, learning, and improvement in that profession, which never served him for any use, but only for ornament. His father died before his admission into that society, and (being a merchant) left him his portion in money, which was three thousand pounds,

pounds. His mother, and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge, and to that end appointed him there also tutors in several sciences, as in the mathematics and others, to attend and instruct him. But with these arts they were advised to instil the particular principles of the Romish church, of which those tutors (though secretly) professed themselves to be members. They had almost won him to their faith, having for their advantage, besides their opportunity, the example of his most dear parents, which was a powerful persuasion, and did work much upon him, as he professed in the preface to his "Pseudo-Martyr."

He now entered into the nineteenth year of his age, and being unresolved in his religion, he thought it necessary to settle all scruples which concerned that important point: And therefore waving the law, and attaching himself to no art or profession, he began to survey the body of divinity, controverted between the Reformed and *Roman* churches. And as GOD's blessed Spirit did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him (these are his own words), so he calls the same Spirit to witness to his protestation, that in that search and disquisition he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself, by the safest way of frequent prayers, and indifferent affection to both parties. And indeed, the truth had too much light about her, to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and he had too much ingenuity, not to acknowledge he had seen her. "I had a larger work (says he) to do in this inquiry, than many other men; for I was to blot out certain impressions of the *Roman* religion, and to wrestle both against the examples and against the reasons by which some hold was taken, and some anticipations early laid upon my conscience, both by persons who by nature had a power and superiority over my will, and others who, by their learning and good life, seemed to me justly to claim an interest for the guiding and rectifying of mine understanding in these matters."

Being to undertake this search, he believed the learned cardinal *Bellarmino* to be the best defender of the *Roman* cause; and therefore undertook the examination of his reasons. The cause was weighty, and wilful delays had been inexcusable towards GOD and his own conscience; he therefore proceeded with all moderate haste: And before he entered into the twentieth year of his age, shewed the dean of *Gloucester* all the cardinal's works marked with many

many weighty observations under his own hand, which works were bequeathed by him at his death as a legacy to a most dear friend. The result of his inquiry was a thorough conversion to Protestantism; to which, says he, "I was not transported by any sudden and violent determination, till I had, to the measure of my poor wit and judgement, surveyed and digested the whole body of divinity, controverted between our's and the *Romish* church."

About the twenty-first year of his age, he resolved to travel; and, in the years 1596 and 1597, accompanied the earl of *Essex* in his expedition against *Cadiz* and the *Azores Islands*. But he returned not into *England* till he had staid a convenient time, first in *Italy* and then in *Spain*, where he made many useful observations of those countries, their laws, and government, and returned into *England* perfect in their languages. He also intended to go to the *Holy Land*, but was prevented by the disappointment of company and a safe convoy.

Not long after his return, that exemplary pattern of gravity and wisdom, the lord *Elsmore*, lord keeper of the great seal, and afterwards chancellor of *England*, taking notice of his learning, languages, and other abilities, and much affecting both his person and condition, received him to be his chief secretary, supposing it might be an introduction to some more weighty employment in the state, for which his lordship often protested he thought him very well qualified. Nor did his lordship account him so much to be his servant, as to forget he had been his friend; and to testify it, he used him always with much courtesy, appointing him a place at his own table, to which he esteemed his company and discourse a great ornament. He continued that employment with much love and approbation, being daily useful (and not mercenary) to his friends, for the space of five years; in which time, he fell in love with a young lady who lived in that family, niece to the lady *Elsmore*, and daughter to Sir *George More*, chancellor of the garter, and lieutenant of the tower.

Sir *George* gave some intimation of their love, and, the better to prevent it, removed his daughter to his own house, but too late, by reason of some promises interchangeably past, and inviolably to be kept between them. Their love (a passion, which of all other mankind is least able to command, and in which most errors are committed) was in them so powerful, that they resolved, and, in the year 1602, did marry without the approbation of those

friends, who might justly claim an interest in the advising and disposing of them. Being married, the news was (in favor to Mr. *Donne*, and with his allowance) by the right honorable *Henry* then earl of *Northumberland*, secretly and certainly intimated to Sir *George More*, to whom it was so immeasurably unwelcome, that (as though his passion of anger and inconsideration should exceed their's of love and error) he engaged his sister, the lady *Elsmore*, to join with him to procure her lord to discharge Mr. *Donne* from the place he held under his lordship. And although Sir *George* was reminded that errors might be overpunished, and therefore was desired to forbear, till second considerations had cleared some scruples; yet he was restless till his suit was granted, and the punishment executed; the lord chancellor, at Mr. *Donne's* dismissal, protesting he thought him a secretary fitter for a king than a subject. But this physic of Mr. *Donne's* was not strong enough to purge out all Sir *George's* choler, who was not satisfied till Mr. *Donne* and his com-pupil in *Cambridge* that married him, Mr. *Samuel Brooke*, who was after D.D. and master of *Trinity-college* in that university, and his brother, Mr. *Christopher Brooke* of *Lincoln's-inn*, who gave Mr. *Donne* his wife, and witnessed the marriage, were all committed to several prisons.

Mr. *Donne* was first enlarged, who neither gave rest to his body, his brain, nor any friend, in whom he might hope to have any interest, till he had procured the enlargement of his two imprisoned friends. He was now at liberty, but his wife, to her extreme sorrow, was detained from him. And though with *Jacob*, he endured not a hard service for her, yet he lost a good one, and was forced to get possession of her by a long suit in law, which proved very chargeable and more troublesome.

It was not long e'er time, and Mr. *Donne's* behavior, which, when it would entice, had a strange kind of irresistible art, had so dispassioned his father-in-law, that, as the world had approved his daughter's choice, so he also could not choose but see a more than ordinary merit in his new son, which melted him into so much remorse, that he secretly labored his son's restoration into his place, using his own and his sister's power, but with no success; the lord chancellor replying that, although he was unfeignedly sorry for what he had done, yet it stood not with his credit to discharge and re-admit servants, at the request of passionate petitioners. In a short time, Sir *George* appeared to be so far reconciled as to wish their happiness,
(or

(or say so;) and being asked for his paternal blessing, did not deny it; but refused to contribute any means, that might conduce to their support.

Mr. *Donne's* portion was, for the most part, spent in many and chargeable travels, and the rest disbursed in some few books, and dear bought experience; he out of all employment that might yield a support for himself and wife, who had been genteelly educated; his nature generous, and he accustomed to confer, not to receive favors. These and other considerations, but chiefly that his dear wife was to bear a part in his sufferings, surrounded him with many and sad thoughts, and some apparent apprehensions of want. But his sorrow was lessened, and his wants prevented, by the seasonable friendship of their noble kinsman, Sir *Francis Wolley*, of *Pitford* in *Surrey*, who intreated them to a co-habitation with him; where they remained with very much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him, for many years: And as their charge increased (for she had yearly a child) so did his love and bounty.

With him they continued till his death; a little before which time, Sir *Francis* was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt Sir *George More* and his forsaken son and daughter; Sir *George* then giving bond to pay Mr. *Donne* eight hundred pounds at a certain day as a portion with his wife, and to pay him for their maintenance twenty pound quarterly, as the interest of it, until the said portion were paid. Most of those years that he lived with Sir *Francis*, he studied the civil and canon laws; in which he acquired such a perfection as was judged to hold some proportion with many, who had made that study the employment of their whole life. About this time, he was solicited by Dr. *Morton*, afterwards bishop of *Durham*, to go into orders, and to accept of a benefice, which the doctor would have resigned to him. But he declined this offer for many reasons, but chiefly “because some former
“irregularities of his life had been too notorious, not to
“expose him to the censure of the world, and perhaps
“bring dishonor to the sacred function.” Besides, being
“determined by the best casuists, that God’s glory should
“be the first end, and a maintenance the second motive,
“to embrace that calling, his present condition was such,
“that he feared he could not reconcile his conscience to
“that rule.”

Sir *Francis* being dead, and that happy family dissolved, Mr. *Donne* took a house at *Mitcham*, near *Croydon* in *Surrey*,

rey, where his wife and family remained; and for himself, having occasion to be often in *London*, he took lodgings near *White-hall*, where he was frequently visited by men of the greatest learning in this kingdom; his company being loved, and much desired by many of the nobility of this nation, who used him in their counsels of greatest considerations. Nor did our own nobility only favor him, but his acquaintance and friendship was usually sought for by most ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers, whose learning or employment occasioned their stay in this kingdom.

He was much importuned by friends to make his residence in *London*, which he could not do, having settled his dear wife and children at *Mitcham*, whither he often retired himself, and then studied incessantly some points of controversy. But at last the persuasion of friends was so powerful, as to cause the removal of himself and family to *London*; where Sir *Robert Drury* assigned him a very convenient house rent-free, next his own in *Drury-lane*, and was also a daily cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and his in their joy and sorrow.

Several of the nobility were watchful and solicitous to the king for some preferment for him. His majesty had formerly both known, and much valued him, and had given him some hopes of a state-employment, being much pleased that Mr. *Donne* attended him, especially at his meals, where there were usually many deep discourses of learning, and often friendly disputes of religion betwixt the king and those divines, whose places required their attendance on his majesty; particularly, bishop *Mountague*, then dean of the chapel, who was the publisher of the king's works, and the most learned Dr. *Andrews*, then his majesty's almoner, and at his death bishop of *Winchester*.

In *April*, 1610, he was incorporated master of arts in the university of *Oxford*, having before taken the same degree in *Cambridge*. About two years afterwards he accompanied Sir *Robert Drury* to *Paris*; where he is said to have had a most extraordinary vision. Mr. *Walton* informs us, that, when Sir *Robert* requested him to go, Mrs. *Donne*, who was then with child, and under an ill habit of body, expressed an unwillingness, saying, 'that her divining soul boded some ill in his absence.' But, upon Sir *Robert's* being importunate, she at last consented. Two days after their arrival, Mr. *Donne* was

left alone in a room, where himself, Sir *Robert*, and some friends had dined together: To which Sir *Robert* returning in an hour, as he left, so he found Mr. *Donne* alone, but in such an extacy, and so altered in his countenance, that Sir *Robert* could not look upon him without amazement. He asked him, in God's name, what had befallen him in the short time of his absence: Mr. *Donne* was not able to answer directly, but, after a long and perplexed pause, at last said,

"I have seen a dreadful vision since I saw you: I have seen my dear wife pass twice by me through this room, with her hair hanging about her shoulders, and a dead child in her arms. This I have seen since I saw you." To which Sir *Robert* answered: 'Sure, sir, you have slept since I went out; and this is the result of some melancholy dream, which I desire you to forget, for you are now awake.' Mr. *Donne* answered; "I cannot be surer that I now live, than that I have not slept since I saw you; and am as sure, that at her second appearing she stopped, looked me in the face, and vanished."

A servant was immediately dispatched to *Drury-house*, to know, whether Mrs. *Donne* was living, and, if alive, in what condition; who brought word, that he found and left her very sad and sick in bed, and that, after a long and dangerous labor, she had been delivered of a dead child. And, upon examination, the abortion proved to be on the same day, and about the same hour, that Mr. *Donne* affirmed he saw her pass by him in the room. Mr. *Walton* observes, that, though he had not this story from Mr. *Donne* himself, yet he had it from a person of honor, and the strictest intimacy with Mr. *Donne*, who affirmed the truth of it with the most solemn asseverations.

Before this journey into *France*, during his stay there, and after his return, many of the nobility and others solicited the king to confer some secular employment on him: But his majesty, considering him better qualified for the service of the church, did not listen to their application. For, the disputes concerning the oaths of allegiance and supremacy having lately been agitated, our Author, by K. *James's* special command, had written a treatise on that subject, which was printed at *London* in the year 1610, in 4to. The king himself had engaged in this controversy, as appears by his works still extant: But, discoursing with Mr. *Donne* upon the subject, he was so pleased with his clearness in stating the objections

objections made to the taking those oaths, and with his answers to them, that he commanded him to draw them up in form, and bring them to him. This Mr. *Donne* performed in the compass of six weeks; and they were published under the title of "Pseudo-martyr; wherein
 " out of certain propositions and gradations this conclusion is evicted, that those, who are of the *Roman*
 " religion in this kingdom, may and ought to take the
 " oath of allegiance." It is dedicated to the king, with a preface addressed to the priests and jesuits, and to their disciples in this kingdom.

His majesty was now very pressing to have him enter into holy orders. Mr. *Donne* himself has informed us, that "he almost descended to a persuasion, almost to a
 " solicitation of him to do it." Desireous however to qualify himself for the sacred function by a closer application to divinity and the learned languages, he deferred his compliance with the king's solicitations, till about three years after. He was then ordained by Dr. *John King*, bishop of *London*, who was his good friend, and had been chaplain to the lord-keeper *Egerton*, at the same time that Mr. *Donne* was his secretary.

He was presently after made one of the chaplains in ordinary to his majesty; and, about the same time, attending the king to *Cambridge*, he was there created doctor in divinity at his majesty's recommendation. Immediately upon his return from *Cambridge*, his wife died on the seventh day after the birth of her twelfth child. This calamity, which happened upon the fifteenth of *August*, 1617, overwhelmed him with grief. "She left," (says Mr. *Walton*) a man of a narrow unsettled estate, and (having buried five) the careful father of seven children then living; to whom he gave a voluntary assurance never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother: Which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his most dear and deserving wife's grave; and betook himself to a solitary and retired life.—His first motion from his house was to preach, where his beloved wife lay buried, in *St. Clement's-church*, near *Temple-bar*, *London*; and his text was part of the prophet *JEREMIAH's Lamentations*: LO, I AM THE MAN THAT HAVE SEEN AFFLICTION!

"Forwardness and inconsideration (says his biographer) could not in him (as in many others) argue an insufficiency; for he considered long, and had many

' strifes within himself concerning the strictness of life,
 ' and competency of learning required in such as enter
 ' into sacred orders : And, doubtless (considering his own
 ' demerits) did with meek *Moses* humbly ask God, *Who*
 ' *am I?* And if he had consulted with flesh and blood,
 ' he had not put his hand to that holy plough : But
 ' God, who is able to prevail, wrestled with him, as the
 ' angel did with *Jacob*, and marked him for his own,
 ' marked him with a blessing, a blessing of obedience to
 ' the motions of his blessed Spirit : And then as he had
 ' formerly asked God humbly with *Moses*, *Who am I?*
 ' so now (being inspired with the apprehension of God's
 ' mercies) he did ask *K. David's* thankful question, *Lord,*
 ' *who am I, that thou art so mindful of me?* So mindful
 ' of me, as to lead me for more than forty years through
 ' a wilderness of the many temptations and various turn-
 ' ings of a dangerous life ? So mindful, as to move the
 ' learnedest of kings to descend to move me to serve at
 ' thine altar ? So merciful to me, as to move my heart to
 ' embrace this holy motion ? Thy motions I will embrace,
 ' take the cup of salvation, call upon thy name, and
 ' preach thy gospel.'

Now all his studies (which were occasionally diffused)
 were concentrated in divinity ; now he had a new calling,
 new thoughts, new employment for his wit and elo-
 quence. Now all his earthly affections were changed
 into divine love, and all the faculties of his soul were en-
 gaged in the conversion of others, in preaching glad
 tidings, remission to repenting sinners, and peace to each
 troubled soul : To this he applied himself with all care
 and diligence ; and such a change was wrought in him,
 that he rejoiced more *to be a door-keeper in the house of God,*
 than to enjoy any temporal employment.

And though his long familiarity with persons of the
 greatest quality was such, as would have given some men
 boldness enough to have preached to any auditory ; yet
 his modesty was so great, that he could not be persuaded
 to it, but went usually to preach in some private churches,
 in villages near *London*, till the king appointed him a day
 to preach to him. And though the king and others ex-
 pected much from him, yet he was so happy (which few
 are) as to satisfy and exceed their expectations : Preach-
 ing the word so, as shewed he was possess'd with those joys
 that he labored to instil into others : A Preacher in earnest,
 weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them,
 always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud,
 though

though in none; exciting the affections of others, and feeling the most lively motions of his own.

Within the first year of his taking orders, he had no fewer than fourteen advowsons of benefices offered him; but, being unwilling to leave *London*, he refused them all, they laying in the country. In the latter end of the year 1617, he was chosen Preacher of the society of *Lincoln's-inn*. Here he received every mark of love and respect; he constantly and faithfully preaching, and they liberally and amply requiting him. In this situation he remained near three years; about the end of which time, the emperor of *Germany* dying, and the troubles in *Bohemia* breaking out, *K. James* appointed lord *Doncaster* his ambassador to the new emperor, and expressly commanded *Dr. Donne* to attend him. This was very much to lord *Doncaster's* satisfaction, and to the wishes of his other friends, who feared that his incessant studies, and sorrow for the loss of his beloved wife, would shorten his days.

At his going, he left his friends of *Lincoln's-inn*, and they him with much reluctance; for though he could not say, as *St. Paul* to the *Ephesians*, *Behold, you to whom I have preached the kingdom of God, shall henceforth see my face no more*; yet he (being in a consumption) questioned it, and they feared it, considering his troubled mind, which, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body. But *GOD* turned it to the best; for this employment did not only divert him from those studies and sad thoughts, but gave him a new and true occasion of joy, to be an eye-witness of the health of his honored mistress, the queen of *Bohemia*, in a foreign land, (who having formerly known him a courtier) was most glad to see him in a canonical habit, and more glad to be an ear-witness of his most excellent and powerful preaching.

Within fourteen months he returned to his friends of *Lincoln's-inn*, with his sorrows much moderated, and his health improved.

About a year after his return from *Germany*, *Dr. Cary* was made bishop of *Exeter*, and, by his removal, the deanery of *St. Paul's* being vacant, the king appointed *Dr. Donne* to wait on him at dinner the next day; and his majesty (being set down) before he ate any meat, said (after his pleasant manner) ‘*Dr. Donne*, I have invited you to dinner, and though you sit not down with me, yet I will carve to you of a dish that I know you love;
‘ you

‘ you love *London* well : I do, therefore, make you dean of
 ‘ *Paul’s* ; take your meat home to your study, say grace,
 ‘ and much good may it do you.’

Immediately after he came to his deanery, he employed workmen to repair the chapel belonging to his house. The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, Sir *George More*, who now admired and dearly loved him, came to pay him the conditioned sum of twenty pounds, he denied to receive it, and said to his father, (as good *Jacob* said when he heard *Joseph* his son lived) “ *It is enough*, you have been kind to me, and careful of mine ; I am, I thank my God, provided for, and will receive this money no longer :” And not long after he freely gave up his bond of eight hundred pounds. Soon after he was settled in his deanery, the vicarage of *St. Dunstan’s in the West* fell to him by the death of Dr. *White*, the advowson being formerly given to him by the earl of *Dorset* a little before his death, and confirmed to him by his brother and successor. By these and another ecclesiastical endowment (which fell to him about the same time) he was enabled to be charitable to the poor, and to make a suitable provision for his children.

The next parliament following, in 1623-4, he was chosen prolocutor to the convocation, and about that time, by the appointment of his majesty, preached many occasional sermons : All which he performed not only with the approbation, but to the admiration of the representative body of the clergy of this kingdom ; particularly his *Latin* speech, on his inauguration, which is still extant in the collection of his poems.

He was once (and but once) clouded with the king’s displeasure. It was, about this time, occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who assured the king, that Dr. *Donne* had preached a sermon that implied a dislike of his government, particularly of his late directions that the evening lectures on *Sundays* should be turned into catechizing, expounding the commandments, belief, and Lord’s prayer. His majesty was the more inclinable to believe this, for that, about the same time, a person of nobility of great note in the kingdom, and favor with the king (whom his majesty knew doctor *Donne* loved very much) was discarded the court, and presently after committed to prison, which begot many rumours in the multitude.

The king suffered not the sun to set, till he had searched out the truth of this report, but sent presently for doctor *Donne*, and required his answer to the accusation ;
 which

which was so satisfactory, that the king said he was glad he rested not under that suspicion. Doctor *Donne* protested his answer was faithful and free from all collusion; and therefore begged of his majesty that he might not rise, being then kneeling, before he had (as in like cases he always had from GOD) some assurance that he stood clear and fair in his majesty's opinion. The king with his own hand did, or offered to raise him from his knees, and protested he was truly satisfied that he was an honest man, and loved him. Presently his majesty called some lords of his council into his chamber, and said with much earnestness, 'My doctor is an honest man; and, my lords, I was never more joyed in any thing that I have done, than in making him a divine.'

He was made dean in the fiftieth year of his age; and in the fifty-fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him, which turned to a spotted fever, and ended in a cough, that inclined him to a consumption. But GOD, as *Job* thankfully acknowledgeth, preserved his spirit, keeping his intellects clear and perfect. And as his health increased, so did his thankfulness, testified in his book of Devotions; a book that may not unfitly be called, *a Composition of holy Extasies*, occasioned by and applicable to the emergencies of that sickness, which book (being meditations in his sickness) he wrote on his sick bed; herein imitating the holy patriarchs, who were wont in that place to build their altars, where they had received their blessing.

This sickness brought him to the gates of death; and he saw the grave so ready to devour him, that he calls his recovery supernatural. But GOD restored his health, and continued it until the fifty-ninth year of his life: And then, in *August*, 1630, being with his eldest daughter, Mrs. *Harvey*, at *Abery-Hatch* in *Essex*, he fell into a fever, which, with the help of his constant infirmity, *vapours from the spleen*, hastened him into so visible a consumption, that his beholders might say, as *St. Paul* of himself, *he dies daily*; and he might say with *Job*, *my welfare passeth away as a cloud; the days of affliction have taken hold of me; and weary nights are appointed for me*.

This sickness continued long, not only weakening, but wearing him out. But before we give an account of his death, it may neither be impertinent nor unprofitable to look back upon some of the transactions of his life, and to make a reflection or two upon them.

The recreations of his youth were poetry, in which he was very happy, and discovered the most poignant and
excellent

excellent wit. Even in those pieces which were carelessly written in his younger days, there are abundant proofs of the strength and sublimity of his genius.

It is a truth, that in his riper years, viewing some of those pieces loosely scattered in his youth, he wished they had never been : But, though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry as to forsake it; no not in his declining age; witness his many divine sonnets, and other holy and harmonious composures; even on his sick bed, he wrote this heavenly hymn, expressing the great joy he had in the assurance of GOD's mercy to him.

A Hymn to GOD the Father.

- “ WILT thou forgive that sin where I begun,
 “ Which was *my* sin, though it were done before ?
 “ Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
 “ And doe run still, though still I doe implore ?
 “ When thou hast done, thou hast not done ;
 “ For I have more.
- “ Wilt thou forgive that sin which I have won
 “ Others to sin, and made *my* sin their dore ?
 “ Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
 “ A yeare or two, but wallowed in, a score ?
 “ When thou hast done, thou hast not done ;
 “ For I have more.
- “ I have a sin of feare, that when I have spun
 “ My last thread, I shall perish on the shore ;
 “ But swear by thy selfe, that at my death thy Sonne
 “ Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore ;
 “ And, having done that, thou hast done ;
 “ I feare no more.”

And on his death-bed he wrote another hymn, which bears this title,

“ A Hymne to God, my God, in my sickness.”

The latter part of his life was a continued study, *Saturday*s only excepted, which he usually spent in visiting friends, and resting himself under the weary burthen of his week's meditations ; and he gave himself this rest, that thereby he might be refreshed and enabled to do the work of the day following, not negligently, but with courage and chearfulness.

He

He prepared to leave the world before life left him, making his will while in perfect health, and with mature deliberation, expressing himself an impartial father, by making his children's portions equal; a constant lover of his friends, by particular legacies, discreetly chosen, and fitly bequeathed them; and full of charity to the poor, and many others, who by his long continued bounty might entitle themselves, *his alms-people*. For all these he made provision, so largely, as, having six children, might to some appear more than proportionable to his estate. The Reader will think the particulars not impertinent, if we present him with the beginning and conclusion of his last will.

" IN the name of the blessed and glorious Trinity,
 " Amen. I *John Donne*, by the mercy of *Christ Jesus*,
 " and the calling of the church of *England*, priest, being
 " at this time in good and perfect understanding, (praised
 " be God therefore) do hereby make my last will and
 " testament in manner and form following.

" First, I give my gracious God an intire sacrifice of
 " body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that
 " assurance which his blessed Spirit imprints in me now
 " of the salvation of the one, and of the resurrection of
 " the other; and for that constant and chearful resolution
 " which the same Spirit established in me, to live and die
 " in the religion now professed in the church of *England*:
 " In expectation of that resurrection, I desire my body may
 " be buried (in the most private manner that may be) in
 " that place of *St. Paul's-church, London*, that the now
 " residentiaries have at my request assigned for that pur-
 " pose, &c.

" And this my last will and testament made in the fear
 " of God, (whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly
 " rely upon in *Jesus Christ*) and in perfect love and cha-
 " rity with all the world, whose pardon I ask, from the
 " lowest of my servants to the highest of my superiors.
 " Written all with mine own hand, and my name sub-
 " scribed to every page, being five in number."

Nor was his charity expressed only at his death, but in his life, by a chearful and frequent visitation of friends, whose minds were dejected, or fortunes necessitous. And he redeemed many out of prison that lay for small debts, or for their fees. He was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this, and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant to all

the prisons in *London*, to distribute his charity, at all festival times in the year. He gave one hundred pounds at one time to a gentleman that he had formerly known live plentifully, and was then decayed in his estate. He was a happy reconciler of differences in many families of his friends and kindred, who had such faith in his judgement and impartiality, that he scarce ever advised them to any thing in vain. He was (even to her death) a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her support, of which she had been destitute, but that GOD raised him up to prevent her necessities; who having sucked in the religion of the *Roman* church with her mother's milk; (or presently after it) spent her estate in foreign countries, to enjoy a liberty in her religion, and died in his house but three months before him.

And, to the end it may appear how just a steward he was of his Lord and Master's revenue; it may be necessary to inform our Readers, that after his entrance into his deanery, as he numbered his years, and (at the foot of a private account, to which GOD and angels only were witnesses with him) computed first his revenue, then his expences, then what was given to the poor and pious uses, and lastly, what remained for him and his; he blest each year's poor remainder with a thankful prayer; which as they discover a more than common devotion, the Reader shall partake some of them in his own words.

1624. So all is that remains }
1625. of these two years }

Deo opt. max. benigno largitori, à me, & ab iis quibus hæc à me reservantur, gloria, & gratia in æternum. Amen.

1626. So that this year God hath blessed }
me and mine with }

Multiplicatæ sunt super nos misericordiæ tuæ, Domine.

Da Domine, ut quæ ex immensa bonitate tua nobis elargiri dignatus sis, in quorumcunque manus devenerint, in tuam semper cedant gloriam. Amen.

1628. In fine horum sex annorum manet
1629.

Quid habeo, quod non accepi à Domino? Largiatur etiam, ut quæ largitus est, sua iterum fiant bono eorum usu, ut quemadmodum, nec officiis hujus mundi, nec loci, in quo me posuit, dignitati, nec servis, nec egenis, in toto hujus anni curriculo, mihi conscius sum, ne defuisse, ita ut liberi, quibus quæ supersunt,

*persunt, supersunt, grato animo ea accipiant, & beneficium
Auctorem recognoscant. Amen.*

But to return from our digression.

We left our Author sick in *Essex*, where he was forced to spend most of that winter, by reason of his disability to remove from thence. And having never, during almost twenty years, omitted his personal attendance on his majesty, in his monthly service; nor being ever left out of the number of Lent preachers; and in *January* following, there being a general report that he was dead; that report occasioned this letter to a familiar friend.

“SIR,

“THIS advantage you and my other friends have by my frequent feavers, that I am so much the oftner at the gates of heaven; and this advantage by the solitude and close imprisonment that they reduce me to after, that I am so much the oftner at my prayers, in which I shall never leave out your happiness: And I doubt not but amongst his other blessings, God will add some one to you for my prayers.

“A man would be almost content to die (if there were no other benefit in death), to hear of so much sorrow, and so much good testimony from good men, as I (God be blessed for it) did upon the report of my death: Yet I perceive it went not through all; for one writ to me, that some (and he said of my friends) conceived I was not so ill as I pretended, but withdrew myself to live at ease, discharged of preaching. It is an unfriendly, and (God knows) an ungrounded interpretation; for I have always been sorer when I could not preach, than any could be they could not hear me. It hath been my desire (and God may be pleased to grant it) that I might die in the pulpit; if not that, yet that I might take my death in the pulpit, that is, die the sooner by occasion of those labours. Sir, I hope to see you presently after *Candlemas*, about which time will fall my *Lent* sermon at court, except my lord chamberlain believe me to be dead, and leave me out: For as long as I live, and am not speechless, I would not willingly decline that service. I have better leisure to write, than you to read, yet I would not willingly oppress you with too much letter: God bless you and your son, as I wish

“Your poor friend and servant

“in *Christ Jesus*,

“JOHN DONNE.”

Jan. 7, 1630.

Before that month ended, he was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first *Friday* in *Lent*, and he had notice of it; and having in his sickness prepared for the employment, as he had long thirsted for it; so resolving his weakness should not hinder his journey, he came to *London* some few days before his day appointed. Being come, many of his friends (who with sorrow saw how his sickness had wasted him) doubted his strength to perform that task; and therefore earnestly intreated him not to undertake it, assuring him however, it was like to shorten his days: But he firmly denied their requests, saying, He would not doubt, that GOD, who in many weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected strength, would now withdraw it in his last employment, professing a holy ambition to perform that sacred work. And when (to the amazement of some beholders) he appeared in the pulpit, many thought he presented himself, not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a decayed body, and dying face. And doubtless many did secretly ask that question in *Ezekiel*, *Do these bones live?* Yet after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory of his meditations which were upon the subject of dying; the text being, *To God the Lord belong the issues from death*. Many that saw his tears, and heard his hollow voice, professing they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that Dr. *Donne* had preached HIS OWN FUNERAL SERMON.

Being full of joy, that GOD had enabled him to perform this desired duty, he hastened to his house, out of which he never moved, till, like *St. Stephen*, he was carried by devout men to his grave: And the next day after his sermon, his spirits being much spent, and he indisposed to discourse, a friend asked him, Why are you sad? To whom he replied after this manner, "I am not sad; "I am in a serious contemplation of the mercies of my "God to me; and now I plainly see, it was his hand that "prevented me from all temporal employment. And I "see it was his will, that I should never settle nor thrive "until I entered into the ministry, in which I have now "lived almost twenty years, (I hope to his glory) and "by which (I most humbly thank him) I have been enabled to requite most of those friends, that shewed me "kindness when my fortunes were low. And (as it hath "occasioned the expression of my gratitude) I thank God, "most of them have stood in need of my requital.

"I have

“ I have been useful and comfortable to my good father-in-law, Sir *George More*, whose patience God hath been pleased to exercise by many temporal crosses. I have maintained my own mother, whom it hath pleased God after a plentiful fortune in her former times, to bring to a great decay in her very old age. I have quieted the consciences of many that groaned under the burden of a wounded spirit, whose prayers I hope are available for me. I cannot plead innocency of life, (especially of my youth) but I am to be judged by a merciful God, who hath given me (even at this time) some testimonies by his holy Spirit, that I am of the number of his elect. I am full of joy, and shall die in peace.”

Upon *Monday* following, he took his last leave of his beloved study, and being hourly sensible of his decay, retired himself to his bed-chamber: And that week sent (at several times) for many of his most considerable friends, of whom he took a solemn and deliberate farewell, commending to their considerations some sentences particularly useful for the regulation of their lives, and dismissed them with a spiritual benediction. The *Sunday* following, he appointed his servants, that if there were any worldly business undone, that concerned them or himself, it should be prepared against *Saturday* next; for, after that day, he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned the world. Nor ever did.

Now he had nothing to do but to die; to do which, he stood in need of no more time, for he had long studied it. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change; and in the last hour of his last day, (as his body melted away), his soul having some revelation of the beatific vision, he said, “ I were miserable, if I might not die:” And after those words, closed many periods of his faint breath with these words, *Thy kingdom come, thy will be done*. His speech remained with him almost to his last minute; and then forsook him. Being speechless, he (like *Stephen*) looked stedfastly towards heaven, and closed his own eyes, and then disposed his hands and body into such a posture, as required no alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus variable, thus holy, was the life; thus memorable, thus exemplary, was the death, of this most excellent man. He was in his forty-second year when he took orders; and he died on the thirty-first of *March*, 1631, aged fifty-eight; after being dean of *St. Paul's* for ten years.

He

He was buried in *St. Paul's* church, in the place which he had appointed for that use some years before his death, and by which he passed daily to his devotions. But not buried privately, though he desired it; for, besides a vast number of others, many persons of nobility and eminence, who loved and honored him in his life, shewed it at his funeral, by a voluntary and very solemn attendance of his body to the grave.

He was of stature moderately tall, of a straight and equally proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an inexpressible addition of grace and decorum. His aspect was chearful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear enlightened mind, and of a conscience at peace with itself. His melting eye shewed he had a soft heart, full of noble pity, of too brave a spirit to offer injuries, and too much a Christian, not to pardon them in others. His fancy was rich and copious, equalled by his great wit; both being made useful by an excellent judgement. His mind was liberal, and unwearied in the search of knowledge: And he wished to communicate what he knew to others. This appears by his numerous WRITINGS, some account of which we will present to our Readers.

Besides the *Pseudo-Martyr*, and *Book of Devotion* already mentioned, there are extant the following Works of doctor *Donne*. 1. Poems; consisting of Songs and Sonnets, Epigrams, Elegies, Epithalamiums, Satires, Letters, Funeral Elegies, Holy Sonnets, &c. published at different times. They were printed together in one volume, 12mo. at *London*, 1719, with the Addition of Elegies upon the Author, by several Persons. Mr. *Dryden* has very justly given Dr. *Donne* the character of 'the greatest wit, though not the greatest poet, of our nation.' And, in his Dedication of *Juvenal* to the earl of *Dorset*, he says, 'Donne alone, of all our countrymen, had your talent; but was not happy enough to arrive at your versification. And, were he translated into numbers and *English*, he would yet be wanting in the dignity of expression.—You equal *Donne* in the variety, multiplicity, and choice of thoughts: You excel him in the manner and the words. I read you both with the same admiration, but not with the same delight. He affects the metaphysics, not only in his satires, but in his amorous verses, where nature only should reign; and perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy; when he should engage their hearts, and entertain them with the softness of love.' A little farther

farther *Dryden* asks, 'Would not *Donne's* Satires, which abound with so much wit, appear more charming, if he had taken care of his words and of his numbers?' Whether *Pope* took the hint from this question, or not, is uncertain: But he has shewed the world, that when translated into numbers and *English*, as *Dryden* expresses it, they are not inferior to any thing in that kind of poetry.

2. "Paradoxes, Problems, Essays, Characters, &c. to which is added a Book of Epigrams, written in *Latin*, by the same author; translated into *English* by *J. Maine*, D. D. And also *Ignatius's* Conclave, a Satire, translated out of the original Copy written in *Latin*, by the same author; found lately amongst his own papers, *London*, 1653, 12mo. Part of this Collection was published at different times before. 3. Three volumes of Sermons, in folio; the first printed in 1640, the second in 1649, the third in 1660. Lord *Falkland* styles Dr. *Donne* 'one of the most witty and most eloquent of our modern divines.' 4. Essays in Divinity, &c. being several Disquisitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers, before he went into holy orders, *London*, 1651, 12mo. published by his son. 5. Letters to several Persons of Honour, *London*, 1654, 4to. published by his son. There are several of Dr. *Donne's* letters, and others to him, from the queen of *Bohemia*, the earl of *Carlisle*, archbishop *Abbot*, and *Ben Johnson*, printed in a book, entitled, a Collection of Letters made by Sir *Tobie Matthew*, Knt. 8vo. 1660. 6. The ancient History of the Septuagint; translated from the *Greek* of *Aristeas*, *London*, 1633, 12mo. This translation was revised and corrected by another hand, and published in 1685, in 8vo.

7. "ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ: or, a Declaration of that Paradox or Thesis, that Self-Homicide is not so naturally a sin, that it may not be otherwise, *London*, 1644, 1648, &c. 4to. Mr. *Wood* tells us, that he had seen the original under the author's own hand, in the *Bodleian* library, dedicated to *Edward lord Herbert*, of *Cherbury*. Among Dr. *Donne's* letters is one to lord *Herbert*, sent to him with the ΒΙΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ; and another to Sir *Robert Carre*, afterwards earl of *Ancrum*, sent with the same book upon the doctor's going into *Germany*. In this letter he observes, that the book was written by him many years before; "and because (says he) it is upon a misinterpretable subject, I have always gone so near suppressing it, as that "it is only not burnt. No hand hath passed upon it to
copy

“ copy it, nor many eyes to read it; only to some particular friends in both universities then, when I writ it, I did communicate it; and I remember I had this answer, that certainly there was a false thread in it, but not easily found. Keep it, I pray, with the same jealousy: Let any, that your discretion admits to the sight of it, know the date of it, and that it is a book written by *Jack Donne*, not *Dr. Donne*: Reserve it for me, if I live; and if I die, I only forbid it the press and the fire. Publish it not, yet burn it not; but between those do what you will with it.” However, his worthless son disobeyed this injunction, and published it. If he had committed it to the flames, he had shewn a better regard to his father’s memory.

Dr. Donne was naturally of a melancholy disposition, and wrote this tract before he was truly serious, when under the impressions of that disorder. It is lamentable to consider, how the greatest learning and the brightest parts may be easily overcome by any and by every temptation; but at the same time, it is comfortable to reflect, that the weakest believer, under the protection of divine grace, is a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, over all trials and distresses.

These are all the Works of *Donne* that we know of for certain to be his. *Mr. Wood* proposes a quære, whether he was the author of a piece entitled, “A Scourge for Paper-Persecutors,” printed in the reign of *K. James I.* the running title of which, at the top of every page, is “Paper’s Complaint.” Besides an hundred and twenty sermons, the publication of which we have already mentioned, he left, adds our Biographer, ‘the resulfance of one thousand four hundred authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand. All the business likewise that passed of any public consequence, either in this or any of our neighbouring nations, he abbreviated either in *Latin*, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience, that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them, and divers other matters of importance, all particularly and methodically digested by him.’

END of the SECOND VOLUME.

